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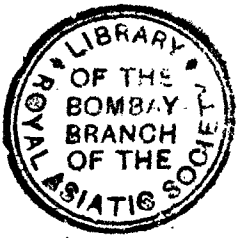
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C.IULIUS CÆSAR PERPETUAL DICTATOR.

THE

COMMENTARIES

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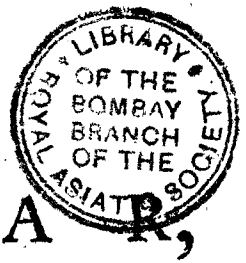
OF



CÆSAR,

TRANSLATED into ENGLISH.

V. C. 21

By WILLIAM DUNCAN,
Professor of Philosophy in the University of *Aberdeen*.

The SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-mall.
MDCCLXXIX.

by which in the End he was enabled to ſurmount all Oppoſition. In a word, Prudence in Counſel, Courage and Intrepidity in the Field, a calm Preſence of Mind in the Midſt of Dangers, and an amazing Dexterity in ſudden and unforeſeen Emergencies, are here exemplified in the Conduct of a Leader, whom all ſucceeding Ages have agreed to regard as the moſt finiſhed Pattern of military Merit.

It is the Obſervation of one of the wiſeſt of the *Roman* Hiſtorians, "That War is in a peculiar "Manner the Province of a Prince; and that "though civil Accompliſhments are by no means "to be neglected, yet to the Perſon of the Sove-"reign more immediately belongs the Merit and "and Praiſe of being a great General." And indeed as it is among the principal Duties of a King, to protect his Subjects from foreign Invaſions, to baffle the Attempts of ambitious and aſpiring Tyrants, and to guard againſt the Incroachments of powerful Neighbours, nothing can be more evident, than that a due Inſtitution in the Art of War ought to be conſidered as an eſſential Part of the Education of a Prince.

Some perhaps may be of opinion, that the Maxims of the preſent Age, which forbid Kings to appear in Perſon at the Head of Armies, and injoin them rather to delegate their Power to others, render military Talents leſs neceſſary in the

the Rulers of Nations. But though this be in Reality a very wiſe Policy, and excellently calculated to prevent thoſe unjuſt Wars, which have no other Foundation but the perſonal Ambition and Glory of Princes, yet does it by no means diſpenſe with the Obligation of applying to the Study of Arms. The due modelling of the Army, the introducing a proper Diſcipline among the Troops, and the Diſpoſal of military Preferments, are intirely in the Breaſt of the Sovereign, who would be but ill qualified for the Exerciſe of ſo great a Truſt, if wholly unacquainted with martial Affairs. It is likewiſe well known, that in dangerous domeſtic Seditions, to which all States are at times liable, nothing tends more to confirm the well-affected in their Duty, and to check the Machinations of the Factious, than when a King every way qualified to command, appears in Perſon at the Head of his Troops. In general Confederacies too, where many Nations unite to oppoſe ſome threatening overgrown Power, it is often impoſſible to reconcile their various Intereſts, and preſerve the Unanimity neceſſary to give Force and Vigour to their Operations, unleſs ſome Prince of diſtinguiſhed Reputation, and eminent Quality in the League, charge himſelf with the Conduct of the War, and employ his whole Authority to prevent thoſe Competitions, Jealouſies and mutual Animoſities, which are every Moment ready to break out in an Army compoſed of ſo many ſeparate and divided Bodies.

HENCE it is that Valour and the military Virtues have always been conſidered as Objects highly worthy the Purſuit of a Prince; nor do they ever fail to meet with their due Share of Applauſe, unleſs where they degenerate into that hurtful Ambition, that immoderate Thirſt of Conqueſt, which prompts Men rather to be the Deſtroyers, than to be the Protectors of Nations. As the Commentaries of *Cæſar* furniſh the beſt Leſſons and Precepts of War, ſo the Example and Hiſtory of the ſame *Cæſar* demonſtrate, that the greateſt Talents, when not directed to laudable Ends, are utterly inſufficient, either for preſent Security, or future Fame. Though his Abilities as a General and a Stateſman, were never perhaps equalled before or ſince; yet as he employed them, not to promote the Welfare, but to diſturb the Peace of Society; not to defend, but to overturn the Liberties of his Country; he could neither eſcape the Hatred of the Age in which he lived, nor the Reproaches of Poſterity. We find him often in Diſtreſs, and ſometimes in Deſpair, ready to fly his Country, threatened with being tried and condemned as a publick Criminal; and at laſt, after a reſtleſs Life, full of Anxiety and Care, cut off by a violent and untimely Death, juſt as he had eſtabliſhed his Tyranny, though with it he could not eſtabliſh his own Happineſs. Had he employed his Authority and Addreſs to preſerve publick Liberty; had he, for this glorious End, exerted his Induſtry and admirable Talents; how amiable muſt he have

have appeared, in what Security might he have lived, and with what Veneration would he have been regarded by all future Ages?

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS is born to govern a People, who have at all Times diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Love of Liberty; a People always obedient to juſt Laws, but impatient under Oppreſſion, and infinitely jealous of their Privileges. *Tacitus* ſpeaking of them fifteen hundred Years ago ſays, "That they cheerfully complied "with the Levies of Men, with the Impoſition "of Tribute, and with all the neceſſary Demands "of Government, provided they received no il-"legal Treatment or Inſults from their Gover-"nors; for thoſe they bore with Impatience; "Nor did they acknowledge any other Sub-"jection to the *Romans*, than what conſiſted in "an Obedience to juſt Laws, not the Submiſſion "of Slaves." Such was the Character of the *Britiſh* People at that Time, ſuch has been their Character in all Ages, and ſuch it remains to this Day. Princes who obſerved the Laws always found them peaceable Subjects, and ready to comply with their juſt Demands: But when Infringements were made upon the publick Liberty, they grew uneaſy and diſcontented, and the Sovereign, by graſping at too much, frequently loſt all.

INDEED it appears in our Hiſtory, that the Deſign of aſſuming an Authority independent of the

the Laws, was never entertained by any of the beſt and ableſt of our Princes; who always eſteemed it more glorious to rule over a free People, than to command a Nation of Slaves. Among many remarkable Examples of this, that of the ever-memorable *Henry the Fifth* ſeems in a particular Manner deſerving of Notice. He was a wiſe and valiant Prince, who ſcorned to incroach upon the Liberties of the Subjects, and abhorred the unjuſtifiable Arts by which they had been impaired. He eſteemed their Courage, Strength, and Love, to be his greateſt Advantage, Riches, and Glory; and readily joined with them to extinguiſh the miſchievous Abuſes that had been introduced by ſome of his Predeceſſors. He aimed at making good his Claim to the Crown of *France*, which he knew was only to be effected by the Bravery of a free and well-ſatisfied People. Slaves will always be Cowards, and, and when they dare declare themſelves, Enemies to their Maſter; by bringing his Subjects into that Condition, he muſt infallibly have ruined his own Deſigns, and made them unfit to fight either for him or for themſelves. He deſired not only that his People ſhould be free during his Time, but that his Succeſſors ſhould not be able to deprive them of ſo valuable a Bleſſing. He knew that he did not reign for himſelf but for his People, and regarding their Safety as the ſupreme Law of Government, always paſſed with the utmoſt Cheerfulneſs ſuch Laws as were preſented to him in behalf of public Liberty. The

Event was such as might be expected. Never Prince was better obeyed and served by his Subjects, more successful and formidable abroad, more beloved at home, or more sincerely lamented after his Death. In fine, History no where furnishes a more perfect Pattern of a wise, valiant, and virtuous King.

It has been the good Fortune of these Nations for some Time past to be blest with a Series of such Princes. The excellent Principles of Government adopted by King *William* at the Revolution, have been steadily adhered to by his Successors of your illustrious House. Nor has the Security of domestic Freedom alone employed their Attention. Like that glorious Monarch they have exerted their utmost Influence to preserve the Independency of the other States of *Europe*, and by a Conduct so truly noble merited the greatest of all Titles, that of being *The Patrons of Public Liberty*, and *The Friends of Mankind.*

Your Royal Highness is now at an Age when Examples of this Kind make the deepest Impression; and the early good Dispositions You discover, joined to the excellent Institution under which You have the Happiness to be formed, give the justest Reason to believe, that they will not fail of having their due Effect. The Public beholds with Pleasure the Seeds of your many ripening Virtues, and charmed with the Prospect of the Advantages

Advantages to be reaped from their Maturity, ſeems to addreſs you in the Words of *Æneas* to his Son *Aſcanius*, a young Prince of great Expectation, in whoſe Perſon were centered the Hopes of a whole People.

——— *Te, Animo repetentem Exempla tuorum,*
Et Pater Æneas, et Avunculus excitet Hector.

THAT You may improve daily in every laudable and uſeful Quality, and that when by the Appointment of Providence You are called to the Exerciſe of the Government, You may long ſway the *Britiſh* Scepter with uninterrupted Proſperity, and the intire Love of your Subjects, is the ſincere and ardent Prayer of,

SIR,

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS's *moſt humble*

moſt dutiful, and

moſt obedient Servant,

WILLIAM DUNCAN.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Tranſlation of *Cæſar's Commentaries* was done from the celebrated Edition of the late Dr. *Clarke*, printed for *J. Tonſon* in 1712. All poſſible Care has been taken to render it exact, and to preſerve the Diſtinctneſs and Perſpicuity of Expreſſion for which the Original is ſo juſtly famous. The Reader will perceive, that the very Turn and Manner of *Cæſar* has been copied with the utmoſt Attention; and though the Succeſs may not always anſwer Expectation, yet Candor will induce him to make great Allowances, when he conſiders the inimitable Beauty of the *Latin*, and the Difficulty of expreſſing ancient Manners and Tranſactions in modern Language.

THE ancient Names of Places are retained in the Tranſlation, as well to avoid giving too modern a Turn to the Author by a contrary Practice, as becauſe they are ſufficiently familiar to an *Engliſh* Ear, being conſtantly made uſe of by all Hiſtorians who treat of thoſe Times in our Language. But as the following Work may perhaps fall into the Hands of Perſons little aquainted with ancient Geography, and who would therefore be at a loſs in comparing *Cæſar*'s Deſcriptions with the preſent Face of the Country, the Reader will find at the End of the Book a large geographical Index, in which the ancient Names of Places, as near as can be diſcovered with any Certainty, are explained by the Modern.

ADVERTISEMENT.

It may be juſt proper to mention, that beſides the Seven Books of the *Gallic* War, and the Three of the Civil, written by *Cæſar* himſelf, the Supplements of *A. Hirtius Panſa* are likewiſe inſerted in the following Tranſlation, conſiſting of one additional Book to the *Gallic* War, and three Books of the *Alexandrian*, *African* and *Spaniſh* Wars.

C. JULIUS

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in *GAUL.*

BOOK I.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. *Deſcription and Diviſion of* Gaul. II. [illegible] *by the* Helvetians *of invading it.* III. *Prepa[illegible]us.* V. *Difficulties.* VII. *March.* VIII. Cæſar's *Reſolution to hinder it.* X. *He attacks and defeats them at the River* Arar. XI. *Their Embaſſy to* Cæſar, *and his Anſwer.* XIV. Cæſar *reduced to great Straits for want of Corn, by the Perfidy of* Dumnorix *the* Æduan; *whom nevertheleſs he pardons.* XVII. Cæſar *defeats the* Helvetians *in a ſecond Battle.* XXI. *They ſurrender, and are obliged to return to their own Country.* XXII. *The* Gauls *congratulate* Cæſar *upon his Victory.* XXIII. *And complain to him of the Irruption of the* Germans *into* Gaul *under* Arioviſtus. XXIV. Cæſar's *Embaſſy to* Arioviſtus. XXVII. *His Anſwer.* XXVIII. Cæſar *leads his Army againſt* Arioviſtus. XXX. *The Conſternation that ſeizes his Troops.* XXXI. *He animates them by a Speech.* XXXIII. *Interview between* Cæſar *and* Arioviſtus. XXXVII. *Breaks off by the Approach of the* German *Cavalry.* XXXVIII. *Perfidy and Cruelty of* Arioviſtus. XXXIX. Cæſar *and* Arioviſtus *prepare for Battle. Manner of fighting in uſe among the* German *Horſe.* XLI. Cæſar *defeats the* Germans *with great Slaughter, obliges them to repaſs the* Rhine; *and by one Battle puts an End to the War.*

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's COMMENTARIES OF HIS WARS in *GAUL.*

BOOK I.

I. THE whole Country of *Gaul* is divided into three Parts: of which the *Belgians* inhabit one; the *Aquitains* another; and a People called in their own Language *Celts*, in ours *Gauls*, the third. These all differ from each other in their Language, Customs, and Laws. The *Gauls* are divided from the *Aquitains* by the River *Garonne*, and by the *Marne* and the *Seine* from the *Belgians*. Of all these Nations the *Belgians* are the most warlike; as being farthest removed from the Culture and Refinements of the Province, and but little resorted to by Merchants, who furnish the Means of Luxury and Voluptuousness. They are also situated next to the *Germans*, who inhabit beyond the *Rhine*, with whom they are continually engaged in War. For this Reason likewise the *Helvetians* are distinguished by their Bravery beyond the rest of the *Gauls*; because they are almost constantly at war with the *Germans*, either for the Defence of their own Territories, or acting themselves as the Aggressors. One of these Divisions, that which we have said was possessed by the *Gauls*, begins at the River *Rhine*; and is bounded by the *Garonne*, the Ocean, and the Territories of the *Belgians*. It touches also, towards the *Helvetians* and *Sequani*, upon the River *Rhine*, extending itself northward. The Country of the *Belgians*, commencing from the remotest Confines of *Gaul*, stretches as far as the lower *Rhine*, running all the Way between the North and East.

Aquitain extends from the *Garonne* to the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and that Part of the Ocean which borders upon *Spain*. Its Situation is North-Weſt.

II. ORGETORIX was by far the richeſt and moſt illuſtrious of the *Helvetians*. This Nobleman, in the Conſulſhip of *M. Meſſala* and *M. Piſo*, prompted by an aſpiring Ambition, formed a Confederacy of the principal Men of the State; and perſuaded the People to quit their Country in a Body, repreſenting, "that as "they ſurpaſſed all the Nations around them in Valour, "it would be eaſy for them to gain the entire Sove-"reignty of *Gaul*." He the ſooner brought them into this Deſign, becauſe the *Helvetians*, by the Nature of their Situation, are every where confined within very narrow Territories: On one ſide by the *Rhine*, a broad and deep River, which ſeparates their Country from that of the *Germans*: On the other by Mount *Jura*, a high Ridge of Hills, which runs between them and the *Sequani*: Laſtly, by the Lake *Lemanus*, and the River *Rhone*, which is the Boundary on the Side of the *Roman* Province. By this means it happened, that they could not ſo eaſily enlarge their Territories, or make Conqueſts on the neighbouring States; which, to Men of a warlike Spirit, and fond of fighting, was abundant Cauſe of Diſcontent: For being a numerous People, and of great Fame for their Bravery, they thought themſelves much too ſtrained in a Country, which was but too hundred and forty Miles in length, and about one hundred and eighty in breadth.

III. URGED by theſe Conſiderations, and ſtill more by the Authority and Perſuaſions of *Orgetorix*, they reſolved to provide every thing neceſſary for an Expedition; to buy up a great number of Waggons and Carriage-Horſes; to form large Magazines of Corn, that they might have ſufficient to ſupply them in their March; to eſtabliſh Peace and Amity with the neighbouring States. They imagined two Years would be ſufficient for theſe Preparations, and obliged themſelves by a Law to begin their March on the third. The whole Management of this Deſign was committed to *Orgetorix*, who undertook an Embaſſy to the neighbouring States. On this Occaſion he perſuaded *Caſticus*, the Son of *Catamantales*,

mantales, of the Nation of the *Sequani*, whoſe Father had for many Years enjoyed the Sovereignty over that People, and been ſtiled Friend and Ally by the Senate of *Rome*, to poſſeſs himſelf of the ſupreme Authority in his own Country, which his Father had held before him. He likewiſe perſuaded *Dumnorix* the *Æduan*, the Brother of *Divitiacus*, who was at that time the leading Man in his own State, and greatly beloved by the People, to attempt the ſame among the *Æduans*: and the more to ſecure him to his Intereſt, gave him his Daughter in Marriage. He told them, "That they might with the "greateſt Facility accompliſh their Deſigns; as he was "himſelf aſſured of attaining the ſupreme Authority in "his own State, which was without Diſpute the moſt "powerful and conſiderable of all *Gaul*; and would "then employ his whole Intereſt and Forces, to eſta-"bliſh them in their reſpective Sovereignties." Moved by theſe Conſiderations, they reciprocally bound themſelves by a ſolemn Oath; not doubting, when they had once attained the chief Sway in their ſeveral States, with the united Forces of three ſuch powerful and mighty Nations, to render themſelves Maſters of all *Gaul*. The *Helvetians* having Notice of this Deſign, obliged *Orgetorix*, according to the Cuſtom of their Country, to anſwer to the Charge brought againſt him in Chains: and had he been found guilty, the Law condemned him to be burnt alive. On the Day appointed for his Trial, he aſſembled all his Slaves and Domeſticks, amounting to ten thouſand Men; and all his Clients and Debtors, of which the Number was very great: By their Means he reſcued himſelf out of the Hands of his Judges. While the People, provoked at this Contempt of the Laws, were preparing to ſupport their Authority by Force, and the Magiſtrates had aſſembled a great Number of Men for that Purpoſe; *Orgetorix* died: Nor are the *Helvetians* without Suſpicion of his having made away with himſelf.

IV. AFTER his Death, the *Helvetians* ſtill continued to proſecute with the ſame Diligence, the Deſign they had formed of quitting their Country. When they had completed their Preparations, they ſet fire to all their Towns, to the Number of twelve; to their Boroughs and Villages, which amounted to four hundred; and

to their other private Buildings. They likewiſe burnt all their Corn, except what they had reſolved to carry along with them; that having no Hope of returning to their own Country, they might be the more diſpoſed to confront all Dangers. Each Man had Orders to carry out with him Proviſions for three Months. The *Rauraci*, *Tulingians*, and *Latobrigians*, neighbouring Nations, being perſuaded to follow the ſame Counſels, likewiſe ſet fire to their Towns and Villages, and joined with them in the Expedition. The *Boians* too, who had formerly inhabited beyond the *Rhine*, and paſſing over into *Noricum*, had ſettled in that Country, and poſſeſſed themſelves of *Noreia* its capital City, were aſſociated into the Deſign.

V. THERE were only two Ways by which they could march out of their own Country: One through the Territories of the *Sequani*, between Mount *Jura* and the *Rhone*, narrow and difficult, inſomuch that in ſome Places a ſingle File of Waggons could hardly paſs. The impending Mountain was beſides very high and ſteep, ſo that a handful of Men was ſufficient to ſtop them. The other lay through our Province, far eaſier and readier; becauſe the *Rhone*, which flows between the Confines of the *Helvetians* and *Allobrogians*, a People lately ſubjected to the *Romans*, was in ſome Places fordable: And *Geneva*, a frontier Town of the *Allobrogians*, adjoining to the Territories of the *Helvetians*, had a Bridge belonging to this laſt People. They therefore doubted not, either of perſuading the *Allobrogians*, who as yet ſeemed to bear no great Affection to the People of *Rome*; or at leaſt of obliging them by Force, to grant them a Paſſage through their Territories. Every Thing being now ready for the Expedition, they appointed a Day for their general Rendezvous on the Banks of the *Rhone*. The Day fixed on was the Twenty-eighth of *March*, in the Conſulſhip of *L. Piſo* and *A. Gabinius*.

VI. CÆSAR having Notice of theſe Proceedings, and that it was the Deſign of the *Helvetians* to attempt a Paſſage through the Province, haſtened his Departure from *Rome*; and poſting by great Journeys into farther *Gaul*, came to *Geneva*. He began with breaking down the

the Bridge over the *Rhone*; and as there was at that Time but one *Roman* Legion in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, he ordered great Levies to be made throughout the whole Province. The *Helvetians* being informed of his Arrival, deputed ſeveral Noblemen of the firſt Rank, with *Numeius* and *Verodoctius* at their Head, to wait upon him in the Name of the State, and repreſent, "That "they meant not to offer the leaſt Injury to the *Roman* "Province; that Neceſſity alone had determined them "to the Deſign of paſſing through it, becauſe they had "no other Way by which to direct their March; that "they therefore intreated they might have his Per-"miſſion for that Purpoſe." But *Cæſar*, bearing in mind, that *L. Caſſius* the Conſul had been ſlain, and his Army routed, and made to paſs under the Yoke by the *Helvetians*, did not think proper to grant their Requeſt. Neither could he perſuade himſelf, that Men ſo ill affected to the People of *Rome*, if permitted to paſs through the Province, would abſtain from Acts of Hoſtility and Violence. However, that he might gain Time, till the Troops he had ordered to be raiſed could aſſemble; he told the Ambaſſadors he would conſider of their Demand, and that if they returned by the Nineteenth of *April*, they ſhould have his final Anſwer. Meanwhile with the Legion he then had, and the Soldiers that came in to him from all Parts of the Province, he ran a Wall ſixteen Feet high, and nineteen Miles in Length, with a Ditch, from the Lake *Lemanus* into which the *Rhone* diſcharges itſelf, to Mount *Jura*, which divides the Territories of the *Sequani* from the *Helvetians*. This Work finiſhed, he raiſed Redoubts from Space to Space, and manned them with Troops, that if the Enemy ſhould attempt to force a Paſſage, he might be in a Condition to hinder them. When the Day appointed came, and the Ambaſſadors returned for an Anſwer, he told them; that he could not, conſiſtent with the Uſage and Behaviour of the People of *Rome* on the like Occaſions, grant any Troops a Paſſage through the Province; and ſhould they attempt it by Force, he let them ſee he was prepared to oppoſe them.

VII. THE *Helvetians*, driven from this Hope, endeadeavoured to force the Paſſage of the River; ſome with Boats coupled together, or Floats which they had pre-

pared in great Numbers; others by the Fords of the *Rhone*, where was the leaſt Depth of Water; ſometimes by Day, but oftener in the Night: but being repulſed by the Strength of the Works, the Concourſe of the Troops, and the Diſcharge of Darts, they at laſt abandoned the Attempt. There was ſtill one Way left through the Territories of the *Sequani*, by which however, without the Conſent of the Natives, they could not march, becauſe of the Narrowneſs of the Paſs. Finding they were not able to prevail by their own Application, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Dumnorix* the *Æduan*, that through his Interceſſion they might obtain this Favour of the *Sequani*. *Dumnorix*, by his Popularity and Generoſity, had great Influence with the *Sequani*, and was alſo well affected to the *Helvetians*, becauſe from among them he had married the Daughter of *Orgetorix*. Beſides, urged by ambitious Views, he was framing to himſelf Schemes of Power, and wanted to have as many States as poſſible bound to him by Offices of Kindneſs. He therefore charged himſelf with the Negociation, obtained for the *Helvetians* the Liberty of paſſing through the Territories of the *Sequani*, and engaged the two Nations mutually to give Hoſtages. The *Sequani*, not to moleſt the *Helvetians* in their March; and the *Helvetians*, to paſs without offering any Inſult or Injury to the Country.

VIII. CÆSAR ſoon had Intelligence of their March, and that they now deſigned to paſs through the Country of the *Sequani* and *Æduans* into the Territories of the *Santones*, which border upon thoſe of the *Toloſatians*, a State that makes Part of the *Roman* Province. Should this happen, he foreſaw many Inconveniencies likely to ariſe, from the Neighbourhood of a warlike and diſaffected People, in an open and plentiful Country. For theſe Reaſons he gave the Command of the new Works he had raiſed to *T. Labienus* his Lieutenant, and he himſelf haſtened by great Journeys into *Italy*. There he raiſed two Legions, and drew three more, that were cantoned round *Aquileia*, out of their Winter-quarters; and with theſe five Legions, took the neareſt Way over the *Alps* into farther *Gaul*. The *Centrones*, *Graioceli*, and *Caturigians*, ſeizing the higher Grounds, endeavoured to oppoſe his March. But having repulſed them in ſeveral Encounters, he in ſeven Days after ſetting

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out from *Ocelum*, a City in the extreme Confines of the nearer Province, arrived among the *Vocontians*, whoſe Territories lie within the farther Province. Thence he led his Army into the Country of the *Allobrogians*; and croſſing their Territories, entered upon the Lands of the *Seguſians*. Theſe are the firſt on the other Side the *Rhone*, beyond the Boundaries of the *Roman* Province.

IX. The *Helvetians* had by this Time marched their Forces through the narrow Paſs of Mount *Jura*, and the Territories of the *Sequani*; and were come into the Country of the *Æduans*, plundering their Lands. The *Æduans*, unable to defend themſelves and Poſſeſſions from the Violence of their Enemies, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* to requeſt Aid. They told him, "That ſuch "at all Times had been their Merit with the People "of *Rome*, that they might challenge greater Regard, "than to have their Lands laid waſte, their Children "led into Captivity, and their Towns aſſaulted and "taken, almoſt in the very Sight of a *Roman* Army." At the ſame time alſo the *Ambarri*, Friends and Allies of the *Æduans*, ſent to inform him: "That compelled "to abandon the open Country, they could hardly de-"fend their Towns from the Rage of the Enemy." The *Allobrogians*, likewiſe, who had Dwellings and Poſſeſſions beyond the *Rhone*, fled to him for Protection, and aſſured him: "That there was nothing left them "but a naked and deſolate Country." Whereupon *Cæſar*, moved by theſe Complaints and Remonſtrances, reſolved not to wait 'till the Fortunes of his Allies ſhould be conſumed, and the *Helvetians* arrive in the Territories of the *Santones*.

X. The River *Arar* flows into the *Rhone*, through the Confines of the *Æduans* and *Sequani*, with a Current incredibly ſmooth and gentle, inſomuch that it is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh by the Eye, which Way its Waters glide. The *Helvetians* were at this Time employed in paſſing it on Floats and a Bridge of Boats. When *Cæſar* was informed by his Spies, that three Parts of their Forces were got over the River, and that the fourth ſtill remained on this Side; he left his Camp about Midnight with three Legions, and came up with the Party of the Enemy that had not yet paſſed. As he found

found them unprepared, and incumbered with their Baggage, he attacked them immediately, and killed a great Number on the Spot. The reſt fled, and ſheltered themſelves in the neareſt Woods. This was called the *Tigurine* Canton, being one of the four into which the whole Body of the *Helvetians* are divided. This very Canton, in the Memory of our Fathers, marching out of their own Territories, had vanquiſhed and killed the Conſul *L. Caſſius*, and obliged his Army to paſs under the Yoke. Thus, whether by Chance or the Direction of the immortal Gods, that Part of the *Helvetian* State which had brought ſo ſignal a Calamity upon the *Roman* People, were the firſt to feel the Weight of their Reſentment. In this *Cæſar* avenged not only the publick, but likewiſe his own domeſtick Injuries; becauſe in the ſame Battle with *Caſſius*, was ſlain alſo *L. Piſo* his Lieutenant, the Grandfather of *L. Piſo*, *Cæſar*'s Father-in-law.

XI. AFTER this Battle, that he might come up with the remaining Forces of the *Helvetians*, he cauſed a Bridge to be made acroſs the *Arar*, and carried over his Army. The *Helvetians*, diſmayed at his ſudden Approach, as he had ſpent only one Day in paſſing the River, which they had with the utmoſt Difficulty accompliſhed in twenty, ſent an Embaſſy to him, at the Head of which was *Divico*, who had been General of the *Helvetians* in the War againſt *Caſſius*. He addreſſed *Cæſar* to this Effect: "That if the People of *Rome* "were diſpoſed to conclude a Peace with the *Helve-* "*tians*, they would go and ſettle in whatever Country "*Cæſar* ſhould think fit to aſſign them: but if they "perſiſted in the Deſign of making War, he would do "well to call to mind the ancient Diſgrace of the "*Roman* People, and the Valour of the *Helvetic* Na- "tion: That in having ſurpriſed one of the Cantons, "while the others, who had paſſed the River, could not "return to ſuccour it, there was no Reaſon to be much "elated on the Advantage, nor to deſpiſe his Enemies: "That the *Helvetians* had learned of their Anceſtors, "to depend more on Courage than on Cunning and "Ambuſhes; and it therefore imported him to beware, "not to render the Place where they were then poſted "famous and memorable with Poſterity, by a new

"Defeat

"Defeat of the *Roman* People, and the Deſtruction of "their Army."

XII. To this *Cæſar* replied: "That he therefore "the leſs doubted of the Iſſue, as he well knew all the "Circumſtances of the Affair to which the *Helvetians* "referred; and reſented them the more ſtrongly, as "they had happened undeſervedly to the *Roman* People: "That had they been conſcious of any Injury on their "Side, it would have been eaſy for them to have kept "upon their Guard; but herein were they deceived, "that neither did they know of any Thing which "might give them Cauſe of Fear, nor could they ap-"prehend they had any Thing to fear without Cauſe: "That ſuppoſing him inclined to overlook old Injuries, "could they expect he would alſo forget their late In-"ſults, in attempting, againſt his Will, to force a Paſ-"ſage through the Province, and laying waſte the Ter-"ritories of the *Æduans*, *Ambarri*, and *Allobrogians*? "That their boaſting ſo inſolently of their Victory, "and wondering that Vengeance had been deferred ſo "long, were a new Set of Provocations. But they "ought to remember, that the immortal Gods were "ſometimes wont to grant long Impunity, and a great "Run of Proſperity to Men, whom they purſued with "the Puniſhment of their Crimes, that by the ſad Re-"verſe of their Condition, Vengeance might fall the "heavier. Though theſe were juſt Grounds of Reſent-"ment, yet, if they would ſatisfy the *Æduans* and their "Allies for the Ravages committed in their Country, "as likewiſe the *Allobrogians*, and give Hoſtages for the "Performance of their Promiſes, he was ready to con-"clude a Peace with them." *Divico* replied: "That "ſuch were the Inſtitutions of the *Helvetians*, derived "from their Anceſtors, that they had been accuſtomed "to receive, not to give Hoſtages; and that no body "knew it better than the *Romans*." Having returned this Anſwer, he departed.

XIII. The next Day they decamped. *Cæſar* did the ſame; and ordered all the Cavalry, whom, to the Num-ber of four thouſand, he had raiſed in the Province, and drawn together from the *Æduans* and their Allies, to go before, and obſerve the Enemy's March. But

preſſing too cloſe upon their Rear, they were obliged to engage in a diſadvantageous Place, and loſt a few Men. The *Helvetians*, encouraged by this Succeſs, as having, with no more than five hundred Horſe, repulſed ſo great a Multitude, began to face us more boldly, and ſometimes to ſally from their Rear, and attack our Van. *Cæſar* kept back his Men from fighting; thinking it ſufficient for the preſent, to ſtraiten the Enemy's Forages, and prevent their ravaging and plundering the Country. In this Manner the Armies marched for fifteen Days together; inſomuch that between our Van, and the Rear of the *Helvetians*, the Diſtance did not exceed five or ſix Miles.

XIV. IN the mean time *Cæſar* daily preſſed the *Æduans* for the Corn which they had promiſed in the Name of the Publick. For by Reaſon of the Coldneſs of the Climate, (*Gaul*, as we have ſaid, lying conſiderably to the North,) he was ſo far from finding the Corn ripe in the Fields, that there was not even ſufficient Forage for the Horſes. Neither could he make uſe of thoſe Supplies which came to him by the Way of the *Arar*, becauſe the *Helvetians* had turned off from the River, and he was determined not to leave them. The *Æduans* put him off from Day to Day with fair Speeches; ſometimes pretending that it was bought up, and ready to be ſent; ſometimes, that it was actually on the Way. But when he ſaw no End of theſe Delays, and that the Day approached for delivering out Corn to the Army; calling together their Chiefs, of whom he had a great Number in his Camp; among the reſt *Divitiacus*, and *Liſcus*, their ſupreme Magiſtrate, who is ſtiled *Vergobret* in the Language of the Country, and created yearly, with a Power of Life and Death; he ſeverely inveighed againſt them: "That at a Time when Corn "was neither to be procured for Money, nor had out "of the Fields, in ſo urgent a Conjuncture, and while "the Enemy was ſo near, they had not taken care to "ſupply him;" adding, "That as he had engaged in "that War chiefly at their Requeſt, he had the greater "Reaſon to complain of their abandoning him."

XV. UPON this, *Liſcus*, moved by *Cæſar*'s Speech, thought proper to declare what he had hitherto concealed;

cealed: "That there were ſome among them whoſe "Authority with the People was very great; and who, "though but private Men, had yet more Power than the "Magiſtrates themſelves: That theſe, by artful and "ſeditious Speeches, alarmed the Multitude, and per-"ſuaded them to keep back their Corn; inſinuating, "that if their own State could not obtain the Sove-"reignty of *Gaul*, it would be better for them to obey "the *Helvetians*, *Gauls* like themſelves, than the *Ro-"mans*; there not being the leaſt Reaſon to queſtion, "but theſe laſt, after having ſubdued the *Helvetians*, "would, along with the reſt of *Gaul*, deprive the *Æ-"duans* alſo of their Liberty: That the very ſame Men "gave Intelligence to the Enemy of all the Deſigns "of the *Romans*, and whatſoever was tranſacted in their "Camp; his Authority not being ſufficient to reſtrain "them: Nay, that though compelled by Neceſſity, he "had now made a Diſcovery of the whole Matter to "*Cæſar*, he was not ignorant of the Danger to which "he expoſed himſelf by ſuch a Conduct; and had, for "that Reaſon, choſen to be ſilent, as long as he "thought it conſiſtent with the Safety of the State." *Cæſar* perceived, that *Dumnorix*, the Brother of *Divitiacus*, was pointed at by this Speech. But as he was unwilling that theſe Matters ſhould be debated in the Preſence of ſo many Witneſſes, he ſpeedily diſmiſſed the Council, retaining only *Liſcus*. He then queſtioned him apart on what he had juſt ſaid, and was anſwered with greater Courage and Freedom. He put the ſame Queſtions to others alſo in private, who all confirmed the Truth of what had been told him: "That *Dum-"norix* was a Man of an enterprifing Spirit, fond of "Revolutions, and in great Favour with the Peo-"ple, becauſe of his Liberality: That he had for "many Years farmed the Cuſtoms, and other publick "Revenues of the *Æduans*, at a very low Price; no "one daring to bid againſt him: That by this Means "he had conſiderably increaſed his Eſtate, and was en-"abled to extend his Bounty to all about him: That "he conſtantly kept a great Number of Horſemen in "pay, who attended him wherever he went: That his "Intereſt was not confined merely to his own Coun-"try, but extended likewiſe to the neighbouring States: "That the better to ſupport this Intereſt, he had mar-

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" ried his Mother to a Man of principal Rank and Au-
" thority among the *Biturigians*, had himſelf taken a
" Wife from among the *Helvetians*, and matched his
" Siſter and the reſt of his Kindred into other the moſt
" powerful States: That he favoured and wiſhed well
" to the *Helvetians* on the Score of that Alliance, and
" perſonally hated *Cæſar*, and the *Romans*, becauſe by
" their Arrival his Power had been diminiſhed, and
" *Divitiacus* his Brother reſtored to his former Credit
" and Authority: That ſhould the *Romans* be over-
" thrown, he was in great hopes of obtaining the So-
" vereignty by Means of the *Helvetians*. On the con-
" trary, ſhould they prevail, he muſt not only give up
" theſe Hopes, but even all Expectation of retaining
" the Influence he had already acquired." *Cæſar* like-
wiſe found upon Inquiry, that in the laſt Engagement of the Horſe, *Dumnorix*, who commanded the *Æduan* Cavalry, was the firſt that fled, and by that Flight ſtruck a Terror into the reſt of the Troops.

XVI. THESE Things appearing, and other undoubted Circumſtances concurring to heighten his Suſpicions: That he had procured for the *Helvetians* a Paſſage through the Territories of the *Sequani*: That he had effected an Exchange of Hoſtages between the two Nations: That he had done all this not only without Permiſſion from him, or his own State, but even without their Knowledge and Participation: That he was accuſed by the chief Magiſtrate of the *Æduans*: They ſeemed altogether a ſufficient Ground to *Cæſar*, why he ſhould either himſelf take cognizance of the Matter, or order the State to proceed againſt him. One Thing, however, ſtill kept him in Suſpenſe; the Conſideration of his Brother *Divitiacus*, a Man of ſingular Probity, Juſtice, and Moderation; a faithful Ally of the *Roman* People, and on the Foot of Friendſhip with *Cæſar*: That he might not therefore give offence to one for whom he had ſo great a Value: before he took any farther Step in the Affair, he ſent for *Divitiacus*; and having removed the uſual Interpreters, addreſſed him by *C. Valerius Procillus*, a Prince of the Province of *Gaul*, his intimate Friend, in whom he repoſed the greateſt Confidence. He put him in mind of what had been ſaid of *Dumnorix* in his own Preſence in the Council

of

of the *Gauls*, and repeated the freſh Complaints made to himſelf againſt him in private. He urged, and even requeſted, that without Offence to him, he might either proceed againſt him himſelf, or order the State to take the Matter under Conſideration. *Divitiacus*, embracing *Cæſar* with many Tears, begged him not to take any ſevere Reſolution againſt his Brother. "He was ſenſible," he told him, "of the Truth of all that was "alleged, and had himſelf more Reaſon to be diſſatisfied than any Man: That at a Time when his "Authority was great, both at Home and in the other "Provinces of *Gaul*, and his Brother but little conſidered on Account of his Youth, he had uſed his "Intereſt to bring him into Credit: That though "*Dumnorix* had made uſe of that Power acquired by "his Means, to diminiſh his Favour with the People, "and even to urge on his Ruin, he nevertheleſs ſtill "found himſelf ſwayed by his Affection, and a Regard "for the Eſteem of the Publick: That ſhould his Brother meet with any rigorous Treatment from *Cæſar*, "while he himſelf poſſeſſed ſo large a Share of his Favour, all Men would believe it done with his Conſent, and the Minds of the *Gauls* be for ever alienated from him." *Cæſar*, obſerving his Concern, took him by the Hand, comforted him, deſired him to make an end of ſpeaking, aſſured him, that ſuch was his Regard for him, he would for his Sake overlook not only his own Injuries, but even thoſe of the Republick. He then ſent for *Dumnorix*, called him into his Brother's Preſence, declared the Subjects of Complaint he had againſt him, mentioned what he himſelf knew, what was laid to his Charge by the State, and admoniſhed him for the future to avoid all Cauſe of Suſpicion; adding, that he would forgive what was paſt for the Sake of his Brother *Divitiacus*. He appointed, however, ſome to have an Eye over him, that he might be informed of his Behaviour, and of thoſe he converſed with.

XVII. THE ſame Day, having learnt by his Scouts, that the Enemy had poſted themſelves under a Hill about eight Miles from his Camp, he ſent out a Party to view the Ground, and examine the Aſcent of the Hill. Theſe reporting it to be extremely eaſy, he detached

tached *T. Labienus* his Lieutenant about Midnight, with two Legions, and the ſame Guides who had examined the Ground the Day before; and having acquainted him with his Deſign, ordered him to get Poſſeſſion of the Top of the Hill. He himſelf ſet out three Hours after with the reſt of his Army, by the ſame Route the *Helvetians* had taken, and ſent all the Cavalry before. *P. Conſidius*, an Officer of Reputation, who had ſerved in the Army of *L. Sylla*, and afterwards that of *M. Craſſus*, advanced with a ſmall Party to get Intelligence.

XVIII. AT Day-break, when *Labienus* had got poſſeſſion of the Top of the Hill, and *Cæſar* was within a Mile and a half of the Enemies Camp; while they in the mean time, as he afterwards learnt from his Priſoners, knew nothing either of his, or *Labienus*'s Approach: *Conſidius* came galloping back, and aſſured *Cæſar*, that the Summit of the Mountain was poſſeſſed by the Enemy, and that he had ſeen the *Gallick* Arms and Enſigns there. *Cæſar* retired to a neighbouring Hill, and drew up his Men in Order of Battle. *Labienus*, whoſe Inſtructions were, not to engage the Enemy till he ſaw the reſt of the Army approaching their Camp, that the Attack might be made on all Sides at the ſame Time; having gained the Top of the Hill, waited the Arrival of our Men, without ſtirring from his Poſt. At length, when the Day was far ſpent, *Cæſar* underſtood by his Spies, that *Labienus* was in poſſeſſion of the Mountain, that the Enemy had decamped, and that *Conſidius*, blinded by Fear, had reported what he never ſaw. The reſt of that Day he followed the Enemy at the uſual Diſtance, and encamped within three Miles of them.

XIX. THE Day after, as the Time drew near for delivering out Corn to the Army, and as he was not above eighteen Miles from *Bibracte*, the Capital of the *Æduans*, where he hoped to find ſufficient Supplies for the Subſiſtence of his Troops; he quitted the Purſuit of the *Helvetians*, and directed his March thither. The Enemy being informed of this Motion by ſome Deſerters, who had belonged to the Troop of *L. Emilius*, an Officer of Horſe among the *Gauls*; and either aſcribing it to Fear in the *Romans*, the rather, becauſe they had not

not attacked them the Day before, though poſſeſſed of the higher Ground; or flattering themſelves with the Hopes of intercepting their Proviſions: all on a ſudden changed their Reſolution, and inſtead of continuing their former March, began to purſue and haraſs our Rear. *Cæſar* obſerving this, retired to a neighbouring Hill, and ſent his Cavalry to ſuſtain the Charge of the Enemy. In the mean time he drew up his four veteran Legions in three Lines towards the Middle of the Hill; in ſuch a Manner, that the two Legions newly raiſed in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and all the Auxiliaries were poſted above them; and the whole Mountain was covered with his Troops. He ordered all the Baggage to be brought into one Place, and committed it to the Charge of thoſe who ſtood on the upper Part of the Hill. The *Helvetians* following with all their Forces, drew their Carriages likewiſe into one Place; and having repulſed our Cavalry, and formed themſelves into a Phalanx, advanced in cloſe Order to attack our Van.

XX. Cæsar having firſt ſent away his own Horſe, and afterwards thoſe of all his Officers, that by making the Danger equal, no Hope might remain but in Victory; encouraged his Men, and began the Charge. The *Romans*, who fought with the Advantage of the higher Ground, pouring their Darts upon the Enemy from above, eaſily broke their Phalanx; and then fell upon them Sword in Hand. What greatly incumbered the *Gauls* in this Fight was, that their Targets being many of them pierced and pinned together by the Javelins of the *Romans*, they could neither draw out the Javelins, becauſe forked at the Extremity, nor act with Agility in the Battle, becauſe deprived in a manner of the Uſe of their left Arms: ſo that many, after long toſſing their Targets to and fro to no Purpoſe to diſengage them, choſe rather to throw them away, and expoſe themſelves without Defence to the Weapons of their Enemies. At length however, being overpowered with Wounds, they began to give ground; and obſerving a Mountain at about a Mile's Diſtance, gradually retreated thither. Having gained the Mountain, and our Men purſuing them; the *Boians* and *Tulingians*, who to the Number of fifteen thouſand covered their Retreat, and ſerved as

a Guard to their Rear, falling upon the *Romans* in Flank as they advanced, began to ſurround them. This being perceived by the *Helvetians*, who had retired to the Mountain, they again returned upon us, and renewed the Fight. The *Romans* facing about, charged the Enemy in three Bodies; their firſt and ſecond Line making head againſt thoſe who had been forced to retreat, and their third ſuſtaining the Aſſault of the *Boians* and *Tulingians*. The Battle was bloody, and continued for a long time doubtful; but the Enemy being at laſt obliged to give way, one Part withdrew towards the Hill whither they had before retreated, and the reſt ſheltered themſelves behind the Carriages. During this whole Action, though it laſted from one o'clock in the Afternoon till Evening, no Man ſaw the Back of an Enemy. The Fight was renewed with great Obſtinacy at the Carriages, and continued till the Night was far ſpent: For the *Gauls* making uſe of their Carts by way of a Rampart, darted their Javelins upon us from above; and ſome thruſting their Lances through the Wheels of the Waggons, wounded our Men. After a long Diſpute, we at laſt got poſſeſſion of their Baggage and Camp. A Son and Daughter of *Orgetorix* were found among the Priſoners. Only an hundred and twenty thouſand of the Enemy ſurvived this Defeat; who retreating all that Night, and continuing their March without Intermiſſion, arrived on the fourth Day in the Territories of the *Lingones*. The *Romans* mean-while made no Attempt to purſue them; the Care of their Wounded, and of burying their Dead, obliging them to continue upon the Spot three Days. *Cæſar* ſent Letters and Meſſengers to the *Lingones*, not to furniſh them with Corn or other Neceſſaries, if they would avoid drawing upon themſelves the ſame Treatment with the Fugitives; and after a Repoſe of three Days, ſet forward to purſue them with all his Forces.

XXI. THE *Helvetians*, compelled by an extreme Want of all Things, ſent Ambaſſadors to him to treat about a Surrender. Theſe meeting him on the Way, and throwing themſelves at his Feet; in ſuppliant Terms, and with many Tears, begged for Peace. *Cæſar* gave them no expreſs Anſwer at that time; only ordered the *Helvetians* to wait for him in the Place where they

then

then were, which they did accordingly. Upon his Arrival, he demanded Hoſtages, their Arms, and the Slaves who had deſerted to their Camp. As the Execution of all this took up ſome Time; about four thouſand Men of the Canton called *Urbigenus*, either fearing Puniſhment ſhould they deliver up their Arms, or induced by the Hopes of eſcaping; becauſe in ſo great a Multitude they fancied their Flight might be concealed, nay perhaps remain altogether unknown; ſtole out of the Camp in the beginning of the Night, and took the Route of *Germany* and the *Rhine*. *Cæſar* being informed of it, diſpatched Orders to thoſe through whoſe Territories they muſt paſs, to ſtop and ſend them back wherever they ſhould be found, if they meant to acquit themſelves of favouring their Eſcape. He was obeyed, and the fugitive *Urbigenians* were treated as Enemies. All the reſt, upon delivering the Hoſtages that were required of them, their Arms, and the Deſerters, were admitted to a Surrender. The *Helvetians*, *Tulingians*, and *Latobrigians*, had Orders to return to their own Country, and rebuild the Towns and Villages they had burnt. And becauſe having loſt all their Corn, they were utterly without the Means of ſubſiſting themſelves, he gave it in charge to the *Allobrogians* to ſupply them. *Cæſar*'s Deſign in this was, that the Lands deſerted by the *Helvetians* might not be left vacant, leſt the *Germans* beyond the *Rhine*, drawn by the Goodneſs of the Soil, ſhould be tempted to ſeize them, and thereby become Neighbours to the *Allobrogians* and the *Roman* Province in *Gaul*. The *Boians*, at the Requeſt of the *Æduans*, who eſteemed them highly on account of their Valour, were permitted to ſettle in their Territories; where they aſſigned them Lands, and by degrees admitted them to all the Rights and Privileges of Natives. A Roll was found in the *Helvetian* Camp, written in *Greek* Characters, and brought to *Cæſar*. It contained a Liſt of all who had ſet out upon this Expedition capable of bearing Arms; likewiſe of the Children, Women, and old Men. By this it appeared, that the Number of the *Helvetians* was two Hundred and ſixty-three Thouſand, of the *Tulingians* thirty-ſix Thouſand, of the *Latobrigians* fourteen Thouſand, of the *Rauraci* twenty-three Thouſand, of the *Boians* thirty-two Thouſand; in all three hundred and ſixty-eight

Thouſand, of which ninety-two Thouſand were fit to bear Arms. A Review being made by *Cæſar*'s Command, of thoſe that returned to their own Country, the Number was found to be an hundred and ten Thouſand.

XXII. THE War with the *Helvetians* being ended, Ambaſſadors from all Parts of *Gaul*, Men of principal Conſideration in their ſeveral States, waited upon *Cæſar* to congratulate his Succeſs. They told him; "That "tho' they were ſenſible the People of *Rome*, in the War "againſt the *Helvetians*, meant chiefly to avenge the "Injuries formerly received from that Nation, yet had "the Event of it been highly advantageous to all *Gaul*; "becauſe in a Time of full Proſperity, the *Helvetians* "had left their Territories with Deſign to make War "upon the other States; that having brought them un- "der Subjection, they might chooſe themſelves a Habi- "tation at pleaſure, and render all the reſt of the Coun- "try tributary." They requeſted, "That they might "have his Permiſſion to hold by a Day prefixed, a ge- "neral Aſſembly of all the Provinces of *Gaul*; their be- "ing ſome Things they wanted to diſcuſs and propoſe to "him, which concerned the whole Nation in common." Leave being granted accordingly, they fixed the Day for the Aſſembly, and bound themſelves by an Oath, not to diſcover their Deliberations to any, unleſs named for that Purpoſe by general Conſent.

XXIII. Upon the riſing of the Council, the ſame Chiefs of the States as before, returned to *Cæſar*, and begged to be admitted to confer with him in private, of Matters that regarded their own and the common Safety. Their Deſire being granted, they all threw themſelves at his Feet, and with Tears repreſented; "That it was "of no leſs Importance to them to have their preſent De- "liberations kept ſecret, than to ſucceed in the Requeſt "they were going to make; becauſe ſhould any Diſco- "very happen, they were in danger of being expoſed to the utmoſt Cruelties." *Divitiacus* the *Æduan* ſpoke in the name of the reſt. He told him; "That two Factions "divided all *Gaul*; one headed by the *Æduans*, the other "by the *Averni*; that after a Contention of many Years "between theſe for the Superiority, the *Averni* and *Se-*

quani

" *quani* came at laſt to a Reſolution of calling in the *Ger-*
" *mans:* That at firſt only fifteen Thouſand had croſſed
" the *Rhine*; but being a wild and ſavage People, and
" greatly liking the Cuſtoms, Manners, and plenteous
" Country of the *Gauls*, others ſoon followed; inſomuch
" that at preſent there were not leſs than an hundred and
" twenty Thouſand of them in *Gaul:* That the *Æduans*,
" and their Allies, had frequently tried their Strength
" againſt them in Battle; but by a Succeſſion of Defeats
" had loſt all their Nobility, Senate, and Cavalry: That
" broken by theſe Calamities and Loſſes, though formerly
" they had held the firſt Sway in *Gaul*, both by their own
" Valour, and the Favour and Friendſhip of the People
" of *Rome*, yet now they were reduced to the Neceſſity
" of ſending their principal Noblemen as Hoſtages to the
" *Sequani*, and of obliging themſelves by an Oath, nei-
" ther to demand their Hoſtages back, nor implore the
" Aſſiſtance of the *Roman* People, nor refuſe a perpetual
" Submiſſion to the Dominion and Authority of the *Se-*
" *quani:* That he alone of all the *Æduans* had refuſed to
" take the Oath, or give his Children for Hoſtages, and
" on that Account had fled his Country, and came to
" *Rome* to implore the Aſſiſtance of the Senate; as being
" the only Man in the State, whom neither Obligation
" of Oath, nor the Reſtraint of Hoſtages, withheld
" from ſuch a Step: That after all it had fared worſe
" with the victorious *Sequani*, than with the vanquiſhed
" *Æduans*; becauſe *Arioviſtus*, King of the *Germans*, had
" ſeated himſelf in their Territories, had ſeized a Third
" of their Lands, the moſt fertile in all *Gaul*, and now
" ordered them to give up another Third in behalf of the
" *Harudes*, who had paſſed the *Rhine* a few Months be-
" fore with twenty-four Thouſand Men, and wanted a
" Settlement and Habitations: That in a few Years all
" the native *Gauls* would be driven from their Territo-
" ries, and all the *Germans* tranſplant themſelves over
" the *Rhine*, the Climate being far ſuperior to that of
" their own Country, and the Way of living not admit-
" ting a Compariſon: That *Arioviſtus*, ever ſince the
" Defeat of the *Gauls* at *Amagetobria*, had behaved with
" unheard-of Tyranny and Haughtineſs, demanding the
" Children of the firſt Nobility as Hoſtages, and exerci-
" ſing all Manner of Cruelties upon them, if his Orders

" were not implicitly followed in every thing: That he " was a Man of a ſavage, paſſionate, and imperious " Character, whoſe Government was no longer to be " borne; and unleſs ſome Reſource was found in *Cæſar* " and the People of *Rome*, the *Gauls* muſt all follow the " Example of the *Helvetians*, and like them abandon " their Country, in order to find ſome other Habitation " and Settlement, remote from the *Germans*, wherever " Fortune ſhould point it out to them: That were theſe " Complaints and Repreſentations to come to the Know- " ledge of *Arioviſtus*, he made no doubt of his inflicting " the ſevereſt Puniſhments upon all the Hoſtages in his " Hands: but that it would be eaſy for *Cæſar*, by his " own Authority, and that of the Army he commanded; " by the Fame of his late Victory, and the Terror of the " *Roman* Name; to hinder any more *Germans* from paſ- " ſing the *Rhine*, and to defend *Gaul* from the Inſults of " *Arioviſtus*."

XXIV. WHEN *Divitiacus* had made an end of ſpeak- ing, all who were preſent, with many Tears, began to implore *Cæſar*'s Aid. He obſerved that the *Sequani* alone did nothing of all this; but penſive, and with downcaſt Looks, kept their Eyes fixed upon the Ground. Won- dering what might be the Cauſe, he queſtioned them up- on it. Still they made him no Anſwer, but continued ſilent, as before, with the ſame Air of Dejection. When he had interrogated them ſeveral Times, without being able to obtain one Word in return, *Divitiacus* the *Æduan* again reſumed the Diſcourſe, and obſerved: " That the " Condition of the *Sequani* was by ſo much more deplo- " rable and wretched than that of the reſt of the *Gauls*; " as they alone durſt not, even in ſecret, complain of their " Wrongs, or apply any where for Redreſs; and no leſs " dreaded the Cruelty of *Arioviſtus*, when abſent, than " if actually preſent before their Eyes: That other States " had it ſtill in their Power to eſcape by Flight; but the " *Sequani*, who had received him into their Territories, " and put him in poſſeſſion of all their Towns, were ex- " poſed upon Diſcovery to every kind of Torment." *Cæ- ſar* being made acquainted with theſe Things, encouraged the *Gauls*, and promiſed to have a regard to their Com- plaints. He told them: " That he was in great Hopes

" *Arioviſtus*,

" *Arioviſtus*, induced by his Interceſſion, and the Autho-
" rity of the People of *Rome*, would put an end to his
" Oppreſſions." Having returned this Anſwer, he diſ-
miſſed the Aſſembly.

XXV. Many urgent Reaſons occurred upon this Occaſion to *Cæſar*, why he ſhould conſider ſeriouſly of the Propoſals of the *Gauls*, and redreſs the Injuries of which they complained. He ſaw the *Æduans*, Friends and Allies of the People of *Rome*, held in Subjection and Servitude by the *Germans*, and compelled to give Hoſtages to *Arioviſtus* and the *Sequani*; which, in the preſent flouriſhing State of the *Roman* Affairs, ſeemed highly diſhonourable both to himſelf and the Commonwealth. He ſaw it likewiſe of dangerous Conſequence, to ſuffer the *Germans* by little and little to tranſport themſelves over the *Rhine*, and ſettle in great Multitudes in *Gaul*. For that fierce and ſavage People, having once poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole Country of *Gaul*, were but too likely, after the Example of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*, to break into the *Roman* Province, and thence advance to *Italy* itſelf; more eſpecially as the *Rhone* was the only Boundary by which the *Sequani* were divided from the Territories of the Republick. It therefore appeared neceſſary to provide without Delay againſt theſe Evils; and the rather, becauſe *Arioviſtus* was become ſo inſolent, and took ſo much upon him, that his Conduct was no longer to be endured.

XXVI. For theſe Reaſons he thought proper to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Arioviſtus*, to deſire he would appoint a Place for an Interview, that they might diſcourſe together about ſome publick Affairs of the higheſt Importance to them both, *Arioviſtus* replied: "That if he had wanted
" any thing of *Cæſar*, he would himſelf have waited on
" him for that Purpoſe; and if *Cæſar* had any thing to
" deſire of him, he muſt likewiſe come in perſon to de-
" mand it: That for his own part, he could neither
" venture into theſe Provinces of *Gaul* where *Cæſar*
" commanded without an Army, nor bring an Army
" into the Field without great Trouble and Expence:
" That he beſides wondered extremely, what Buſineſs
" either *Cæſar*, or the People of *Rome*, could have in his

" Diviſion of *Gaul*, which belonged to him by right of " Conqueſt." This Anſwer being reported to *Cæſar*, he again ſent an Embaſſy to him to this Effect: " That " ſince, notwithſtanding the great Obligations he lay " under both to himſelf and the People of *Rome*, in hav- " ing, during his Conſulſhip, been declared King and " Ally by the Senate; he yet manifeſted ſo little Ac- " knowledgment to either, as even to refuſe an Interview, " and decline treating of Affairs that regarded the com- " mon Intereſt; theſe were the Particulars he required " of him: Firſt, not to bring any more *Germans* over the " *Rhine* into *Gaul*. Secondly, to reſtore the Hoſtages he " had taken from the *Æduans*, and permit the *Sequani* " likewiſe to do the ſame. Laſtly, to forbear all Inju- " ries towards the *Æduans*, and neither make War upon " them nor their Allies. That his Compliance with " theſe Conditions would eſtabliſh a perpetual Friend- " ſhip and Amity between him and the People of *Rome*. " But if he refuſed Conditions ſo juſt; as the Senate " had decreed in the Conſulſhip of *M. Meſſala* and *M.* " *Piſo*, that whoever had the Charge of the Province of " *Gaul*, ſhould, as far as was conſiſtent with the Intereſt " of the Commonwealth, defend the *Æduans*, and the " other Allies of the People of *Rome*; he thought him- " ſelf bound not to overlook their juſt Complaints."

XXVII. To this *Arioviſtus* replied: " That by the " Laws of War, the Conqueror had a Right to impoſe " what Terms he pleaſed upon the Conquered: That " in conſequence of this, the People of *Rome* did not " govern the vanquiſhed by the Preſcriptions of another, " but according to their own Pleaſure: That if he did " not intermeddle with the *Roman* Conqueſts, but left " them to the free Enjoyment of their Rights, no more " ought they to concern themſelves in what regarded " him: That the *Æduans* having tried the Fortune of " War, had been overcome and rendered tributary; and " it would be the higheſt Injuſtice in *Cæſar* to offer at " diminiſhing his juſt Revenues: That he was reſolved " not to part with the Hoſtages the *Æduans* had put into " his Hands; but would nevertheleſs engage, neither to " make War upon them nor their Allies, provided they " obſerved the Treaty he had made with them, and re-

" gularly

" gularly paid the Tribute agreed upon; if otherwiſe, " the Title of Friends and Allies of the People of *Rome* " would be found to ſtand them but in little ſtead: That " as to *Cæſar*'s Menace of not overlooking the Com- " plaints of the *Æduans*, he would have him know, no " one had ever entered into a War with *Arioviſtus*, but " to his own Deſtruction: That he might when he " pleaſed bring it to a Trial, and would, he doubted not, " ſoon be made ſenſible what the invincible *Germans*, " trained up from their Infancy in the Exerciſe of Arms, " and who for fourteen Years together had never ſlept " under a Roof, were capable of atchieving."

XXVIII. AT the ſame time that *Cæſar* received this Anſwer, Ambaſſadors alſo arrived from the *Æduans* and *Treviri*. From the *Æduans*, to complain: " That the " *Harudes*, who had lately come over into *Gaul*, were " plundering their Territories; inſomuch that even by " their Submiſſions and Hoſtages they were not able to " obtain Peace of *Arioviſtus*." From the *Treviri*, to in- form him: " That an hundred Cantons of the *Suevians*, " headed by two Brothers, *Naſua* and *Cimberius*, were " arrived upon the Banks of the *Rhine*, with Deſign to " croſs that River." *Cæſar*, deeply affected with this Intelligence, determined to undertake the War without Delay, leſt this new Band of *Suevians*, joining the old Forces of *Arioviſtus*, ſhould enable him to make a greater Reſiſtance. Having therefore with all Diligence provided for the Subſiſtence of his Army, he advanced towards him by great Marches.

XXIX. THE third Day he was informed that *Arioviſtus* approached with all his Forces to take poſſeſſion of *Veſontio*, the Capital of the *Sequani*; and that he had already got three Days March beyond his own Territories. *Cæſar* judged it by all means neceſſary to prevent him in this Deſign, as the Town itſelf was not only full of all ſorts of warlike Ammunition, but likewiſe ſtrongly fortified by Nature, and commodiouſly ſituated for carrying on the War. For the River *Doux* forming a Circle round it, as if deſcribed with a pair of Compaſſes, leaves only an Interval of ſix hundred Feet, which is alſo inacceſſible by reaſon of a very high and ſteep Mountain, whoſe

whoſe Roots are waſhed on each Side by the River. This Mountain is ſhut in with a Wall, which forming a Citadel, joins it to the Town. Hither *Cæſar* marched Day and Night without Intermiſſion; and having poſſeſſed himſelf of the Place, put a Garriſon into it.

XXX. WHILST he tarried here a few Days, to ſettle the Order of his Convoys and Supplies, the Curioſity of our Men, and the Talk of the *Gauls*, (who proclaimed on all Occaſions the prodigious Stature of the *Germans*, their invincible Courage, and great Skill in Arms; inſomuch that in the frequent Encounters with them, they had found it impoſſible to withſtand their very Looks) ſpread ſuch a ſudden Terror through the whole Army, that they were not a little diſturbed by the Apprehenſions it occaſioned. This Fear firſt began amongſt the Military Tribunes, the Officers of the Allies, and others that had voluntarily followed *Cæſar* from *Rome*; who being but little acquainted with military Affairs, lamented the great Danger to which they fancied themſelves expoſed. Some of theſe, upon various Pretences, deſired leave to return. Others, out of Shame, and unwilling to incur the Suſpicion of Cowardice, continued in the Camp. But theſe laſt, incapable of putting on a cheerful Countenance, and at times even unable to ſuppreſs their Tears, ſculked in their Tents, either bemoaning their Fate, or diſcourſing with their Companions upon the common Danger. Wills were made all over the Camp, and the Conſternation began to ſeize even thoſe of more Experience, the veteran Soldiers, the Centurions, and the Officers of the Cavalry. Such among them as affected a greater Shew of Reſolution, ſaid it was not the Enemy they feared, but the narrow Paſſes and vaſt Foreſts that lay between them and *Arioviſtus*, and the Difficulty there would be in furniſhing the Army with Proviſions. Some even told *Cæſar*, that when he gave Orders for marching, the Army, attentive to nothing but their Fears, would refuſe to obey.

XXXI. CÆSAR obſerving the general Conſternation, called a Council of War; and having ſummoned all the Centurions of the Army to be preſent, inveighed againſt them with great Severity; for preſuming to enquire, or

at all concern themſelves, which Way, or on what Deſign they were to march. "*Arioviſtus*," he told them, "during his Conſulſhip, had earneſtly ſought the Alliance "of the *Roman* People. Why therefore ſhould any one "imagine, he would ſo raſhly and haſtily depart from "his Engagements? That on the contrary, he was himſelf firmly perſuaded, that as ſoon as he came to know "his Demands, and the equal Conditions he was about "to propoſe to him, he would be very far from rejecting either his Friendſhip, or that of the People of *Rome*. "But if urged on by Madneſs and Rage, he was reſolved upon War, what, after all, had they to be afraid "of? Or why ſhould they diſtruſt either their own Bravery, or his Care and Conduct? That they were to "deal with Enemies of whom Trial had been already "made in the Memory of their Fathers, when by the "Victory of *C. Marius* over the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*, "the Army itſelf acquired no leſs Glory than the General who commanded it: That Trial had likewiſe been "lately made of them in *Italy* in the Servile War, when "they had alſo the Advantage of being exerciſed in the "*Roman* Diſcipline; on which Occaſion it appeared, "how much Reſolution and Conſtancy were able to "effect; ſince they had vanquiſhed in the end thoſe very "Enemies armed and fluſhed with Victory, whom at "firſt they had without Cauſe dreaded even unarmed. "In fine, that they were the very ſame *Germans* with "whom the *Helvetians* had ſo often fought, not only in "in their own Country, but in *Germany* itſelf, and for "the moſt part come off victorious, though they had by "no means been a Match for our Army: That if the "Defeat and Flight of the *Gauls* gave Uneaſineſs to any, "theſe would readily find upon Enquiry, that *Arioviſtus*, "confining himſelf many Months to his Camp and Faſtneſſes, and declining a general Action, had thereby "tired out the *Gauls* with the Length of the War; who "deſpairing at laſt of a Battle, and beginning to diſperſe, "were thereupon attacked and routed, rather by Conduct and Craft, than the ſuperior Valour of the *Germans*. But though a Stratagem of this Kind might take "with rude and uncultivated People, yet could not even "the *German* himſelf hope that it would avail againſt a "*Roman* Army; That as to thoſe who ſheltered their Cowardice

" Cowardice under the Pretence of narrow Paſſes, and " the Difficulty of procuring Proviſions, he thought it " argued no ſmall Preſumption in them, either to betray " ſuch a Diſtruſt of their General's Conduct, or offer to " preſcribe to him what he ought to do: That theſe " things fell properly under his Care: That the *Sequani*, " *Leuci*, and *Lingones* were to furniſh him with Proviſi- " ons: That the Corn was now ripe in the Fields; and " that themſelves would ſoon be Judges as to what re- " garded the Ways: That the Report of the Army's " refuſing to obey him gave him not the leaſt Diſtur- " bance; becauſe he very well knew, that no General " had ever been ſo far ſlighted by his Soldiers, whoſe " ill Succeſs, Avarice, or other Crimes, had not juſtly " drawn that Misfortune upon him: That in all theſe " Reſpects he fancied himſelf ſecure, as the whole Courſe " of his Life would witneſs for his Integrity, and his " good Fortune had ſhewn itſelf in the War againſt the " *Helvetians*: That he was therefore reſolved to execute " without Delay, what he otherwiſe intended to have " put off a little longer; and would give Orders for de- " camping the very next Night, three Hours before Day, " that he might as ſoon as poſſible know, whether Ho- " nour and a Senſe of Duty, or an ignominious Cowar- " dice had the Aſcendant in his Army: Nay, that ſhould " all the reſt of the Troops abandon him, he would " nevertheleſs march with the tenth Legion alone, of " whoſe Fidelity and Courage he had no Manner of " Doubt, and which ſhould ſerve him for his *Pretorian* " Guard." *Cæſar* had always principally favoured this Legion, and placed his chief Confidence in it, on account of its Valour.

XXXII. THIS Speech made a wonderful Change upon the Minds of all, and begot an uncommon Alacrity and Eagerneſs for the War. The tenth Legion in particular, returned him thanks by their Tribunes, for the favourable Opinion he had expreſſed of them, and aſſured him of their readineſs to follow him. Nor were the other Legions leſs induſtrious, by their Tribunes and principal Centurions, to reconcile themſelves to *Cæſar*; proteſting they had never either doubted or feared, nor ever imagined that it belonged to them, but to the General,

neral, to direct in Matters of War. Having accepted of their Submiſſion, and informed himſelf by Means of *Divitiacus*, in whom of all the *Gauls* he moſt confided, that by taking a Circuit of above forty Miles, he might avoid the narrow Paſſes, and lead his Army through an open Country; he ſet forward three Hours after Midnight, as he had ſaid; and after a March of ſeven Days ſucceſſively, underſtood by his Scouts, that he was within four and twenty Miles of *Arioviſtus*'s Camp.

XXXIII. ARIOVISTUS being informed of his Arrival, ſent Ambaſſadors to acquaint him: "That he was now "willing to accept of an Interview, as they were come "nearer one another, and he believed it might be done without Danger." *Cæſar* did not decline the Propoſal, imagining he was now diſpoſed to liſten to Reaſon, ſince he offered that of his own accord, which he had before refuſed at his Requeſt: Neither was he without Hope, that in regard of the Benefits he had received, both from himſelf and the People of *Rome*, he would, upon knowing his Demands, deſiſt from his Obſtinacy. The fifth Day after was appointed for the Interview. Mean-time, as Ambaſſadors were continually paſſing and repaſſing, *Arioviſtus*, under Pretence that he was afraid of an Ambuſcade, demanded: "That *Cæſar* ſhould bring no In-"fantry with him to the Conference: That they ſhould "both come attended by their Cavalry only: That "otherwiſe he could not reſolve to give him a meeting." *Cæſar* unwilling to drop the Deſign of the Interview; but neither caring to truſt his Safety to the *Gauls*; thought the beſt Way was, to diſmount all the *Gallick* Cavalry, and give their Horſes to the Soldiers of the tenth Legion, who had the greateſt Share of his Confidence; that in caſe of Danger, he might have a Guard on which he could rely. This being done accordingly, one of the Soldiers of that Legion ſaid pleaſantly enough; "That "*Cæſar* had done even more than he had promiſed; "that he had only given them hopes of becoming his "*Pretorian* Guard; and now he had raiſed them to the "Rank of Horſe."

XXXIV. THERE was a large Plain, and in the midſt of it a riſing Ground of conſiderable Height, equally diſtant

tant from both Camps. At this Place, by Appointment, the Conference was held. *Cæsar* ſtationed the legionary Soldiers, whom he had brought with him on the Horſes of the *Gauls*, two hundred Paces from the Mount. *Arioviſtus* did the ſame with the *German* Cavalry. The Converſation was on horſeback, each being accompanied by ten Friends or principal Officers, for ſo *Arioviſtus* had deſired. When they were come to the Place, *Cæsar* began by putting him in mind of the Favours he had received both from himſelf and the People of *Rome*; "That "he had been ſtiled Friend and Ally by the Senate; that "very conſiderable Preſents had been ſent him; that "theſe Honours, conferred by the *Romans* on very few, "and only for ſignal Services to the State, had yet been "beſtowed on him, not on account of any juſt Claim "on his Side, but merely by the Favour of *Cæsar*, and "the Bounty of the Senate." He told him likewiſe, "of the juſt and ancient Alliance between the *Romans* "and the *Æduans*; of the many honourable Decrees of "the Senate in their Favour: That they had always held "the firſt Rank and Authority in *Gaul*, even before their "Alliance with *Rome*: That it was the conſtant Maxim "of the *Roman* People, not only to defend their Friends "and Allies in the Poſſeſſion of their juſt Rights, but "likewiſe to ſtudy the Enlargement of their Honour, "Intereſt, and Dignity: That it could never therefore "be ſuppoſed, they would ſubmit to ſee them ſtript of "thoſe Privileges which had belonged to them, before "they were received into their Friendſhip." In fine, he concluded with repeating the ſame Demands which he had before made by his Ambaſſadors; "That he would "not make War upon the *Æduans* or their Allies; that "he would reſtore their Hoſtages; that if he could not "oblige any of the *Germans* to repaſs the *Rhine*, at "leaſt he would ſuffer no more of them to come into "*Gaul*."

XXXV. ARIOVISTUS ſpoke little to *Cæsar*'s Demands, but enlarged greatly on his own Virtues: "That "he had croſſed the *Rhine*, not of his own Motion, but "invited and intreated by the *Gauls* themſelves: That "the great Hopes and Expectations they had given him, "had been his only Inducement to quit his Country and

" and Relations: That he had Settlements in *Gaul* af-
" ſigned by the *Gauls* themſelves; Hoſtages voluntarily
" ſent; and a Tribute in conſequence of the Rights of
" War; it being the conſtant Practice of Conquerors,
" to impoſe that Mark of Subjection on thoſe they had
" ſubdued: That he had not made War upon the *Gauls*;
" but the *Gauls* upon him: That though all their ſeve-
" ral States had united againſt him, and brought up their
" Forces with deſign to cruſh him, he had yet found
" means to vanquiſh and diſperſe them in one Battle:
" That if they were again reſolved to try the Fortune of
" War, he was ready and prepared to receive them; but
" if they rather choſe Peace, it was unjuſt in them
" to refuſe a Tribute which they had hitherto volun-
" tarily paid: That the Friendſhip of the People of *Rome*
" ought to be an Honour and Security to him, not a
" Detriment; nor had he courted it in any other View:
" but if by their Alliance he muſt ſubmit to loſe his
" Tributes, and his Right over the People he had ſub-
" dued, he was no leſs willing to give it up, than he
" had been ambitious to obtain it; That he had indeed
" brought over a Multitude of *Germans* into *Gaul*, yet
" not with any Deſign of diſturbing the Country, but
" merely for his own Security; as appeared by his not
" coming but at the Requeſt of the Natives; and his
" not attacking them, but defending himſelf: That his
" Arrival in *Gaul* was prior to that of the *Romans*, whoſe
" Army had never till that time paſſed the Boundaries
" of their own Province. What could they mean by
" coming into a Country that belonged to him? Or
" why ſhould they concern themſelves with a Part of
" *Gaul* that was no leſs his Property, than the Province
" itſelf was that of the People of *Rome*? If it would not
" be allowable in him to make any Attempt upon their
" Poſſeſſions, neither could they without Injuſtice diſ-
" turb him in the Enjoyment of his Rights. That as
" to the Pretence of Alliance between the *Romans* and
" *Æduans*, he was not ſo much a *Barbarian*, nor ſo
" wholly a Stranger to the Affairs of the World, as not
" to know; that neither had the *Æduans* aſſiſted the
" *Romans*, in the late War againſt the *Allobrogians*; nor
" received any Aſſiſtance from them, in their many
" Conflicts with himſelf and the *Sequani*. That he ought

to

" to be jealous of *Cæsar*'s pretended Regard to the *Æ-*
" *duans*; and had but too much Reason to suspect, that
" the Continuance of the *Roman* Army in *Gaul* could
" be with no other Design than that of oppressing him.
" That if he did not therefore depart, and withdraw his
" Troops out of those Parts, he would no longer look
" upon him as a Friend, but an Enemy. That he was
" well assured, should he even slay him in Battle, he
" should do a Pleasure to many of the Nobles and great
" Men at *Rome*, who had explained themselves to him by
" Couriers, and whose Favour and Friendship he might
" procure by his Death: but that if he would retire,
" and leave him in the undisturbed Possession of *Gaul*,
" he would not only amply reward him, but engage,
" at his own Cost and Hazard, to put an end to any War
" *Cæsar* should think fit to undertake."

XXXVI. MANY Reasons were offered by *Cæsar*, in return to this Speech, why he could not depart from his first Demands: " That neither his own Honour, nor
" that of the People of *Rome*, would suffer him to aban-
" don Allies, who had deserved so well of the Common-
" wealth: That it no way appeared to him, wherein
" *Arioviſtus* had a juster Claim to the Possession of *Gaul*
" than the *Romans*: That the *Averni* and *Ruteni* had
" been subdued by *Q. Fabius Maximus*; who yet con-
" tented with their Submission, had neither reduced
" their Country into a Province, nor subjected it to a
" Tribute: That if Antiquity of Title was to decide,
" the *Romans* had an undoubted Right to the Sovereignty
" of *Gaul*: If, on the contrary, the Decree of the Senate
" was to take place, *Gaul* must remain free, and subject
" only to its own Laws."

XXXVII. WHILST these things passed at the Interview, *Cæsar* was informed, that *Arioviſtus*'s Cavalry were drawing nearer the Mount, and had even assaulted the *Romans* with Stones and Darts. *Cæsar* immediately broke off the Conference, retreated to his own Men, and strictly charged them to forbear all Acts of Hostility towards the Enemy. He did not fear the Success of an Action, with that chosen Legion, against the *German* Cavalry; but he was willing to maintain a Conduct perfectly

fectly clear, and not give the Enemy the leaſt Handle to aſſert, that they had been treacherously drawn into an Ambuſcade by a pretended Conference. When it was known in the Camp, with what Haughtineſs *Arioviſtus* had behaved at the Interview; that he had ordered the *Romans* to depart out of *Gaul*; that his Cavalry had fallen upon *Cæſar*'s Guard; and that an End had thereby been put to the Conference; a much greater Alacrity and Deſire of fighting ſpread themſelves through the whole Army.

XXXVIII. Two Days after, *Arioviſtus* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, to propoſe a Renewal of the Negotiation begun; and that he would either again appoint a Day for a Conference, or depute ſome one to bring the Treaty to a Concluſion. *Cæſar* ſaw no Reaſon for granting a ſecond Interview, more eſpecially when he conſidered, that the time before, the *Germans* could not be reſtrained from falling upon our Men. Neither was he inclined to ſend any of his principal Officers; it ſeeming too great a Venture, to expoſe them to the Perfidy of theſe Barbarians. He therefore caſt his Eyes upon *C. Valerius Procillus*, the Son of *C. Valerius Caburus*, a young Man of great Merit and Politeneſs, whoſe Father had been made free of the City by *C. Valerius Flaccus*. His ſingular Integrity, and Knowledge of the Language of the *Gauls*, which *Arioviſtus*, by reaſon of long Stay in theſe Parts, ſpoke readily, fitted him in a particular Manner for this Embaſſy: and as he was likewiſe one towards whom it would no way avail the *Germans* to uſe any Treachery, he thought him leſs liable to an Inſult of that Kind. *M. Mettius* was joined in Commiſſion with him, who was allied to *Arioviſtus* by the Rights of Hoſpitality. Their Inſtructions were, to hear the *German*'s Propoſals, and carry back a Report of them to *Cæſar*. But no ſooner were they arrived in *Arioviſtus*'s Camp, than in Preſence of the whole Army, calling out to know their Buſineſs, and whether they were come as Spies, he commanded them to be put in Irons, without ſuffering them to make any Reply.

XXXIX. THE ſame Day he came forward with all his Forces, and lodged himſelf under a Hill, about ſix Miles from our Camp. The Day after he went two

Miles beyond it, to cut off *Cæsar*'s Communication with the *Æduans* and *Sequani*, from whom he received all his Provisions. *Cæsar*, for five Days continually, drew up his Men in order of Battle before the Camp, that if *Ariovistus* had a mind, he might not be without an Opportunity of coming to an Engagement. The *Germans* kept all that time within their Lines; only we had daily Skirmishes with their Cavalry, whose Manner of fighting was this: They had about six Thousand Horse, who chose a like Number out of the Foot, each his Man, and all remarkable for Strength and Agility. These continually accompanied them in Battle, and served as a Rear-guard, to which, when hard prested, they might retire: if the Action became dangerous, they advanced to their Relief: if any Horseman was considerably wounded, and fell from his Horse, they gathered round to defend him: if Speed was required, either for a hasty Pursuit, or sudden Retreat, they were become so nimble and alert by continual Exercise, that laying hold of the Mains of the Horses, they could run as fast as they.

XL. CÆSAR finding that *Ariovistus* declined a Battle, thought it necessary to provide for the Freedom of his Convoys. With this View he marked out a Place for a Camp, six hundred Paces beyond that of the Enemy, whither he marched with his whole Army drawn up in three Lines. The first and second Line had Orders to continue under Arms, and the Third to employ themselves in fortifying the Camp. *Ariovistus* sent sixteen Thousand light-armed Foot, and all his Horse, to alarm our Men, and hinder the Work. But *Cæsar* remained firm to his first Design, ordering the two Lines that continued under Arms to keep off the Enemy, and the Third to go on with the Intrenchments. The Work being finished, he left two Legions there, with part of the Auxiliaries, and carried back the other four to his former Camp. The next Day he assembled all his Troops from both Camps, drew them up according to Custom, and offered the Enemy Battle: but they still refusing to come to an Engagement, he retired again about Noon. *Ariovistus* then detached part of his Forces to attack the lesser Camp. A sharp Conflict ensued, that lasted till Night. At Sunset *Ariovistus* thought proper to sound a Retreat, after

many Wounds given and received. *Cæsar* inquiring of the Prisoners, why *Ariovistus* so obstinately refused an Engagement, found, that it was the Custom among the *Germans*, for the Women to decide by Lots and Divination, when it was proper to hazard a Battle; and that these had declared, the Army could not be victorious if they fought before the new Moon.

XLI. THE Day after, *Cæsar* having left a sufficient Guard in his two Camps, ranged all the auxiliary Troops before the lesser Camp, placing them directly in View of the Enemy for the greater Shew, because the Number of legionary Soldiers was but inconsiderable, compared with that of the *Germans*. Then advancing at the Head of all his Forces in three Lines, he marched quite up to the Enemy's Camp. Upon this the *Germans*, compelled by Necessity, appeared before their Intrenchments; and having distributed their Troops by Nations, and disposed them at equal Distances one from another, the *Harudes*, *Marcomani*, *Tribocci*, *Vangiones*, *Nemetes*, *Sedusians*, and *Suevians*; encompassed the whole Army with a Line of Carriages, to take away all Hopes of Safety by Flight. The Women, mounted upon these Carriages, weeping and tearing their Hair, conjured the Soldiers as they advanced to Battle, not to suffer them to become Slaves to the *Romans*. *Cæsar* having appointed a Lieutenant and Questor to each Legion, to serve as Witnesses of every Man's Courage and Behaviour, began the Battle in person at the Head of the right Wing, observing the Enemy to be weakest on that Side. The Signal being given, our Men charged so briskly, and the Enemy advanced so swiftly and suddenly to meet them, that the *Romans*, not having time to throw their Darts, betook themselves immediately to their Swords. But the *Germans* quickly casting themselves into a Phalanx, according to the Custom of their Country, sustained the Shock with great Firmness. Many of our Soldiers leaped upon the Phalanx, tore up the Bucklers of the Enemy with their Hands, and wounded those that lay under them. Their left Wing was soon routed and put to flight; but on the right they had the Advantage, and were like to overpower the *Romans* by their Numbers. Young *Crassus*, who commanded the Cavalry, and was more at liberty than those immediately engaged in the Fight, observing

this, made the third Line advance to ſupport them. Upon this the Battle was renewed, and the Enemy every where put to the rout: nor did they ceaſe their Flight till they had reached the Banks of the *Rhine*, about fifty Miles diſtant from the Place of Combat. There only a few eſcaped; ſome by ſwimming, others by Boats. Of this laſt Number was *Arioviſtus*, who embarking in a ſmall Veſſel he found by the Edge of the River, got ſafe to the other Side. All the Reſt were cut to Pieces in the Purſuit by our Cavalry. *Arioviſtus* had two Wives; one a *Suevian*, whom he had brought with him from *Germany*; the other a *Norican*, Siſter to King *Vocion*, whom he had married in *Gaul*. Both periſhed in this Flight. Of his two Daughters, one was killed, the other taken Priſoner. *C. Valerius Procillus*, whom his Keepers dragged after them in their Flight, bound with a triple Chain, fell in with *Cæſar* in perſon, as he was purſuing the *German* Cavalry. Nor was the Victory itſelf more grateful to that General, than his good Fortune in recovering out of the Hands of the Enemy a Man, the moſt diſtinguiſhed for his Probity of the whole Province of *Gaul*, his intimate and familiar Friend; and to find the Joy and Succeſs of that Day no way diminiſhed or clouded, by the Loſs of a Perſon he ſo highly eſteemed. *Procillus* told him, that Lots had been thrice drawn in his own Preſence, to decide whether he ſhould be burnt alive upon the Spot, or reſerved for another Time; and that the Lot three Times favourable, had preſerved his Life. *Mettius* was likewiſe recovered and brought.

XLII. THIS Battle being reported beyond the *Rhine*, the *Suevians*, who were advanced as far as the Banks of that River, thought proper to return to their own Country. But retreating in Diſorder and Confuſion, they were attacked by the *Ubians*, a People bordering upon the *Rhine*, and many of them cut to Pieces. *Cæſar* having in one Campaign put an End to two very conſiderable Wars, went into Winter-quarters ſomewhat ſooner than the Seaſon of the Year required. He diſtributed his Army among the *Sequani*, left *Labienus* to command in his Abſence, and ſet out himſelf for *Ciſalpine Gaul*, to preſide in the Aſſembly of the States.

C. JULIUS

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in *GAUL.*

BOOK II.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. *The Confederacy of the* Belgians *againſt the People of* Rome. III. *The* Rhemi *ſubmit upon the Approach of* Cæſar. IV. *And inform him of the Strength and Deſigns of the Confederates.* VI. Cæſar *paſſes the* Axona *with his Army.* VII. Bibrax, *a Town belonging to the* Rhemi, *aſſaulted by the* Belgians. VIII. Cæſar *relieves it, and obliges the* Belgians *to retire.* IX. *The Armies drawn up on both Sides; but without coming to an Engagement.* XI. *The* Belgians, *deſpairing of Succeſs, decamp and return home.* XII. Cæſar *attacks their Rear, and makes great Slaughter.* XIII. *He then marches againſt the* Sueſſiones, *and obliges them to ſubmit.* XIV. *Advancing next into the Country of the* Bellovaci, *he pardons them at the Interceſſion of* Divitiacus. XVI. *The* Ambiani *ſurrender, but the* Nervians *ſtand on their Defence.* XXIII. *They are defeated however in a long and bloody Engagement, and almoſt all cut off.* XXIX. Cæſar *prepares to attack the* Atuatici. XXXI. *They ſubmit.* XXXIII. *But falling treacherouſly upon the* Romans *during the Night*; XXXIV. *Are many of them cut to Pieces, and the reſt ſold for Slaves.*

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's
COMMENTARIES
OF HIS
WARS in *GAUL.*

BOOK II.

I. IN the Winter, whilſt *Cæſar* was in Hither *Gaul*, as we have intimated above, he was alarmed by frequent Reports, which were alſo confirmed by Letters from *Labienus*, that all the *Belgians*, who, as has been ſaid, poſſeſſed one of the three Diviſions of *Gaul*, had joined in a League againſt the People of *Rome*, and ratified it by an Exchange of Hoſtages. The Cauſes of this Confederacy were: Firſt, their Fear leſt the *Romans*, having ſubdued all the reſt of *Gaul*, ſhould next turn their Arms againſt them: And then the Perſuaſions and Importunity of ſome among the *Celtæ*; many of whom, as they had greatly diſliked the Neighbourhood of the *Germans* in *Gaul*, ſo were they no leſs diſpleaſed to ſee a *Roman* Army take up Winter-quarters and grow habitual in the Country: Others, from a Levity and Inconſtancy of Temper, were fond of every Project that tended to a Revolution. In fine, ſome were influenced by ambitious Views, it being uſual in *Gaul*, for ſuch as were moſt powerful in their ſeveral States, and had Men and Money at command, to exerciſe a Kind of Sovereignty over their Fellow-ſubjects, which they foreſaw would be greatly checked by the Authority and Credit of the *Romans* in *Gaul*.

II. CÆSAR, rouſed by theſe Meſſages and Reports, levied two new Legions in Hither *Gaul*; and early in the Spring, ſent *Q. Pedius* his Lieutenant to conduct

 them

them over the *Alps*. Himself, as soon as there began to be Forage in the Fields, came to the Army. He commissioned the *Senones*, and other *Gauls* who bordered on the *Belgians*, to inform themselves of the Motions and Designs of the Confederates, and send him from time to time an exact Account. They all agree in their Reports; that they were levying Troops, and drawing their Forces to a general Rendezvous. Whereupon thinking he ought no longer to delay marching against them, and having settled the necessary Supplies for his Army, he decamped, and in fifteen Days arrived on the Confines of the *Belgians*.

III. As his Approach was sudden, and much earlier than had been expected, the *Rhemi*, who of all the *Belgians* lay the nearest to *Celtic Gaul*, dispatched *Iccius* and *Autobrigius*, the two principal Men of their State, to represent to *Cæsar*: "That they put themselves and "Fortunes under the Power and Protection of the *Ro-* "*mans*, as having neither approved of the Designs of the "rest of the *Belgians*, nor had any Share in their Confe- "deracy against the People of *Rome*: That on the con- "trary, they were ready to give Hostages, to execute "his Commands, to receive him into their Towns, and "to furnish him with Corn and other Supplies for his "Army: That indeed the rest of the *Belgians* were all in "Arms, and that the *Germans* on this Side the *Rhine* "had associated with them: Nay, that so universal and "prevalent was the Infatuation, they had not even been "able to draw off the *Suessiones*, a People united to them "by the nearest Ties of Blood and Friendship, who "were subject to the same Laws, lived under the same "Form of Government, and acknowledged but one "common Magistrate."

IV. CÆSAR inquiring of the Ambassadors, what States had taken up Arms, of what Name and Consideration, and what Forces they could bring into the Field; found: That the *Belgians* were for the most part *Germans* originally, who having formerly crossed the *Rhine*, had been drawn by the Fertility of the Country to settle in those Parts, after driving out the ancient Inhabitants: That in the late Irruption of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*, when all the other Provinces of *Gaul* were over-run, they alone

had ventured to ſtand upon their Defence; nor ſuffered the *Barbarians* to ſet foot in their Territories; whence it happened, that preſuming on ſo well-known an Inſtance of their Bravery, they laid claim to great Authority, and challenged high military Renown. As to their Numbers, the *Rhemi* told him they could give him the moſt exact Information; becauſe in conſequence of their Affinity and Neighbourhood, they had Opportunities of knowing what Quota of Men each particular State had promiſed to furniſh in the common Council of *Belgium*. "That "the *Bellovaci* held the moſt diſtinguiſhed Rank, as "ſurpaſſing all the other States in Proweſs, Authority, "and Number of Forces: That they were able to muſ- "ter an hundred thouſand fighting Men, and had pro- "miſed out of that Number ſixty thouſand choſen "Troops, in conſideration of which they demanded the "whole Adminiſtration of the War. That next to them "in Dignity were the *Sueſſiones*, a People bordering up- "on their own Territories, and poſſeſſed of a very large "and fruitful Country, over which even of late Years "*Divitiacus* had been King, one of the moſt powerful "Princes of all *Gaul*, and who beſides his Dominions "in thoſe Parts, reigned alſo over *Britain*: That their "preſent Sovereign was *Galba*, whoſe ſingular Prudence "and Juſtice had procured him, by the Conſent of all "the Confederates, the ſupreme Command in the War: "That theſe had within their Territories twelve forti- "fied Towns, and promiſed to bring into the Field fifty "thouſand Men. That the like Number had been ſti- "pulated by the *Nervians*, who inhabiting the remoteſt "Provinces of *Gaul*, were eſteemed the moſt fierce and "warlike of all the *Belgian* Nations. That the *Atreba- "tians* were to furniſh fifteen Thouſand: The *Ambia- "ni* ten Thouſand: The *Morini* twenty-five Thouſand: "The *Menapians* nine Thouſand: The *Caletes* ten "Thouſand: The *Velocaſſians* and *Veromanduans* the "like Number: The *Atuatici* twenty-nine Thouſand: "And the *Condruſians*, *Eburones*, *Cereſians*, and *Pæma- "ni*, all comprehended under the common Name of "*Germans*, forty Thouſand.

V. CÆSAR exhorting the Men of *Rheims* to continue firm in their Alliance, and promiſing amply to reward their Fidelity, ordered the whole Body of their Senate to repair

repair to his Camp, and the Sons of their principal Nobility to be brought him as Hoſtages; all which was accordingly performed by the Day appointed. He then addreſſed himſelf to *Divitiacus* the *Æduan*, repreſenting in the warmeſt Manner, of what Conſequence it was to the common Cauſe, to divide the Forces of the Enemy, that he might not be reduced to the Neceſſity of encountering ſo great a Multitude at once. This he told him, might eaſily be effected, if the *Æduans* would march their Forces into the Territories of the *Bellovaci*, to plunder and lay waſte the Country. With theſe Inſtructions he diſmiſſed them.

VI. MEAN-TIME, being informed by his Scouts, and the People of *Rheims*, that all the Forces of the *Belgians* were marching towards him in a Body, and that they were even advanced within a few Miles, he made all the haſte he could to paſs his Army over the *Axona*, which divides the *Rhemi* from the reſt of the *Belgians*, and encamped on the farther Side of that River. By this Situation he ſecured all behind him, covered one Side of his Camp with the River, and rendered the Communication with the *Rhemi*, and thoſe other States, whence he expected to be ſupplied with Proviſions, ſafe and eaſy. Adjoining to his Camp was a Bridge over the River; there he placed a ſtrong Guard, and left *Q. Titurius Sabinus* his Lieutenant on the other Side with ſix Cohorts. He then drew round his Camp a Ditch eighteen Foot broad, ſtrengthened with a Rampart twelve Foot high.

VII. THE *Belgians* in their March fell furiouſly upon *Bibrax*, a Town belonging to the *Rhemi*, about eight Miles diſtant from *Cæſar*'s Camp. The Inhabitants with great Difficulty held out againſt that Day's Aſſault. The Manner of ſtorming a Town is the ſame among the *Belgians* as among the *Gauls*: for having ſurrounded the Walls with the whole Body of their Army, and by a continual Diſcharge from their Slings cleared the Ramparts, they approach the Gates under covert of their Bucklers, and undermine the Walls. This was eaſy in the preſent Caſe; becauſe the Multitude employed in throwing Stones and Darts was ſo great, that none of the Garriſon durſt appear upon the Walls. When Night had put an end to the Aſſault, *Iccius*, who then commanded

manded in the Town, a Man of principal Rank and Authority among the *Rhemi*, and one of thoſe who had come Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* to treat about a Peace, diſpatched Meſſengers to acquaint him, that unleſs he was ſpeedily relieved, it would be impoſſible for him to hold out any longer.

VIII. Hereupon *Cæſar*, making uſe of thoſe for Guides who had come expreſs to his Camp from *Iccius*, detached about Midnight a Party of *Cretan* and *Numidian* Archers, with ſome *Balearean* Slingers, to the Aſſiſtance of the Garriſon. Their Arrival encouraged the Beſieged to ſtand upon their defence, and inſpired them with Hopes of repulſing the Enemy, who now began to deſpair of Succeſs, when they heard that a Reinforcement had entered the Town. Wherefore, after a ſhort Stay before the Place, having plundered all the Country round about, and burnt the Houſes and Villages wherever they came, they marched in a Body towards *Cæſar*'s Camp, and poſted themſelves within two Miles of his Army, incloſing a Space of more than eight thouſand Paces in Circumference, as near as could be computed from the Smoke and Fires of their Camp.

IX. Cæsar at firſt reſolved to avoid coming to a Battle, as well on account of the Numbers of the Enemy, as the high Opinion entertained of their Courage. He ſuffered the Horſe however to engage daily in ſmall Skirmiſhes, that he might the better judge of the Valour of the *Belgian* Troops, and the Reſolution and Bravery of his own Men. Finding that the *Romans* were nothing inferior to the Enemy in Courage, he reſolved to wait for them before his Camp; the Ground being very commodious, and as it were formed by Nature for the Reception of an Army. For the Hill on which the Camp ſtood, riſing with an eaſy Aſcent from the Plain, was but juſt of a ſufficient Breadth on the Side facing the Enemy, to receive the ſeveral Lines of the Army drawn up in Order of Battle. On the right Hand and on the left the Deſcent was ſteep; whereby the Mountain ſwelling in front, but gradually abating its Declivity as you advanced towards the Bottom, came at laſt to a Plain. Along each Side of the Hill *Cæſar* dug a Trench of about four hundred Paces in length, and built Forts at the Extremities, where

where he placed Engines to repulſe the Enemy, ſhould they offer to attack him in Flank, or endeavour, during the Fight, to ſurround him with their Numbers. Theſe Diſpoſitions being made, and having left the two new levied Legions in his Camp, as a Body of Reſerve in caſe of Need, he drew up the other ſix in Order of Battle. The *Belgians* likewiſe drew up their Troops, and ſtood fronting our Army.

X. BETWEEN *Cæſar* and the Enemy there was a ſmall Moraſs. The *Belgians* waited to ſee if we would paſs it: Our Men on the other hand were ready in Arms, that ſhould the Enemy attempt to come over, they might fall upon them, and take advantage of their Confuſion. Mean-time the Cavalry on both Sides engaged; but as neither Army would hazard the Paſſage of the Moraſs, *Cæſar*, who had the better in the Skirmiſh of the Horſe, led back his Men to their Camp. The *Belgians* marched directly towards the *Axona*, which, as we have ſaid, lay behind our Camp; and having found a Ford, endeavoured to paſs over Part of their Army. Their Deſign was, if poſſible, to make themſelves Maſters of the Fort where *Q. Titurius* commanded, and break down the Bridge; or, ſhould they fail in that Attempt, to ravage and lay waſte the Territories of the *Rhemi*, whence our Army was ſupplied with Proviſions.

XI. CÆSAR being informed of theſe things by *Titurius*, croſſed the Bridge with his Cavalry, light-armed *Numidians*, Archers, and Slingers, and marched to attack the Enemy. A very ſharp Conflict enſued: for the *Romans* falling upon them while they were yet paſſing the River, and by reaſon of their Diſorder unable to defend themſelves, ſlew great Numbers. The reſt, who with undaunted Courage advanced upon the Bodies of their Companions, were repulſed by the Multitude of Darts from our Men; and the Cavalry ſurrounding thoſe that were already got over, put them all to the Sword. The *Belgians* being thus diſappointed, both in their Deſign upon *Bibrax*, and the Paſſage of the *Axona*; finding too that Proviſions began to be ſcarce, and that our Army could not be drawn to fight them at a Diſadvantage, called a Council of War. It was there judged moſt expedient to ſeparate, and return every Man to his own Country; with

with a Reſolution however to aſſemble from all Parts, in defence of that State whoſe Territories ſhould be firſt invaded by the *Romans*: for they concluded it much ſafer to carry on the War at home, where they might have Proviſions and every thing at command, than venture a Battle within the Confines of a foreign State. Theſe Reaſons were at the ſame time backed by a ſtill more powerful Conſideration: for the *Bellovaci* having Intelligence that *Divitiacus* and the *Æduans* were advancing towards their Territories, could not be reſtrained from marching directly homewards, to defend their own Country.

XII. This Reſolution being taken; about the ſecond Watch of the Night, they left their Camp with great Noiſe and Tumult, regarding neither the Order of their March, nor the due Subordination of Command, but each Man preſſing for the foremoſt Rank, that he might get the ſooner home, inſomuch that their Retreat had all the Appearance of a precipitate Flight. *Cæſar*, who had immediate Notice of this from his Spies, apprehending ſome Stratagem, becauſe he as yet knew nothing of the Reaſon of their Departure, would not ſtir out of his Trenches. But early in the Morning, upon more certain Intelligence of their Retreat, he detached all the Cavalry, under *Q. Pedius* and *L. Arunculeius Cotta*, his Lieutenants, to haraſs and retard them in their March. *T. Labienus* had Orders to follow with three Legions. Theſe falling upon their Rear, and purſuing them many Miles, made a dreadful Slaughter of the flying Troops. Whilſt the Rear, upon finding themſelves attacked, faced about, and valiantly ſuſtained the Charge of our Men; the Vanguard, as fancying themſelves out of Danger, were not to be reſtrained either by Neceſſity or the Voice of their Commanders, but upon hearing the Alarm behind them, broke their Ranks, and betook themſelves to flight. Thus the *Romans*, with little or no Loſs on their Side, continued the Slaughter all the remaining Part of the Day. About Sun-ſet they gave over the Purſuit, and in Obedience to the Orders they had received, returned to their Camp.

XIII. The next Day, before the Enemy had Time to rally, or recover out of their Conſternation, *Cæſar* led his

his Army into the Territories of the *Sueſſiones*, which join to thoſe of the *Rhemi*; and after a long March reached *Noviodunum*. He was in Hopes of carrying the Town by Aſſault, becauſe he underſtood it was deſtitute of a Garriſon: but as the Ditch was broad, and the Wall very high, the Defendants, though few in Number, withſtood all his Efforts. Wherefore having fortified his Camp, he began to provide Engines, and get every thing in readineſs for a Siege. Mean-time ſuch of the *Sueſſiones* as had eſcaped the late Slaughter, threw themſelves during the Night into the Town. But *Cæſar* advancing his Preparations with great Expedition, and approaching under Cover of his Mantelets to the very Walls, where he caſt up a Mount, and planted his battering Towers; the Gauls, aſtoniſhed at the Greatneſs of the Works, as having never ſeen or heard of any ſuch before, and at the Diſpatch wherewith they were carried on, ſent Deputies to treat about a Surrender, and by the Mediation of the *Rhemi* obtained Conditions of Peace.

XIV. CÆSAR having received the principal Men of their State as Hoſtages, amongſt whom were the two Sons of *Galba*, their King; and obliged them to deliver up all their Arms, admitted the *Sueſſiones* to a Surrender, and led his Army againſt the *Bellovaci*. Theſe retiring with their Effects into *Bratuſpantium*, their capital City, and underſtanding that *Cæſar* was advanced within five Miles of the Town, ſent a Deputation of all their old Men, who came forth in venerable Proceſſion to meet him, ſignifying by out-ſtretched Hands, and in the moſt ſubmiſſive Terms, that they put themſelves under his Power and Protection, nor pretended to appear in Arms againſt the People of *Rome*: and when he approached ſtill nearer the City, and encamped within View of the Walls, the Women and Children from the Ramparts, with extended Arms, according to the Cuſtom of their Country, beſought the *Romans* for Peace.

XV. HEREUPON *Divitiacus*, who after the Retreat of the *Belgian* Army, had diſmiſſed the *Æduans*, and returned to *Cæſar*'s Camp, interpoſed in their Behalf, repreſenting: "That the *Bellovaci* had always lived in ſtrict "Friendſhip and Alliance with the *Æduans*: That the "artful Inſinuations of their Chiefs, who miſrepreſent-

"ed

" ed *Cæsar*, as one that had enslaved the *Æduan* State, " and held it under an ignominious Tyranny and Op- " pression, had alone induced them to forsake their an- " cient Allies, and take up Arms against the People of " *Rome:* That the Authors of this Advice, seeing its " pernicious Effects, and the Ruin they had brought up- " on their Country, were retired into *Britain:* That " not only the *Bellovaci* themselves, but the *Æduans* too, " in their Behalf, implored his Clemency and Forgive- " ness: That in granting their Request, he would great- " ly enlarge the Credit and Authority of the *Æduans* " among the *Belgian* States; which was of so much the " greater Moment, as in all their Wars they were wont " to have recourse to them for Assistance." *Cæsar*, out of Regard to *Divitiacus* and the *Æduans*, promised to grant them Pardon and Protection; but as they were pos- sessed of very extensive Territories, and surpassed in Power and Number of Forces all the other *Belgian* States, he demanded six hundred Hostages.

XVI. These being accordingly delivered, together with all their Arms, *Cæsar* left their City, and advan- ced into the Country of the *Ambiani*; who submitted immediately upon his Approach. Adjoining to them were the *Nervians*; of whose Manners and Genius *Cæ- sar* inquiring, found: " That they suffered no Resort of " Merchants into their Cities, nor would allow of the " Importation of Wine, or other Commodities tending " to Luxury; as imagining that thereby the Minds of " Men were enfeebled, and their martial Fire and Cou- " rage extinguished: That they were Men of a warlike " Spirit; but altogether unacquainted with the Refine- " ments of Life: that they continually inveighed against " the rest of the *Belgians*, for ignominiously submitting " to the *Roman* Yoke, and abandoning the steady Bra- " very of their Ancestors: In fine, that they had open- " ly declared their Resolution, of neither sending Am- " bassadors to *Cæsar*, nor accepting any Terms of Peace." *Cæsar*, after a March of three Days cross their Territo- ries, understood from some Prisoners: " That he was " now advanced within ten Miles of the *Sambre*, on the " other Side of which the Enemy had posted themselves, " and there waited the Coming up of the *Romans:* That " they had been joined by the *Atrebatians* and *Veroman-* " *duans*,

" *duans*, neighbouring Nations, whom they had perſua-
" ded to take part in, and ſhare the Fortune of the War:
" That they expected alſo to be reinforced by the *Atua-*
" *tici*, who were already on their March: And that all
" their Women, and ſuch as on account of their Age
" were unfit to bear Arms, had been conveyed to a
" Place of ſafety, inacceſſible by reaſon of the Marſhes
" that ſurrounded it."

XVII. CÆSAR, upon this Intelligence, ſent his Scouts and Centurions before, to chooſe out a convenient Place for his Camp. Mean-time, as many of the *Belgians* who had lately ſubmitted, and alſo not a few *Gauls*, followed the *Roman* Army; ſome of theſe, as was afterwards known from the Priſoners, obſerving the Order and Diſpoſition of our March, deſerted in the Night to the Enemy, and informed them: " That the ſeveral
" Legions were ſeparated from one another, by a Number
" of Carriages poſted between them: that they would
" therefore have a favourable Opportunity, as ſoon as
" the firſt Legion was arrived in the Camp, and while
" the reſt were yet a great way behind, of falling upon
" it incumbered with the Baggage, and obtaining an
" eaſy Victory; by which, and the Plunder of the Car-
" riages, they would ſtrike ſuch a Terror through the
" whole Army, as muſt neceſſarily draw after it a total
" Defeat." This Advice was the more readily liſtened to, becauſe of old the *Nervians*, being very weak in Horſe, (nor even as yet have they greatly increaſed their Strength this way, placing their whole Confidence in their Foot,) in order to ſecure themſelves againſt the Inroads of the Cavalry of the neighbouring Nations, had every where fortified the Country with Barricades of young Trees; which being ſplit in the Middle, and bent down on both Sides; the void Spaces were ſo cloſely interwoven with Brambles, Thorns, and a Multitude of Boughs, iſſuing from the Trees themſelves, that they formed a Fence not only impoſſible to be paſſed, but even to be ſeen through. As theſe therefore muſt greatly impede and perplex the March of the *Roman* Army, they thought the Advice given them by the *Belgians* was by no means to be neglected.

XVIII. THE Place choſen by our Men for their Camp was

was a Hill, running with an even Deſcent from the Summit till it reached the Banks of the *Sambre*. Directly oppoſite to this, on the farther Side of the River, and at the Diſtance of about two hundred Paces, was another Hill, of a like Acclivity with the former, plain and open round the Bottom, but covered on the Top with Woods, ſo thick that they hindered the Proſpect. Among theſe Woods the Enemy lay concealed, and only a few Squadrons of Horſe appeared on the open Ground by the River-ſide, whoſe Depth in that Place did not exceed three Foot.

XIX. Cæsar having ſent the Cavalry before, followed himſelf with the reſt of the Army. But the Order and Diſpoſition of his March differed from the Account given in to the Enemy by the *Belgians*. For knowing that the *Nervians* were near, he led up ſix Legions in front, ready equipped for Battle, according to his uſual Cuſtom. After them followed the Baggage of the whole Army; and then the two new Legions, who cloſed the March and ſerved as a Guard to the Carriages. Meantime the *Roman* Cavalry, with the Slingers and Archers, having paſſed the River, engaged the Enemy's Horſe: but as they retired from time to time into the Woods, and again ſallied upon our Men, who durſt not purſue them beyond the open Ground; the ſix Legions that formed the Van coming up during theſe ſucceſſive Rencounters, began to intrench themſelves. When the firſt Line of our Carriages appeared within Sight of thoſe that lay concealed in the Woods, which was the Time previouſly concerted by the Enemy for giving the Onſet, the *Nervians*, who ſtood ready drawn up within the Thicket, and had mutually exhorted one another to a reſolute Behaviour, ruſhed ſuddenly forward with all their Forces, and fell furiouſly upon our Cavalry. Theſe being eaſily repulſed and broken; they ran down with incredible Speed to the *Sambre*, inſomuch that at one and the ſame Inſtant, they ſeemed to be in the Woods, in the River, and charging our Men on the other Side. Nor were they leſs expeditious in mounting the Hill, and attacking thoſe who were employed in fortifying the Camp.

XX. Now had *Cæſar* all the Parts of a General upon his Hands at once: to erect the Standard, which was the

Signal for the Men to fly to Arms: to proclaim the Battle by Sound of Trumpet: to draw off the Soldiers from the Works: to recal thoſe that were gone to fetch Materials for the Rampart: to draw up the Army in Order of Battle: to encourage his Men: and give the Word of Onſet: in moſt of which he was prevented by the ſhortneſs of the Time, and the ſudden Aſſault of the Enemy. In this Emergency, two Things chiefly contributed to the Preſervation of the *Romans*: one, the Ability and Experience of the Soldiers, who, practiſed in former Battles, knew their Duty, and what was expedient in the preſent Conjuncture, no leſs than the Officers themſelves: the other, the Orders given by *Cæſar* to his ſeveral Lieutenants, not to quit the Works, and the Legions where they commanded, till the Fortifications of the Camp were finiſhed. For theſe, upon ſeeing the Danger, and ſudden Approach of the Enemy, waited not for new Inſtructions from the General, but gave forth ſuch Orders, as their own Prudence, and the preſent Neceſſity ſuggeſted.

XXI. CÆSAR having made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions, ran to encourage his Men; and, as Chance ordered it, fell in with the tenth Legion. When exhorting them in few Words to exert their wonted Bravery, and manfully ſuſtain the Aſſault without Terror or Diſmay; as he ſaw the Enemy within reach of Dart, he gave the Signal to engage. Haſtening thence to another Quarter of the Field, he found the Battle already begun. So ſhort was the Time allowed us to prepare ourſelves, and ſuch the Reſolution and Impetuoſity of the *Nervians* in ruſhing to the Encounter, that neither could the Officers find Leiſure to regulate the Enſigns, nor the Soldiers to put on their Helmets, or uncaſe their Targets. Each Man, as he arrived from the Works, joined himſelf to the firſt Standard that came in his Way, that he might not loſe that Time in looking for his own Company, which was to be employed in fighting the Enemy.

XXII. THE Army being drawn up, rather according to the Nature of the Place, the Declivity of the Hill, and the particular Neceſſity of the Time; than agreeable to Order and the Rules of War: as the Legions were forced to engage ſeparately, ſome in one Place, ſome in another;

ther; and the View of the Fight was every where interrupted by the thick Hedges deſcribed above: it was not poſſible in theſe Circumſtances, to diſtinguiſh with any Certainty, where to ſend the neceſſary Supplies; how to provide againſt the Exigencies of the Field; nor indeed for one Man to have an Eye to all the Occurrences that called for Notice and Redreſs. In ſuch an unequal Situation of Things therefore, much Room was left for the various Events and Interpoſition of Fortune.

XXIII. The Soldiers of the ninth and tenth Legions, who were upon the left of the Army, having caſt their Darts, advanced againſt the *Atrebatians*, with whom it was their Fortune to engage. Theſe now weary, breathleſs, and overpowered with Wounds, were quickly driven from the higher Ground quite back to the *Sambre*, where the *Romans*, ſtill preſſing them Sword in Hand, ſlew great Numbers as they endeavoured to paſs the River. Nor did our Men decline purſuing them to the other Side: but following too far, till they were drawn into a Place of Diſadvantage, the Enemy ſuddenly faced about, and renewed the Charge; yet were a ſecond Time obliged to betake themſelves to Flight. So likewiſe, in another Quarter of the Field, the eleventh and eight Legions, having overthrown the *Veromanduans*, againſt whom they fought, drove them from the higher Ground to the very Banks of the River.

XXIV. As by this Means the Front, and left Side of the *Roman* Camp, lay in a Manner quite expoſed; for the twelfth Legion, and not far from that the Seventh, were poſted in the right Wing: the *Nervians*, headed by *Boduognatus* their King, advanced thither in a cloſe Body; and whilſt one Party endeavoured to ſurround the Legions, by taking them in Flank, the reſt mounted the Hill in order to get poſſeſſion of the Camp. At the ſame Time our Cavalry, with the light-armed Infantry, who in the very Beginning of the Engagement had been repulſed and broken, as we have related above; returning to the Camp, and meeting the Enemy in Front, again betook themſelves to Flight. The Servants too of the Army, who from the Top of the Hill had beheld our Men victorious, and purſuing the Enemy croſs the River; having ſallied out for the Sake of Plunder; when they

now looked back, and ſaw the *Nervians* in poſſeſſion of the Camp, fled with the utmoſt Precipitation. This Confuſion was ſtill more increaſed by the Clamour and Uproar of thoſe that attended the Carriages; inſomuch that the Panick ſpreading on all Sides, each Man thought of providing for his Safety by Flight. The Cavalry of *Treves*, who were in the higheſt Eſteem among the *Gauls* for their Valour, and had been ſent by the State to reinforce *Cæſar*'s Army; alarmed by theſe ſeveral Appearances: when they ſaw our Camp filled with Multitudes of the Enemy; the Legions overpowered, and in a Manner quite ſurrounded; the Horſe, Archers, Slingers, and *Numidians*, routed, diſperſed, and flying on all Hands: imagining all was loſt, returned to their own Country, and reported, that the *Romans* were utterly overthrown, and their Camp and Baggage in poſſeſſion of the Enemy.

XXV. CÆSAR having encouraged the tenth Legion, haſtened to the right Wing of the Army. He there found his Men overpowered by the Enemy; the Enſigns of the twelfth Legion all crowded into one Place, and the Soldiers themſelves ſtanding ſo cloſe together, that they had not Room to uſe their Arms; all the Centurions of the fourth Cohort ſlain, the Standard-bearer killed, and the Standard taken; the Centurions of the other Cohorts almoſt all either killed or dangerouſly wounded; among theſe *P. Sextius Baculus*, the firſt Centurion of the Legion, a Man of great Courage, ſo weakened by the Multitude of his Wounds, that he was hardly able to ſupport himſelf; the reſt diſcouraged and avoiding the Fight, and ſome even running away, becauſe abandoned by the Troops that were to ſuſtain them; the Enemy preſſing vigorouſly in Front from the lower Ground, and at the ſame Time flanking the Legions on either Side with great Fury; in a Word, Things reduced to the laſt Extremity, and no Body of Reſerve to reſtore the Battle. Whereupon ſnatching a Buckler from a Soldier who ſtood in the Rear of the Legion, for he himſelf was come thither without one; and preſſing to the Front of the Battle; he called the Centurions by Name, encouraged the reſt, and commanded the Soldiers to advance the Enſigns, and widen their Ranks, that they might be the more at Liberty to uſe their Swords. His Arrival inſpiring the Men with Hope,

Hope, and reviving their Courage, as every one was ambitious of diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the Preſence of his General, and even in his greateſt Extremity, redoubled his Efforts; the Progreſs of the Enemy was a little checked.

XXVI. CÆSAR obſerving that the ſeventh Legion, which fought at ſome Diſtance from the other, was likewiſe very much preſſed by the Enemy, commanded the military Tribunes to draw the two Legions together by Degrees, and joining them Back to Back, oppoſe the Enemy with a double Front. This being done; as they were now in a Condition to ſupport each other, and no longer feared being ſurrounded, they began to make a more vigorous Oppoſition, and fight with greater Courage. Mean-time the two new Legions that formed the Rear of our Army, and had been appointed to guard the Baggage; hearing of the Battle, advanced with all poſſible Speed, and were ſeen by the *Nervians* from the Top of the Hill: and *T. Labienus*, who had made himſelf Maſter of the Enemy's Camp, obſerving from the higher Ground how Matters went on our Side, detached the tenth Legion to our Aſſiſtance. Theſe underſtanding, by the Flight of our Cavalry and Servants, the Diſtreſs we were in, and the Danger that threatened the Camp, the Legions, and the General, made all the Haſte they could to join us.

XXVII. THE Arrival of this Detachment produced ſo great a Change in our Favour, that many of the Soldiers, who before lay oppreſſed with Wounds, now reſuming Courage, and ſupporting themſelves with their Shields, renewed the Fight. Nay, the very Servants of the Camp, obſerving the Conſternation of the Enemy, unarmed as they were, ruſhed amongſt their armed Battalions. The Cavalry too, ſtriving by extraordinary Efforts of Valour to wipe away the Ignominy of their late Flight, charged the Enemy in all Places where the void Spaces between the Legions ſuffered them to advance. Mean-time the *Nervians*, though now reduced to the laſt Extremity, exerted themſelves with ſuch determined Courage, that their front Ranks being cut off, thoſe who ſtood behind mounted the Bodies of the ſlain, and thence continued to maintain the Fight; and when theſe too by

their Fall had raiſed a Mountain of Carcaſes, ſuch as remained aſcending the Pile, poured their Javelins upon us as from a Rampart, and even returned the Darts thrown at them by our Men. Fame therefore deceived not in proclaiming ſo loudly the Bravery of a People, who thus adventured to croſs a very broad River, climb the ſteepeſt Banks, and ruſh upon an Enemy poſſeſſed of all the Advantages of Ground: Difficulties, which though ſeemingly unſurmountable, appeared yet as nothing to Men of their Reſolution and Magnanimity.

XXVIII. THE Battle being ended, and the Name and Nation of the *Nervians* in a Manner quite extinguiſhed; the old Men, who with the Women and Children, as we have related above, had been conveyed into a Place ſurrounded with Bogs and Marſhes; hearing of this terrible Overthrow, and judging that nothing would now be able to ſtop the Progreſs of the Conquerors, or protect the Conquered from their victorious Arms, reſolved, with the Conſent of all that ſurvived the late Diſaſter, to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, and ſurrender themſelves. Theſe, in reciting the Calamities of their Country, repreſented: That of ſix hundred Senators, there remained only three; and that from ſixty thouſand fighting Men, they were reduced to five Hundred. *Cæſar*, as a Proof of his Compaſſion towards this brave and unfortunate People, readily took them under his Protection, allowing them free and full Poſſeſſion of their Towns and Territories, and ſtrictly commanding all the neighbouring Nations to abſtain from Injuries and Wrongs.

XXIX. THE *Atuatici*, of whom Mention has been made above, being upon their March with all their Forces to join the *Nervians*, and hearing of their Defeat, immediately returned home: when abandoning all their other Towns and Caſtles, they conveyed themſelves and their Riches into a Place of great Strength, which Nature had fortified with uncommon Care. For it was on every Side ſurrounded with high Rocks and Precipices, having only one Avenue of about two hundred Foot broad, that approached the Town with a gentle Riſing. Here they raiſed a double Wall of prodigious Height, whereon, as a farther Security, they laid great Numbers of huge

huge Stones, and ſtrong pointed Beams. This People were deſcended from the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*, who in their March towards the *Alps* and *Italy*, left their heavy Baggage on this Side the *Rhine*, with a Detachment of ſix thouſand Men to guard it. Theſe, after the final Overthrow of their Countrymen, being for many Years haraſſed and perſecuted by the neighbouring States; ſometimes invading others, ſometimes defending themſelves; at laſt, with the Conſent of all the bordering Nations, obtained Peace, and choſe this Place for a Habitation.

XXX. On the firſt Arrival of the *Roman* Army, they made frequent Sallies from the Town, and engaged our Men in ſmall Skirmiſhes. But *Cæſar* having drawn a Line of Contravallation, twelve Feet high, fifteen Miles in Circumference, and every where well fortified with Redoubts; they kept themſelves within their Walls. When we had now finiſhed our Approaches, caſt up a Mount, and were preparing a Tower of Aſſault behind the Works; they began at firſt to deride us from the Battlements, and in reproachful Language aſk the Meaning of that prodigious Engine, raiſed at ſuch a Diſtance! With what Hands or Strength, Men of our Size and make, (for the *Gauls*, who are for the moſt part very tall, deſpiſe the ſmall Stature of the *Romans*,) could hope to bring forward ſo unwieldy a Machine againſt their Walls?

XXXI. But when they ſaw it removed and approaching near the Town, aſtoniſhed at the new and unuſual Appearance, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* to ſue for Peace. Theſe being accordingly introduced, told him: "That they doubted not but the *Romans* were aided in "their Wars by the Gods themſelves; it ſeeming to "them a more than human Taſk, to tranſport with ſuch "Facility an Engine of that amazing Height, by which "they were brought upon a Level with their Enemies, "and enabled to engage them in cloſe Fight. That "they therefore put themſelves and Fortunes into his "Hands, requeſting only, that if his Clemency and "Goodneſs, of which they had heard ſo much from "others, had determined him to ſpare the *Atuatici*,

" he would not deprive them of their Arms: That the " neighbouring Nations were almoſt all their Enemies, " as envying their ſuperior Valour; nor would it be " poſſible for them to defend themſelves from their At- " tacks, if their Arms were taken away: In fine, that " if ſuch muſt be their Fate, they would rather chooſe " to undergo any Fortune from the Hands of the *Ro-* " *mans*, than expoſe themſelves to be cruelly butchered " by thoſe over whom they had been wont to exerciſe " Dominion."

XXXII. To this *Cæſar* replied: " That in regard " of his uſual Conduct on theſe Occaſions, rather than " for any Merit of theirs, he was willing to grant them " Terms of Peace, provided they ſubmitted before the " Battering-ram touched their Walls; but that no " Surrender would be accepted unleſs they agreed to " deliver up their Arms: That he would take the ſame " Care of them as he had before done of the *Nervians*, " and lay his expreſs Commands upon the neighbouring " Nations, to abſtain from all Injuries towards a People " who had put themſelves under the Protection of the " *Romans*." The Ambaſſadors returning with this An- ſwer to their Countrymen, they accepted in Appearance the Conditions offered them by *Cæſar*, and threw ſo vaſt a Quantity of Arms into the Ditch before the Town, that the Heap almoſt reached to the Top of the Wall. Nevertheleſs, as was afterwards known, they retained about a third Part, and concealed them privately within the Town. The Gates being thrown open, they en- joyed Peace for the remaining Part of that Day.

XXXIII. IN the Evening *Cæſar* ordered the Gates to be ſhut, and the Soldiers to quit the Town, that no Injury might be offered to the Inhabitants during the Night. Whereupon the *Atuatici*, in conſequence of a Deſign they had before concerted, imagining that the *Romans*, after the Surrender of the Place, would either ſet no Guard at all, or at leaſt keep Watch with leſs Precaution: partly arming themſelves with ſuch Wea- pons as they had privately retained, partly with Targets made of Bark or Wicker, and covered over haſtily with Hides; made a furious Sally about Midnight with all their

their Forces, and charged our Works on that Side where they ſeemed to be of eaſieſt Acceſs.

XXXIV. The Alarm being immediately given by lighting Fires, as *Cæſar* had before commanded, the Soldiers ran to the Attack from the neighbouring Forts. A very ſharp Conflict enſued: for the Enemy, now driven to Deſpair, and having no Hope but in their Valour, fought with all poſſible Bravery, though the *Romans* had the Advantage of the Ground, and poured their Javelins upon them both from the Towers and the Top of the Rampart. About four Thouſand were ſlain upon the Spot, and the Reſt obliged to retire into the Town. Next Day the Gates were forced, no one offering to make the leaſt Reſiſtance; and the Army having taken poſſeſſion of the Place, the Inhabitants, to the Number of fifty-three Thouſand, were ſold for Slaves.

XXXV. About the ſame Time *P. Craſſus*, whom *Cæſar* had ſent with a Legion againſt the *Venetians*, *Unellians*, *Oſiſmians*, *Curioſolitæ*, *Seſuvians*, *Aulerci*, and *Rhedones*, maritime States inhabiting along the Sea-coaſt; diſpatched Meſſengers to acquaint him, that all theſe Nations had ſubmitted to the Dominion and Authority of the *Romans*.

XXXVI. The Campaign being ended, and all the Provinces of *Gaul* ſubdued; ſuch was the Opinion conceived of this War amongſt all the *Barbarians* round about, that even the Nations beyond the *Rhine* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, offering to give Hoſtages, and ſubmit to his Commands. But he being then in Haſte to return to *Italy* and *Illyricum*, ordered them to attend him the next Spring. Mean-time, having diſpoſed his Army into Winter-quarters in the Territories of the *Andes*, *Turones*, and *Carnutes*, which States lay the neareſt to the Provinces that had been the Seat of the War, he himſelf ſet out for *Italy*. The Senate being informed of theſe Succeſſes by *Cæſar*'s Letters, decreed a Thankſgiving of fifteen Days: a Number never allowed to any General before.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in *GAUL*.

BOOK III.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. *The* Nantuates, Veragrians, *and* Seduni, *fall unexpectedly upon* Ser. Galba, Cæſar's *Lieutenant.* III. *But are overthrown with great Slaughter.* VI. Galba *leads back his Legion into the Country of the* Allobrogians. VII. *At the ſame Time the* Venetians *and other States bordering upon the Ocean revolt.* IX. Cæſar *prepares to attack them, not without great Difficulty.* X. *He divides his Army, and diſtributes it into the ſeveral Provinces of* Gaul. XII. *The Advantages of the* Venetians, *and the Manner of their Defence.* XIII. *A Deſcription of their Shipping, and its Suitableneſs to the Nature of the Coaſt.* XIV. Cæſar *finding it in vain to attack them by Land, comes to a naval Engagement with them, and gets the Victory.* XVII. *Mean-time* Q. Titurius Sabinus, *his Lieutenant, by an artful Stratagem defeats the* Unellians. XXI. *At the ſame Time* P. Craſſus *in* Aquitain, *having vanquiſhed the* Sotiates, *obliges them to ſubmit,* XXIV. *Together with ſeveral other States of the ſame Province.* XXIX. Cæſar *attacks the* Morini *and* Menapians *with Succeſs; but the Seaſon being far advanced, he is obliged to ſend his Army into Winter-quarters.*

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's COMMENTARIES OF HIS WARS in *GAUL*.

BOOK III.

I. *CÆSAR*, upon his Departure for *Italy*, ſent *Sergius Galba* with the twelfth Legion, and Part of the Cavalry, againſt the *Nantuates*, *Veragrians*, and *Seduni*, whoſe Territories extend from the Confines of the *Allobrogians*, the Lake *Lemanus*, and the River *Rhone*, all the Way to the Top of the *Alps*. His Deſign in this Expedition was to open a free Paſſage over thoſe Mountains to the *Roman* Merchants, who had hitherto travelled them with great Danger, and ſubject to many grievous Exactions. *Galba*, whoſe Orders alſo were, to put the Legion into Winter-quarters in thoſe Parts, if he ſaw it neceſſary; after ſome ſucceſsful Encounters, and making himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Forts, was addreſſed by Ambaſſadors from all Nations round. Having ſettled the Terms of Peace, and received Hoſtages for their Fidelity; he reſolved to quarter two Cohorts among the *Nantuates*; and himſelf, with the other Cohorts, to winter in a Town of the *Veragrians*, called *Octodurus*. This Town, which is ſituated in the Midſt of a Valley, upon a Plain of no great Extent, is bounded on all Sides by very high Mountains. As it was divided into two Parts by a River, he left one Part to the *Gauls*, and aſſigned the other to his Legion for their Winter-quarters, commanding it to be fortified with a Ditch and Rampart.

II. AFTER

II. AFTER many Days ſpent here, and that Orders had been given for the bringing in of Corn to ſupply the Camp; he was ſuddenly informed by his Spies, that the *Gauls* had abandoned in the Night that Part of the City allotted to them, and that the impending Mountains were covered with great Multitudes of the *Veragrians* and *Seduni*. Many Reaſons conſpired to induce the *Gauls* to this ſudden Reſolution of renewing the War, and falling upon our Men. Firſt, the ſmall Number of the *Roman* Troops, who were therefore deſpiſed by the Enemy, as not amounting in all to one Legion; two entire Cohorts having been detached, and even of thoſe that remained with *Galba*, many being gone out in queſt of Proviſions: And then their Perſuaſion, that by Reaſon of the Inequality of the Ground, where it would be eaſy for them to pour upon us from the Tops of the Mountains, and overwhelm us with their Darts, our Men would not be able to ſtand the very firſt Aſſault. Add to all this their inward Regret, at ſeeing their Children torn from them under the Name of Hoſtages; and that they firmly believed it to be the Deſign of the *Romans*, in ſeizing the Summits of the Mountains, not only to open a free Paſſage over the *Alps*, but to ſecure to themſelves the perpetual Poſſeſſion of thoſe Parts, and annex them to the adjoining Province.

III. UPON this Intelligence *Galba*, who had neither completed the Fortifications of his Camp, nor laid in ſufficient Store of Corn and other Proviſions; as little apprehending an Inſurrection of this Kind, among a People that had ſubmitted and given Hoſtages; having ſpeedily aſſembled a Council of War, began to aſk their Advice in the preſent Exigence. As the Danger which threatened them was ſudden and unexpected, and as they ſaw the Mountains on every Side covered with Multitudes of armed Soldiers; inſomuch that there was no Room to hope, either for Succours, or any Convoys of Proviſion, becauſe the Enemy were in Poſſeſſion of all the Avenues to the Camp: Some believing the Caſe to be altogether deſperate, propoſed to abandon the Baggage, and attempt by a Sally the Recovery of their old Quarters. But the greater Number were for reſerving this Expedient to the laſt

Extremity, and in the Mean-time to wait the Deciſion of Fortune, and in the beſt Manner they were able defend the Camp.

IV. After a ſhort Space, and even before there was ſufficient Time for the putting in execution what had been reſolved on; the Enemy, at a Signal given, came ruſhing upon us from all Parts, and begun the Aſſault by a Shower of Stones and Darts. Our Men at firſt made a brave and vigorous Reſiſtance, plying them with their Javelins from the Ramparts, whence not a ſingle Weapon was diſcharged in vain: And as any Part of the Camp appeared hard preſſed for want of Men to defend it, thither they ran, and made head againſt the Aſſailants. But in this the *Gauls* had greatly the Advantage, that when fatigued with the Length of the Fight, they found themſelves under a Neceſſity to retire, freſh Men ſucceeded in their Place; whereas on our Side, by reaſon of the ſmall Number of Troops, no Reſource of this Kind was left: So that not only ſuch as were wearied with fighting were yet obliged to continue in their Poſts; but we could not even permit the Wounded to retire, or for a Moment abandon the Charge.

V. The Battle had now laſted upwards of ſix Hours without Intermiſſion; inſomuch that the *Romans* not only found their Strength greatly exhauſted, but even began to be in want of Weapons, wherewith to annoy the Enemy. The *Gauls*, on the other Hand, urged the Combat with greater Fury than ever; and meeting with but a faint Reſiſtance, fell to demoliſhing the Rampart, and filling up the Ditch. All was giving way before them, when *P. Sextius Baculus*, a Centurion of the firſt Rank, the ſame who, as we have related above, received ſo many Wounds in the Battle againſt the *Nervians*; as likewiſe *C. Voluſenus*, a military Tribune, one equally diſtinguiſhed for his Conduct and Bravery; came to *Galba*, and repreſented: That the only Refuge now left, was by a ſudden Sally, to put all upon the Iſſue of a bold Attack. Accordingly *Galba*, calling the Centurions together, by them gave immediate Notice to the Soldiers, to keep for ſome Time only on the defenſive; and having provided themſelves with the Weapons thrown

thrown at them by the Enemy, and a little recovered their Strength, upon a Signal given, to ſally out of the Camp, and place all their Hopes of Safety in their Valour. Theſe Orders were exactly followed: And the *Romans* ruſhing furiouſly upon the Enemy, from all Parts, neither gave them Time to comprehend the Meaning of ſo unexpected an Attack, nor to recover out of the Confuſion into which it had thrown them. Thus Fortune changing Sides, they every where ſurrounded and put to the Sword the *Gauls*, who had ſo lately entertained Hopes of maſtering our Camp. Of thirty thouſand armed Troops, which Number, as appeared afterwards, were preſent in this Aſſault, more than ten Thouſand periſhed in the Field. The reſt fled in great Terror and Confuſion, and were even forced to abandon the Summits of the Mountains. The *Romans* ſeeing the Enemy entirely diſperſed, and obliged every where to throw down their Arms, quitted the Purſuit, and retired within their Intrenchments.

VI. AFTER this Battle; *Galba*, unwilling a ſecond Time to expoſe himſelf to the Inconſtancy of Fortune, and beſides conſidering, that he had met with an Oppoſition he little expected, when he firſt reſolved to winter in theſe Parts: Above all, finding himſelf in great want of Corn and Forage; the next Day ſet fire to the Town, and began his March back into the Province. As there was no Enemy in the Field to diſturb or oppoſe him in his Retreat, he brought the Legion ſafe into the Country of the *Nantuates*, and thence into the Territories of the *Allobrogians*, where he put them into Winter-quarters.

VII. THE Inſurrection being thus entirely quelled, *Cæſar* for many Reaſons believed, that *Gaul* was now reſtored to a State of Tranquillity. The *Belians* had been overcome, the *Germans* expelled, and the *Seduni*, and other Inhabitants of the *Alps*, forced to ſubmit. He therefore in the Beginning of Winter ventured upon a Progreſs into *Illyricum*, from a Deſire he had to viſit thoſe Nations, and acquaint himſelf with the Country; when all on a ſudden a new War broke out in *Gaul*. The Occaſion of it was as follows: The ſeventh Legion, commanded by young *Craſſus*, was quartered among the

Andes, a People bordering upon the Ocean. As there was great Scarcity of Corn in theſe Parts, *Craſſus* ſent ſome Officers of the Cavalry, and military Tribunes, to ſolicit a Supply from the neighbouring States. Of this Number were *T. Terraſidius*, ſent to the *Euſubians*; *M. Trebius Gallus*, to the *Curioſolitæ*; and *Q. Velanius*, and *T. Silius*, to the *Venetians*.

VIII. THIS laſt State is by far the moſt powerful and conſiderable of all the Nations inhabiting along the Sea-coaſt; and that not only on account of their vaſt Shipping, wherewith they drive a mighty Traffick to *Britain*; and their Skill and Experience in naval Affairs, in which they greatly ſurpaſs the other maritime States; but becauſe lying upon a large and open Coaſt, againſt which the Sea rages with great Violence, and where the Havens being few in Number, are all ſubject to their Juriſdiction; they have moſt of the Nations that trade in thoſe Seas Tributaries to their State. Among them the Revolt began by detaining *Silius* and *Velanius*; as by this Means they hoped to recover the Hoſtages they had put into the Hands of *Craſſus*. The neighbouring States, moved by their Authority and Example, as the *Gauls* are in general very ſudden and forward in their Reſolves, detained for the ſame Reaſon *Trebius* and *Terraſidius*; and ſpeedily diſpatching Ambaſſadors from one to another, they by their Princes entered into a Confederacy, of acting in all Things with common Conſent, and alike expoſing themſelves to the ſame Iſſue of Fortune; earneſtly ſoliciting at the ſame Time the other Provinces, rather to ſtand up in Defence of that Liberty they had received of their Anceſtors, than tamely ſubmit to the ignominious Yoke of the *Romans*. All the Nations upon the Sea-coaſt coming readily into this Alliance, they jointly ſent Ambaſſadors to *Craſſus*, to acquaint him; That if he expected to have his Officers reſtored, he muſt firſt ſend them back their Hoſtages.

IX. CÆSAR having Intelligence of theſe Things from *Craſſus*, and being then at a great Diſtance from *Gaul*, ordered in the Mean-time, that a Number of Galleys ſhould be built upon the *Loire*, a River which runs into the Ocean; and that Mariners, Rowers, and

Pilots, ſhould be drawn together from the Province. Theſe Orders being executed with great Diſpatch, he himſelf, as ſoon as the Seaſon of the Year permitted, came to the Army. The *Venetians*, and other States in Alliance with them, having Notice of his Arrival; and reflecting at the ſame Time upon the Greatneſs of their Crime in detaining and loading with Irons Ambaſſadors, a Name ever looked upon amongſt all Nations as ſacred and inviolable; began to make Preparations proportioned to the Danger that threatened them; more eſpecially to provide themſelves with all Kinds of warlike Stores; and that with ſo much the greater Alacrity and Confidence, as the Nature and Situation of the Country gave them good Hopes of being able to defend themſelves. They knew that the Paſſes by Land were every where cut aſunder, by the many Friths and Arms of the Ocean, that run up in thoſe Parts; and that the Approach by Sea was not leſs difficult, on account of the ſmall Number of Harbours, and the little Knowledge the *Romans* had of the Coaſt. Neither did they imagine it poſſible for our Army to continue long in that Country, by reaſon of the great Scarcity of Corn: And ſhould even all theſe Expectations deceive them, they had ſtill a mighty Confidence in the Strength and Number of their Shipping. The *Romans*, they were ſenſible, had but a very inconſiderable Fleet; and were beſides perfect Strangers to the Ports, Iſlands, and Shallows of the Coaſt, where the chief Weight of the War was like to fall. At the Time they foreſaw, that our Pilots, accuſtomed only to the Navigation of the *Mediterranean*, a Sea bounded and ſhut in on all Sides by the Continent, muſt needs find themſelves greatly at a Loſs, when they came to enter the vaſt and open Spaces of the wide *Atlantic* Ocean. In conſequence of theſe Reflections, and the Reſolutions formed upon them, they ſet about fortifying their Towns, and conveying all their Corn into Places of Strength, ordering as many Ships as could be got together to rendezvous in the *Venetian* Ports; it appearing, that *Cæſar* intended to begin the War by attacking that State. They likewiſe brought over to their Alliance the *Oſiſmians*, *Lexovians*, *Nannetes*, *Ambiani*, *Morini*, *Diablintes*, and *Menapians*; and diſpatched Ambaſſadors into *Britain*, which lies over-againſt their Coaſt, to ſolicit Aſſiſtance from thence.

X. ALL

X. All these Difficulties before-mentioned attended the Prosecution of this War: But *Cæsar* was urged by many Considerations to undertake and carry it on with Vigour: The Insult offered to the Commonwealth in detaining the *Roman* Knights; a Revolt, and Insurrection, after Submission, and Hostages given; the Confederacy of so many States; above all his Fear, lest by neglecting to oppose these first Commotions, he should give Encouragement to the other Provinces of *Gaul* to follow the Example. Reflecting therefore upon the Genius and Temper of the *Gauls*, fond of Revolutions, and ever forward and ready to engage in new Wars; and considering at the same Time, that it was the natural Bent and Disposition of Mankind, to aspire after Liberty, and abhor the Yoke of Servitude; he determined, before the Infection should spread wider, to divide his Army, and distribute it into the several Provinces of *Gaul*.

XI. Pursuant to this Design, *T. Labienus* his Lieutenant, was sent with the Cavalry to *Treves*, whose Territory extends along the Banks of the *Rhine*. To him he gave it in Charge, to take a Progress to *Rheims*, and the other *Belgian* States, in order to retain them in Obedience; as likewise to oppose the *Germans*, should they attempt by Force the Passage of the River; a Report then prevailing, that they had been invited over by the *Belgians*. *P. Crassus*, with twelve legionary Cohorts, and a great Body of Horse, had Orders to march into *Aquitain*, to prevent the Arrival of any Supplies from that Quarter, and the Junction of the Forces of so many powerful Nations. *Q. Titurius Sabinus*, at the Head of three Legions, entered the Country of the *Unellians*, *Curiosolitæ*, and *Lexovians*, to find Employment for the Troops that had been drawn together in those Parts. To young *Brutus* he gave the Command of the Fleet, and of all the Vessels from *Gaul*, which he had ordered to be fitted out by the *Santones*, *Pictones*, and other Provinces that continued in Obedience; strongly recommending to him at the same Time, to use the greatest Dispatch, and sail with all Expedition for the *Venetian* Coast. He himself, at the Head of the Land-Army, set out upon his March thither.

XII. THE Situation of moſt of the Towns in thoſe Parts is ſuch, that ſtanding upon the Edges of Promontories, or upon Points of Land that run out into the Sea, there is no approaching them with an Army at High-water, which happens always twice in twelve Hours. Neither is it poſſible for a Fleet to draw near; becauſe upon the Receſs of the Tide, the Ships would be in danger of being daſhed againſt the Shallows and Banks of Sand. Both theſe Reaſons therefore concurred to ſecure their Towns from Aſſault; and if at any Time, by the Greatneſs of the Works carried on againſt them, and huge artificial Mounts that ſerved to prevent the Ingreſs of the Sea, and were raiſed to an Height nearly equalling their Walls, they ſaw themſelves reduced to Extremity; then, by bringing up their Ships, of which they had always a great Number in Readineſs, they eaſily found Means to carry off their Effects, and withdraw into the neareſt Towns, where they again defended themſelves by the ſame Advantages of Situation as before. In this Manner did they elude all *Cæſar*'s Attempts during a great Part of the Summer, and that with ſo much the more Succeſs, becauſe our Fleet was kept back by Tempeſts, and found the Navigation extremely dangerous in that vaſt and boundleſs Ocean, where the Tides are great, and the Havens both few in Number, and at a conſiderable Diſtance one from another.

XIII. FOR the *Venetian* Ships were built and fitted out in this Manner: Their Bottoms were ſomewhat flatter than ours, the better to adapt themſelves to the Shallows, and ſuſtain without Danger the Regreſs of the Tides. Their Prows were very high and erect, as likewiſe their Sterns, to bear the Hugeneſs of the Billows, and the Violence of Tempeſts. The Body of the Veſſel was entirely of Oak, to ſtand the Shocks and Aſſaults of that tempeſtuous Ocean. The Benches of the Rowers were made of ſtrong Beams of about a Foot in Breadth, and faſtened with Iron Nails an Inch thick. Inſtead of Cables they ſecured their Anchors with Chains of Iron; and made uſe of Skins, and a Sort of thin pliant Leather, by way of Sails; either becauſe they wanted Canvas, and were ignorant of the Art of making Sail-cloth; or, which is more probable, becauſe they

they imagined that Canvas-ſails were not ſo proper to bear the Violence of Tempeſts, the Rage and Fury of the Winds, and to govern Ships of that Bulk and Burden. Between our Fleet, and Veſſels of ſuch a Make, the Nature of the Encounter was this; that in Agility, and a ready Command of Oars, we had indeed the Advantage; but in other Reſpects, regarding the Situation of the Coaſt, and the Aſſaults of Storms, all Things ran very much in their Favour: For neither could our Ships injure them with their Beaks, ſo great was their Strength and Firmneſs; nor could we eaſily throw in our Darts, becauſe of their Height above us: Which alſo was the Reaſon, that we found it extremely difficult to grapple the Enemy, and bring them to cloſe Fight. Add to all this, that when the Sea began to rage, and they were forced to ſubmit to the Pleaſure of the Winds, they could both weather the Storm better, and more ſecurely truſt themſelves among the Shallows, as fearing nothing from the Rocks and Cliffs, upon the Receſs of the Tide. The *Romans*, on the other Hand, had Reaſon to be under a continual Dread of theſe and ſuch like Accidents.

XIV. Cæsar having taken many of their Towns, and finding that he only fatigued his Army to no Purpoſe, becauſe he could neither prevent the Retreat of the Enemy, nor force their Garriſons to a Surrender; reſolved to wait the Arrival of his Fleet. Which being accordingly come up, was no ſooner deſcried by the *Venetians*, than about two hundred and twenty of their beſt Ships, well equipped for Service, and furniſhed with all Kind of Weapons, ſtood out to Sea, and drew up in Order of Battle againſt us. Neither *Brutus*, who commanded the Fleet, nor the Centurions and military Tribunes who had the Charge of particular Veſſels, knew what Courſe to take, or in what Manner to conduct the Fight. For they were no Strangers to the Strength and Firmneſs of the *Venetian* Shipping, which rendered them proof againſt our Beaks; and when they had even raiſed Turrets upon the Decks, yet being ſtill over-topped by the lofty Sterns of the Enemy, the *Romans* could not with any Advantage throw in their Darts; whereas thoſe ſent by the *Gauls*, coming from above, deſcended with great Violence on our Men. In this

Exigence, a particular Kind of Inſtrument uſed by the Mariners, proved of ſignal Service in giving a favourable Iſſue to the Combat. They had provided themſelves with long Poles, armed at one End with long Scythes, not unlike thoſe made uſe of in attacking the Walls of Towns. With theſe they laid hold of the Enemy's Tackle, and drawing off the Galley by the extreme Force of Oars, cut aſunder the Ropes that faſtened the Sail-yards to the Maſt. Theſe giving way, the Sail-yards neceſſarily came down; inſomuch that as all the Hopes and Expectations of the *Gauls* depended entirely on their Sails and Rigging, by depriving them of this Reſource, we at the ſame Time rendered their Veſſels wholly unſerviceable. The reſt depended altogether upon the Valour of the Troops, in which the *Romans* had greatly the Advantage; and the rather, becauſe they fought within View of *Cæſar* and the whole Army, ſo that not a ſingle Act of Bravery could paſs unobſerved: for all the adjoining Hills and Eminences, which afforded a near Proſpect of the Sea, were covered with our Men.

XV. THE Enemy's Sail-yards being, as we have ſaid, cut down; and many of their Ships ſingly ſurrounded by two or three of ours at a Time; the *Romans* uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to board them: Which the *Venetians* obſerving, and that we had already made ourſelves Maſters of a great Part of their Fleet; as they could fall upon no Expedient to prevent ſo great a Misfortune, they began to think of providing for their Safety by Flight. Accordingly they tacked about, in order to have the Advantage of the Wind; when all of a ſudden ſo dead a Calm enſued, that not a Veſſel could ſtir out of its Place. Nor could any Thing have fallen out more opportunely towards putting at once a final Period to the War; for the *Romans* attacking their Ships one after another, took them with Eaſe; inſomuch that of all that vaſt Number that came out againſt us, but a very few, under favour of the Night, eſcaped ſafe to Land, after a Conflict that continued from nine in the Morning till Sun-ſet.

XVI. THIS Battle put an End to the War with the *Venetians*, and all the Nations upon the Sea-Coaſt. For

as

as the entire Body of their Youth, and all thoſe alſo of more advanced Age, who were capable of ſerving their Country by their Credit and Counſels, were preſent in the Action; and as they had likewiſe drawn together their whole naval Strength: ſuch as ſurvived this Defeat, having neither any Place of Refuge whereunto to retire, nor Means left of defending their Towns, ſurrendered themſelves and their all to *Cæſar*'s Mercy. But he thought it neceſſary to proceed againſt them with the greater Severity, that he might impreſs upon the Minds of the *Gauls* for the future, a more inviolable Regard to the ſacred Character of Ambaſſadors. Having therefore cauſed all their Senators to be put to death, he ordered the reſt to be ſold for Slaves.

XVII. DURING theſe Tranſactions againſt the *Venetians*, *Q. Titurius Sabinus* entered the Territories of the *Unellians*, at the Head of the Troops put under his Command by *Cæſar*. *Viridovix* was inveſted with the ſupreme Authority in theſe Parts, and had been appointed General in chief, by all the States concerned in the Revolt; out of which he had drawn together a very numerous and powerful Army. Nay, but a very few Days before, the *Aulerci*, *Eburovices*, and *Lexovians*, having maſſacred their Senate, becauſe they refuſed to engage in the War, had ſhut their Gates againſt the *Romans*, and joined themſelves to *Viridovix*. Beſides all this, he had very much ſtrengthened his Army by the great Numbers that flocked to him from all Parts of *Gaul*; Men of deſperate Fortunes, or accuſtomed to live by Robbery, whom the Hopes of Plunder, and Love of War, had drawn off from the daily Labours of their Calling and the Cares of Agriculture.

XVIII. SABINUS kept cloſe within his Camp, which was ſituated in a Manner every way advantageous; while *Viridovix*, who had poſted himſelf at the Diſtance of about two Miles, daily drew out his Men, and offered him Battle. This Behaviour of the *Roman* General, not only drew upon him the Contempt of the Enemy, but occaſioned alſo ſome murmuring among his own Troops, and filled the *Gauls* with ſo high a Conceit of his Fear, that they even adventured to come up to his very Trenches. The Reaſon of his acting in this Man-

ner was, that he thought it not justifiable in a Lieutenant, in the Absence of the Commander in Chief, to hazard a Battle with so superior an Army, unless upon Terms of evident Advantage.

XIX. HAVING confirmed them in this Belief, that his Reserve was the Effect of Fear; he made choice of a certain *Gaul* from among the Auxiliaries, a Man of Address, and every Way qualified for carrying on his Design. Him he persuaded by great Rewards, and still greater Promises, to go over to the Enemy, instructing him at the same Time in the Part he was to act. This *Gaul* coming to their Camp as a Deserter, laid before them the Fear of the *Romans*, and the Extremities to which *Cæsar* was reduced in the War against the *Venetians*: nor did he fail to insinuate, that there was great Reason to believe *Sabinus* intended the next Night privately to draw off his Army, and march to *Cæsar*'s Assistance. No sooner was this heard by the *Gauls*, than they all cried out with one Voice, that they ought not to lose so fair an Occasion of Success, but go and attack the *Roman* Camp. Many Reasons concurred to fix them in this Resolution: The Reserve of *Sabinus* for some Days past: the Intelligence from the Deserter confirming their Belief of his Fear: the Want of Provisions, of which they had taken no great Care to lay in a sufficient Stock; the Hopes conceived from the *Venetian* War: and in fine, that Readiness with which Men are apt to believe what falls in with their Expectations and Wishes. Urged by these Considerations, they would not suffer *Viridovix* and the rest of the general Officers to dismiss the Council, before they had obtained their Consent for the taking up of Arms, and falling upon the *Roman* Camp. The Proposal being at last agreed to, they provided themselves with Fascines and Hurdles to fill up the Ditch, and joyfully began their March, as to a certain Victory.

XX. THE *Roman* Camp stood upon an Eminence, which rose with a gentle Ascent, for the Space of about a Mile. Hither the *Gauls* advanced with so much Haste, in order to come upon our Troops unprepared, that by that Time they were arrived they had run themselves quite out of Breath. *Sabinus* having encouraged his Men,

whom he ſaw eager to engage, gave the Word of Onſet. As the Enemy were very much incumbered with the Loads of Faſcines they had brought to fill up the Ditch, he ordered a ſudden Sally from the two ſeveral Gates of the Camp: and ſo well did it ſucceed, by reaſon of the Advantage of the Ground, the Inexperience and Wearineſs of the *Gauls*, the Bravery of the *Roman* Troops, and their Ability acquired in former Battles; that the Enemy could not ſuſtain the very firſt Charge of our Men, but immediately betook themſelves to flight. The *Romans*, who were freſh and vigorous, purſuing them under all theſe Diſadvantages, put great Numbers to the Sword; and the reſt being followed by the Cavalry, very few eſcaped the Slaughter. Thus at one and the ſame Time, *Sabinus* had an Account of the Defeat of the *Venetians* by Sea, and *Cæſar* of the Victory obtained by *Sabinus* at Land. All the ſeveral States in thoſe Parts readily ſubmitted to *Titurius*; for as the *Gauls* are very prompt and forward to undertake a War, ſo are they of a Diſpoſition that eaſily relents and gives way to the Strokes of Adverſity.

XXI. Much about the ſame Time *P. Craſſus* arrived in *Aquitain*; a Country, which as we have before obſerved, for Extent of Territory, and Number of Inhabitants, is deſervedly counted a third Part of *Gaul*. This General underſtanding that he was to conduct a War in thoſe Parts, where but a few Years before *L. Valerius Præconinus* had been ſlain, and his Army put to the rout; and whence *L. Manilius* the Proconſul had been driven with the Loſs of his Baggage: ſoon became ſenſible that he muſt act with more than ordinary Circumſpection and Vigour. Having therefore made Proviſion of Corn, aſſembled his auxilary Troops and Cavalry, and ſtrengthened his Army with a choice Body of Volunteers, drawn together by Name from *Toulouſe*, *Carcaſo*, and *Narbonne*, which States make up that Part of the *Roman* Province that lies the neareſt to *Aquitain*; he advanced with all his Forces into the Territories of the *Sotiates*. Theſe, upon the firſt Notice of his Arrival, having levied a great Army, and attacking him in his March with the whole Body of their Cavalry, in which their chief Strength conſiſted, were nevertheleſs repulſed and purſued by our Men. But all on a Sudden their

their Infantry appearing in a Valley, where they had been deſignedly placed in Ambuſh, fell furiouſly upon the *Romans*, diſordered with the Purſuit, and renewed the Fight.

XXII. THE Battle was long and obſtinate. For the *Sotiates*, proud of their former Victories, imagined that the Fate of all *Aquitain* depended ſingly on their Bravery. The *Romans*, on the other hand, were ambitious of ſhewing what they could atchieve under a young Leader in the Abſence of their General, and unſupported by the reſt of the Legions. At length, however, the Enemy, overpowered with Wounds, betook themſelves to flight; and a great Slaughter enſuing, *Craſſus* marched immediately and inveſted their Capital; where meeting with a brave Reſiſtance, he was forced to make his Approaches by Towers and Mantelets. The Enemy ſometimes ſallying out, ſometimes carrying on their Mines to our very Works, (in which Kind of Service the *Aquitains* are particularly ſkilful, as inhabiting a Country that abounds in Veins of Copper;) when they ſaw that the Diligence of the *Romans* enabled them to ſurmount all theſe Difficulties, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Craſſus*, and requeſted they might be admitted to a Surrender: Which being accordingly agreed to, they, in obedience to his Deſire, delivered up their Arms.

XXIII. BUT while the *Romans* were wholly intent upon the Execution of the Treaty, *Adiatomus*, who commanded in chief, endeavoured to eſcape on the other Side of the Town, with a Body of ſix hundred ſworn Friends, who in the Language of the Country are called *Soldurians*. Their Condition and Manner of Life is this: To live in a perfect Community of Goods with thoſe to whom they have engaged themſelves in Friendſhip: if any Misfortune befals them, to ſhare in it, or make away with themſelves: nor is there a ſingle Inſtance of any one upon Record, who upon the Death of him to whom he had vowed a Friendſhip, refuſed to ſubmit to the ſame Fate. *Adiatomus*, as we have ſaid, endeavouring to make his Eſcape with his Body of Friends, and the Alarm being given on that Side of the Works, the Soldiers immediately ran to Arms; when a furious Combat enſued, in which he was at laſt repulſed, and driven

driven back into the Town. He obtained however from *Craſſus* the ſame Conditions of Surrender as had been granted to the reſt of the Inhabitants.

XXIV. Crassus having received their Arms and Hoſtages, led his Troops into the Territories of the *Vocatians* and *Taruſatians*. But now the *Gauls*, rouſed by the unexpected Progreſs of the *Romans*, who had in a few Days after their Arrival made themſelves Maſters of a Town ſtrongly fortified both by Art and Nature; began to ſend Ambaſſadors into all Parts; to join in a mutual League; to ratify their Engagements by an Exchange of Hoſtages; and to levy Troops. Ambaſſadors were likewiſe diſpatched to all the States of Hither *Spain* that bordered upon *Aquitain*, to ſolicit a Supply of Troops and Leaders: upon whoſe Arrival, they immediately took the Field with great Confidence, and a numerous and well-appointed Army. None were ſuffered to command but ſuch as had ſerved under *Sertorius*, and were therefore accounted Men of conſummate Ability and Experience in the Art of War. Theſe, according to the Cuſtom of the *Romans*, made it their Study to chooſe a Camp to Advantage; to ſecure themſelves by Lines and Intrenchments; and to intercept our Convoys. *Craſſus* perceiving their Deſign; as his own Army was not ſtrong enough to admit of ſending out Detachments; and as the *Gauls* could upon all Occaſions employ numerous Parties, poſſeſs themſelves of the Paſſes, and at the ſame Time have a ſufficient Number of Troops to guard the Camp; by which Means he foreſaw he muſt ſoon be reduced to great Straits for want of Proviſions, while the Enemy would be every Day growing more powerful: he for all theſe Reaſons reſolved not to delay coming to an Engagement. Having laid his Deſign before a Council of War, and finding them unanimous in their Approbation of it, he appointed the next Day for the Engagement.

XXV. Early in the Morning he drew all his Forces out of the Camp, and diſpoſing them in two Lines, with the auxiliary Troops in the Center, ſtood expecting what Reſolution the Enemy would take. But the *Gauls*, though they believed they might ſafely hazard a Battle, on account of their Numbers, their former Renown in

War, and the Handful of Men they were to oppose; yet thought it would be still better, by seizing the Passes, and intercepting our Convoys, to secure the Victory without Expence of Blood: and should the Want of Provisions at length force the *Romans* to think of a Retreat; they might then fall upon them embarrassed in their March, incumbered with their Baggage, and dejected by their Misfortunes. This Resolution being approved by all their Leaders, they kept within their Camp, though our Men appeared before them in Order of Battle.

XXVI. CRASSUS perceiving their Design, and that this Delay served rather to abate the Courage of the Enemy, and add fresh Spirits to his own Men, among whom an universal Cry arose, that he ought no longer to put off the Engagement, but march directly to their Camp; having encouraged his Troops, he resolved to give way to their present Ardor, and accordingly led them to the Assault. There some were employed in filling up the Ditch; others in driving the Enemy with their Darts from the Works; while the Auxiliaries, in whom *Crassus* had no great Confidence, yet that they might appear to have some Share at least in the Engagement, were appointed to carry Stones and Darts to them that fought, and to supply Materials for raising the Mount. At the same Time the Enemy fought with great Constancy and Resolution, and made no small Havock with their Darts, which came upon us from above. During this Warmth of Opposition, the Cavalry having taken a Compass round the Camp, came and told *Crassus*, that the Intrenchments were not fortified with the same Care in all Parts, and that it would be easy to force an Entrance by the postern Gate.

XXVII. CRASSUS having exhorted the Officers of the Cavalry to encourage their Men by great Rewards and Promises, instructed them in the Part they were to act. They, in consequence of the Orders they had received, drawing out four Cohorts, which having been left to guard the Camp, were quite fresh and fit for Action; and fetching with them a large Compass, that they might not be seen from the Enemy's Camp; while the Eyes and Minds of all were intent upon the Combat,

fell

fell suddenly upon that Part of the Intrenchments of which we have spoken above; and having forced their Way through, were actually got within the Camp before they were so much as seen by the Enemy, or any Apprehension entertained of what they were about. Upon this a great Uproar being heard on that Side, our Men redoubled their Efforts, and as always happens to Troops animated with the Hopes of Victory, began to push the *Gauls* with greater Fury than ever. The Enemy thus surrounded on all Sides, and without Hopes of retrieving their Affairs, endeavoured to make their Escape over the Rampart, and save themselves by Flight. But being pursued by the Cavalry, who soon came up with them in these open and level Plains: of fifty thousand Men that had been drawn together out of *Spain* and *Aquitain*, scarce a fourth Part escaped; nor did the Horse return to the Camp till very late in the Evening, after they had quite tired themselves with the Slaughter.

XXVIII. UPON the Report of this Defeat, the greatest Part of *Aquitain* immediately submitted to *Crassus*, and of their own accord sent him Hostages. Of this Number were the *Tarbelli*, *Bigerriones*, *Preciani*, *Vocates*, *Tarusates*, *Elusates*, *Garites*, *Ausci*, *Garumni*, *Siburzates*, and *Cocasates*. Only a few Nations, and those the most remote, relying on the Season of the Year, because the Winter was at hand, neglected to take this Step.

XXIX. MUCH about the same Time *Cæsar*, though the Summer was now almost spent; yet because all the rest of *Gaul* being subdued, the *Morini* and *Menapians* were still in Arms, and had not sent Ambassadors to treat about a Peace; resolved to lead his Army against them, hoping he should soon be able to put an End to that War. Their Manner of opposing him was very different from that of the other *Gauls*. For understanding that the most powerful Nations, when it came to a Battle, had always been overthrown and put to rout; and inhabiting themselves in a Country that abounded in Woods and Marshes, they retired thither with all their Effects. *Cæsar* coming to the Entrance of the Wood, began to intrench himself: and although no Enemy

Enemy in the Mean-time appeared, yet no ſooner had our Men diſperſed themſelves in order to ſet about fortifying the Camp, than on a Sudden they came pouring upon us from all Parts of the Wood, and charged with great Briſkneſs. The *Romans* immediately flew to their Arms, and drove them back with conſiderable Slaughter; but adventuring a little too far into the Wood, loſt ſome Men.

XXX. CÆSAR ſpent the remaining Days in cutting down the Wood; and to ſcreen his Men from any ſudden and unexpected Attack, ordered the Trees that had been felled to be placed on each Side the Army, that they might ſerve as a Barricade againſt the Attempts of the Enemy. Having with incredible Diſpatch advanced a great Way into the Wood in a few Days, inſomuch that all their Cattle and Baggage fell into our Hands; they themſelves retired into the thicker and more covered Spaces of the Foreſt. The Seaſon growing bad, we were forced to intermit the Work; and the Rains ſoon became ſo violent and continual, that the Soldiers could no longer endure to lie in their Tents. Wherefore *Cæſar* having laid waſte their Lands, and ſet fire to their Towns and Houſes, led back his Army, and diſpoſed it into Winter-quarters among the *Aulerci*, *Lexovians*, and other States whom he had laſt ſubdued.

C. JULIUS

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in *GAUL.*

BOOK IV.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. *The* Uſipetes *and* Tenchtheri, German *Nations, expelled by the* Suevians, *come over into* Gaul. II. *The Manners and way of Life of the* Suevians. III. *And of the* Ubians. IV. *The* Uſipetes *and* Tenchtheri *drive the* Menapians *from their Habitations.* V. Cæſar *knowing the wavering and unſettled Temper of the* Gauls, *repairs early in the Spring to the Army.* VI. *Embaſſy of the* Germans *to* Cæſar, *and his Anſwer.* IX. *An Action between the Cavalry, in which the* Germans *have the Advantage.* X. *But are afterwards driven from their Camp with great Slaughter.* XIII. *And purſued by* Cæſar, *who makes a Bridge over the* Rhine *for that Purpoſe.* XVI. Cæſar *lays waſte the Territories of the* Sicambri. XVII. *And having freed the* Ubians *from the Servitude under which they lived, returns into* Gaul. XVIII. *He then paſſes over into* Britain. XXII. *And lands his Army with great Difficulty, the Natives making a vigorous Oppoſition.* XXIV. *They are defeated at length, and ſend Ambaſſadors to ſue for Peace.* XXVI. Cæſar's *Fleet almoſt entirely ruined by a Storm, which induces the* Britons *to revolt.* XXIX. *Their Way of fighting from their Chariots.* XXX. *Which diſconcerts the* Romans *at firſt.* XXXI. *But being again put to flight, they obtain Peace.* XXXII. *After which* Cæſar *returns into* Gaul. XXXIII. *And marching againſt the* Morini, *whom the Hope of Plunder tempted to fall upon ſome of his detached Parties, obliges them to ſubmit.*

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in *GAUL.*

BOOK IV.

I. THE following Winter, being that in which *Cn. Pompey* and *M. Craſſus* were Conſuls, the *Uſipetes* and *Tenchtheri*, *German* Nations, paſſed the *Rhine* in a great Body, not far from its Mouth. The Cauſe of their taking this Step was, that being much expoſed to the Hoſtilities of the *Suevians*, they had for many Years been haraſſed with continual Wars and hindered from cultivating their Lands.

II. THE *Suevians* are by far the moſt warlike and conſiderable of all the *German* Nations. They are ſaid to be compoſed of a hundred Cantons, each of which ſends yearly into the Field a thouſand armed Men. The reſt, who continue in their ſeveral Diſtricts, employ themſelves in cultivating their Lands, that it may furniſh a ſufficient Supply both for themſelves and for the Army. Theſe again take up Arms the following Campaign, and are ſucceeded in the care of the Lands by the Troops that ſerved the Year before. Thus they live in the continual Exerciſe both of Agriculture and War. They allow of no ſuch thing as Property or private Poſſeſſion in the Diſtribution of their Lands; their Reſidence, for the ſake of Tillage, being confined to a ſingle Year. Corn is not much in uſe among them, becauſe they prefer a milk or fleſh Diet, and are greatly addicted to Hunting. Thus the Quality of their Food,

their perpetual Exercise, and free unconfined Manner of Life (because being from their Childhood fettered by no Rules of Duty or Education, they acknowledge no Law but Will and Pleasure) contribute to make them strong, and of an extraordinary Stature. They have likewise accustomed themselves, though inhabiting a Climate naturally very cold, to bathe in their Rivers, and clothe themselves only with Skins, which, as they are very small, leave great Part of their Body quite uncovered. Merchants indeed resort to them, but rather to purchase their Spoils taken in War, than import any Goods into the Country; for even Beasts of Carriage, in which the *Gauls* take so much Delight, that they are ready to purchase them at any Price, are yet very little valued by the *Germans* when brought among them. And though those of their own Country are both small and very ill shaped, yet by daily Exercise they make them capable of all Kinds of Service. Their Cavalry often dismount in Time of Action, to fight on Foot; and their Horses are so trained, that they stir not from the Place where they are left, but wait the Return of their Riders, who betake themselves to them again in case of Necessity. Nothing is more dishonourable in their Account, or more opposite to their Customs, than the Use of Horse-furniture: and therefore however few themselves, they scruple not to attack any Number of their Enemies whom they see so equipped. They suffer no Wine to be imported into their Territories, as imagining that it both enervates the Mind, and unfits the Body for Exercise and Labour. It is accounted much to the Honour of the Nation, to have the Country for a great Way round them waste and uninhabited; for by this they think is intimated, that the united Force of many States has been found insufficient to withstand their single Valour. And hence it is, that on one Side, the Country is said to lie desolate for the Space of six hundred Miles.

III. ON the other Side they are bounded by the *Ubians*, heretofore a flourishing and potent People, and somewhat more civilized than the other *German* Nations; because inhabiting along the Banks of the *Rhine*, they are much resorted to by Merchants; and have besides, by bordering upon the States of *Gaul*, given into many of their Customs. The *Suevians* having tried the Strength of this

this People in many Wars, and finding them too numerous and potent to be driven out of their Territories; prevailed yet so far as to impose a Tribute upon them, and very much reduce and weaken their Power.

IV. The *Usipetes* and *Tenchtheri*, of whom we have spoken above, were likewise engaged in this Quarrel; and after withstanding the Power of the *Suevians* for many Years, were nevertheless at length driven from their Territories. Having wandered over many Regions of *Germany* during the Space of three Years, they arrived at last upon the Banks of the *Rhine*, towards those Parts inhabited by the *Menapians*, who had Houses, Lands, and Villages on both Sides the River. But alarmed at the Approach of so prodigious a Multitude, they abandoned all their Habitations beyond the *Rhine*; and having disposed their Troops on this Side the River, set themselves to oppose the Passage of the *Germans*. These having tried every Expedient; and finding they could neither force the Passage, because of their Want of Shipping; nor steal over privately, by reason of the Guards kept by the *Menapians*; counterfeited a Retreat into their own Country; and after three Days March suddenly turned back: when their Cavalry recovering all this Ground in the Space of one Night, easily overpowered the *Menapians*, little expecting or prepared for such a Visit: for having been apprised by their Scouts of the Departure of the *Germans*, they had returned, fearless of Danger, to their Habitations beyond the *Rhine*. These being all put to the Sword, and their Shipping seized; before the *Menapians* on this Side had Intelligence of their Approach, they passed the River: and seizing all their Towns and Houses, supported themselves the rest of the Winter with the Provisions there found.

V. Cæsar being informed of these Things, and dreading the Levity of the *Gauls*, who are very changeable in their Counsels, and fond of Novelties; determined to trust nothing to their Resolves. For it is the Custom of that People to stop Travellers even against their Will, and enquire of them what they have heard or know relating to any Affair; and in their Towns, upon the Arrival of a foreign Merchant, they gather round

him in Crowds, and oblige him to tell what Country he comes from, and how Things ſtood at his Departure. Moved by theſe Reports, they often enter upon the moſt important Deliberations, and concert Meaſures they ſoon have Cauſe to repent, as being founded wholly on vain Rumours, and Anſwers feigned for the moſt Part deſignedly to pleaſe them. *Cæſar*, who was aware of this Cuſtom, fearing the War if neglected might become formidable, made all the haſte he could to join the Army. Upon his Arrival he found, that Things were fallen out exactly as he had foreſeen. Some of the States of *Gaul* had ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Germans*, inviting them to leave the Banks of the *Rhine*, and aſſuring them that all their Demands ſhould be readily complied with. The *Germans*, allured by theſe Hopes, were already extending their Incurſions on all Sides, and had penetrated into the Territories of the *Eburones* and *Condruſians*, both which Nations are under the Protection of the *Treviri*. *Cæſar* having aſſembled the Chiefs of the *Gauls*, diſſembled his Knowledge of their ſecret Deſigns; and endeavouring rather to win them over, and confirm them in their Alliance with the People of *Rome*; demanded a a certain Number of Cavalry of them, and prepared to march againſt the *Germans*.

VI. HAVING provided himſelf with Corn, and drawn together a ſelect Body of Horſe, he began his March towards thoſe Parts where he underſtood the *Germans* then were. When he was come within a few Days Journey of their Camp, Ambaſſadors arrived from them, who addreſſed him to this Effect: "That the *Germans* "had no Deſign of being the firſt to begin a War with "the People of *Rome*; but neither, if they were attack- "ed, would they decline having Recourſe to Arms: "That it was the Cuſtom of their Nation, handed "down to them by their Anceſtors, rather to oppoſe "the Efforts of their Enemies, than expect Relief from "Remonſtrances: but thus far they were however "willing to own, that it was againſt their Inclination "they were come into thoſe Parts, having been driven "from their Habitations: That if the *Romans* were diſ- "poſed to accept of their Friendſhip, they might become "very uſeful and ſerviceable Allies, and would reſt "ſatisfied either with ſuch Lands as they ſhould think

"proper

"proper to assign them, or in the quiet Possession of "those they had already obtained by Force of Arms: "That they yielded in Valour to the *Suevians* alone, "for whom the immortal Gods themselves were not "an equal Match; but knew of no other Nation under "Heaven able to resist the Efforts of their Bravery." *Cæsar* made such a Reply as best suited his present Views, but the Conclusion of his Speech was to this Purpose: "That he could enter into no Treaty of Friendship "with them so long as they continued in *Gaul*: That "Men who had been unable to defend their own Ter-"ritories were not likely to gain Countries by Force "from others: That there were no uncultivated Lands "in *Gaul*, sufficient to satisfy so great a Multitude, "without invading the Properties of others: But that, "if they pleased, they might incorporate themselves "with the *Ubians*, whose Ambassadors were then in his "Camp, to complain of the Injuries of the *Suevians*, "and request his Aid against their Incroachments: "This he promised to obtain for them of the *Ubians*." The Ambassadors replied, they would report this to their Countrymen, and in three Days return with an Answer: requesting in the Mean-time, that he would not advance with his Army. But this *Cæsar* refused; as knowing, that a few Days before they had sent a great Body of Cavalry over the *Meuse*, to forage and plunder in the Territories of the *Ambivariti*. He therefore concluded, that they only waited the Return of this Party, and with that View were for interposing Delays.

VII. The *Meuse* rises in the Mountains of *Vause*, in the Territories of the *Lingones*, and receiving a certain Branch of the *Rhine*, called the *Vahal*, forms with it the Island of the *Batavians*, about fourscore Miles below which it discharges itself into the Sea. The *Rhine* itself takes its Rise in the Territories of the *Lepontians*, who inhabit the *Alps*; and after a long and rapid Course through the Country of the *Nantuates*, *Helvetians*, *Sequani*, *Mediomatrici*, *Treboci*, and *Treviri*, divides itself as it approaches nearer the Sea into several Channels, and forming a great Number of very large Islands, inhabited for the most Part by fierce and savage Nations, some of whom are reported to feed only on Fish and the

Eggs of Birds; it at laſt diſcharges itſelf into the Ocean by many different Mouths.

VIII. CÆSAR being now only twelve Miles diſtant from the Enemy, was met upon his Way by the Ambaſſadors on the Day appointed. They were very earneſt in their Requeſts that he would advance no farther: but not being able to prevail, intreated; that he would ſend to the Cavalry, who made the Advance-guard, to reſtrain them from beginning the Fight; and in the Mean-time permit them to ſend Ambaſſadors to the *Ubians:* from whoſe Senate and Magiſtrates if they could obtain the Conditions offered them by *Cæſar*, under the Sanction of a ſolemn Oath, they declared themſelves ready to accept them; requiring only that he would allow them the Space of three Days to bring Matters to a final Iſſue. But *Cæſar* imagining all theſe Proffers to have no other Tendency than the Delay of a few Days, till their Cavalry ſhould arrive, told them nevertheleſs; that he would advance that Day only four Miles farther for the ſake of Water; but deſired their Chiefs to attend him the Day after, that he might know their Demands. Mean time he ſent Orders to the Officers of the Cavalry who were gone before, not to attack the Enemy; and in caſe they ſhould be attacked themſelves, only to maintain their Ground, till he ſhould come up with the reſt of the Army.

IX. BUT the Enemy, upon ſeeing our Horſe advance, whoſe Number amounted to five Thouſand; whereas they themſelves did not exceed eight hundred, by reaſon of the Abſence of thoſe who had been ſent to forage beyond the *Meuſe:* yet falling ſuddenly upon the *Romans*, who had no Apprehenſion of their Deſign, becauſe they knew their Ambaſſadors had been with *Cæſar* a little before, and obtained a Day's Truce; they eaſily put them into Diſorder. And when our Men, recovering a little, began to make Reſiſtance, they according to Cuſtom diſmounted, and ſtabbing our Horſes under the Belly, and by that Means overthrowing many of the Riders, in a very ſhort Time put the reſt to flight; and ſo great was the Conſternation, that they continued driving them before them, till at laſt they came within Sight of the Army. In this Skirmiſh we loſt ſeventy-four Men, and among

among them *Piſo* of *Aquitain*, a Man of diſtinguiſhed Valour and illuſtrious Deſcent, whoſe Grandfather had been ſovereign Magiſtrate in his own State, and been honoured by the Senate of *Rome* with the Title of Friend. This brave Officer, ſeeing his Brother ſurrounded by the Enemy, ran to his Aſſiſtance, and reſcued him: but his own Horſe being wounded, and he overthrown, the Enemy fell upon him, againſt whom nevertheleſs he made a brave Reſiſtance; till at laſt, ſurrounded on all Sides, he fell overpowered with Wounds. Which his Brother perceiving, who was by this Time out of Danger, and had got to a conſiderable Diſtance; ſetting Spurs to his Horſe, he ruſhed among the thickeſt of the Enemy, and was ſlain.

X. After this Battle, *Cæſar* reſolved neither to give Audience to their Ambaſſadors, nor admit them to Terms of Peace; ſeeing they had treacherouſly applied for a Truce, and afterwards of their own Accord broke it. He likewiſe conſidered, that it would be downright Madneſs to delay coming to an Action till their Army ſhould be augmented, and their Cavalry join them; and the more ſo, becauſe he was perfectly well acquainted with the Levity of the *Gauls*, among whom they had already acquired a conſiderable Reputation by this ſucceſsful Attack, and to whom it therefore behoved him by no means to allow Time to enter into Meaſures againſt him. Upon all theſe Accounts he determined to come to an Engagement with the Enemy as ſoon as poſſible, and communicated his Deſign to his Queſtor and Lieutenants. A very lucky Accident fell out to bring about *Cæſar*'s Purpoſe; for the Day after, in the Morning, the *Germans* perſiſting in their Treachery and Diſſimulation, came in great Numbers to the Camp; all their Nobility and Princes making Part of their Embaſſy. Their Deſign was, as they pretended, to vindicate themſelves in regard to what had happened the Day before; becauſe contrary to Engagements made and come under at their own Requeſt, they had fallen upon our Men; but their real Motive was to obtain if poſſible another inſidious Truce. *Cæſar*, overjoyed to have them thus in his Power, ordered them to be ſecured, and immediately drew his Forces out of the Camp. The

Cavalry, whom he ſuppoſed terrified with the late Engagement, were commanded to follow in the Rear.

XI. HAVING drawn up his Army in three Lines, and made a very expeditious March of eight Miles, he appeared before the Enemy's Camp, before they had the leaſt Apprehenſion of his Deſign. All Things conſpiring to throw them into a ſudden Conſternation, which was not a little increaſed by our unexpected Appearance, and the Abſence of their own Officers; and hardly any Time left them, either to take Council, or fly to Arms: they were utterly at a Loſs what Courſe to take, whether to draw out their Forces and oppoſe the Enemy, or content themſelves with defending the Camp, or in fine, to ſeek for Safety in Flight. As this Fear was evident from the Tumult and Uproar we perceived among them, our Soldiers, inſtigated by the Remembrance of their treacherous Behaviour the Day before, broke into the Camp. Such as could firſt provide themſelves with Arms made a ſhew of Reſiſtance, and for ſome Time maintained the Fight amidſt the Baggage and Carriages. But the Women and Children (for the *Germans* had brought all their Families and Effects with them over the *Rhine*) betook themſelves to flight on all Sides. *Cæſar* ſent the Cavalry in purſuit of them.

XII. THE *Germans* hearing the Noiſe behind them, and ſeeing their Wives and Children put to the Sword, threw down their Arms, abandoned their Enſigns, and fled out of the Camp. Being arrived at the Confluence of the *Rhine* and the *Meuſe*, and finding it impoſſible to continue their Flight any farther; after a dreadful Slaughter of thoſe that pretended to make Reſiſtance, the reſt threw themſelves into the River; where what with Fear, Wearineſs, and the Force of the Current, they almoſt all periſhed. Thus our Army, without the Loſs of a Man, and with very few wounded, returned to their Camp, having put an End to this formidable War, in which the Number of the Enemy amounted to four hundred and thirty Thouſand. *Cæſar* offered thoſe whom he had detained in his Camp Liberty to depart: but they dreading the Reſentment of the *Gauls*, whoſe Lands

Lands they had laid waſte, choſe rather to continue with him, and obtained his Conſent for that Purpoſe.

XIII. The War with the *Germans* being ended, *Cæſar* for many Reaſons reſolved to carry his Army over the *Rhine*. But what chiefly ſwayed with him was, that as he found the *Germans* were eaſily prevailed upon to tranſport their Forces into *Gaul*, he thought it might be of no ſmall Service to alarm them upon their own Account, by letting them ſee, that the *Romans* wanted neither Ability nor Reſolution to paſs the *Rhine* with an Army. Add to all this, that the Cavalry of the *Uſipetes* and *Tenchtheri*, who, as we have related above, had paſſed the *Meuſe* for the Sake of Forage and Plunder, and by that Means eſcaped the Diſaſter of the late Fight; upon hearing of the Defeat of their Countrymen, had repaſſed the *Rhine*, retired into the Territories of the *Sicambrians*, and joined their Forces to theirs. And upon *Cæſar*'s ſending Deputies to require, that theſe Troops which had preſumed to make War upon him and the *Gauls*, might be delivered up, he had received for Anſwer: "That the *Rhine* was the Boun-
"dary of the *Roman* Empire: That if he thought it
"unjuſtifiable in the *Germans* to paſs over into *Gaul*
"without his Leave, upon what Pretence could he
"claim any Power or Authority beyond the *Rhine*?"

XIV. But the *Ubians*, who alone of all the Nations beyond the *Rhine* had ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, entered into an Alliance with him, and given him Hoſtages, earneſtly intreated him to come over to their Aſſiſtance, they being very hard preſſed by the *Suevians*: "Or, if the Affairs of the Commonwealth would not
"allow of his being there in perſon, that he would
"only order his Army to croſs the *Rhine*, which would
"both be ſufficient for their preſent Support, and alſo
"ſecure them for the Time to come. Becauſe ſuch
"was the Reputation and Opinion conceived of a *Ro-*
"*man* Army, even amongſt the moſt remote *German*
"Nations, from their defeating *Arioviſtus*, and the
"Succeſs of the laſt Battle, that their Friendſhip and
"Name would alone be a ſufficient Defence. They
"promiſed likewiſe a great Number of Ships for the
"tranſporting of the Army."

XV. Cæsar

XV. CÆSAR for all theſe Reaſons above-mentioned, determined to croſs the *Rhine*. But to make uſe of Shipping appeared to him neither ſafe, nor ſuitable to the Dignity of the *Roman* Name. Wherefore, although he underſtood that the making of a Bridge would be attended with very great Difficulties, on account of the Breadth, Depth, and Rapidity of the River; yet was he of opinion, that in this Manner alone ought he to carry over his Army, or lay aſide the Deſign altogether. The Form therefore and Contrivance of the Bridge was thus: Two Beams, each a Foot and a half thick, ſharpened a little towards the lower End, and of a Length proportioned to the Depth of the River, were joined together at the Diſtance of about two Feet. Theſe were ſunk into the River by Engines, and afterwards ſtrongly driven with Rammers, not perpendicularly, but inclined according to the Direction of the Stream. Directly oppoſite to theſe, at the Diſtance of forty Feet lower down, were placed two other Beams joined together like the former, but ſloping againſt the Current of the River. Theſe Stakes were kept firm by a large Beam, extended from one to the other, and which being two Feet in Thickneſs, exactly filled the Interval of the two Stakes, and was ſtrongly faſtened at either End with Iron Nails, ſo contrived, that the Violence of the Stream ſerved only to bind the Work faſter together. This being continued through the whole Breadth of the River, he ordered Planks to be laid acroſs, which for the greater Convenience of paſſing, were further covered with Hurdles. Towards the lower Part of the Stream other Stakes were ſunk in the Form of Buttreſſes, which ſupported the Bridge againſt the Violence of the Current; and above, at ſome Diſtance, there were others; that if Trunks of Trees or Veſſels ſhould be ſent down the River by the Enemy, to deſtroy the Work, the Shock might be broken by theſe Defences, and the Bridge thereby ſecured from Damage.

XVI. THE Bridge being finiſhed within ten Days from the Time they began to fetch the Materials, *Cæſar* led over his Army; and leaving a ſtrong Guard on each Side of the River, marched directly into the Territories of the *Sicambri*. Mean-time Ambaſſadors arriving from ſeveral States to deſire Peace, and court his Alliance, he

gave

gave them a very favourable Reception, and appointed them to ſend Hoſtages. The *Sicambri*, when they underſtood that the Bridge was begun, by Advice of the *Uſipetes* and *Tenchtheri*, who had taken Shelter among them, reſolved upon a Retreat: And having abandoned their Territories, and carried off all their Effects, withdrew into the neighbouring Woods and Deſarts.

XVII. Cæsar, after a ſhort Stay in their Country, having burnt all their Houſes and Villages, and cut down their Corn, marched into the Territories of the *Ubians*. As he had promiſed theſe laſt his Aſſiſtance againſt the Attempts of the *Suevians*, he underſtood from them: That the *Suevians* being informed by their Spies of the Bridge built upon the *Rhine*, had, according to their Cuſtom, called a Council, and diſpatched Orders into all Parts for the People to forſake their Towns, and convey their Wives, Children, and Effects into the Woods; commanding at the ſame Time, that all ſuch as were able to bear Arms ſhould meet at the Place of general Rendezvous, which they had appointed towards the Middle of the Country, reſolving there to wait the Arrival of the *Romans*, and give them Battle. *Cæſar*, upon this Intelligence, having accompliſhed all he intended in carrying his Army over the *Rhine*, by ſpreading an univerſal Terror among the *Germans*, taking Vengeance of the *Sicambri*, and ſetting the *Ubians* at liberty; after a Stay of only eighteen Days beyond the *Rhine*, thinking he had done enough both for his own Reputation and the Service of the Republick, led back his Army into *Gaul*, and broke down the Bridge.

XVIII. Though but a ſmall Part of the Summer now remained; for in thoſe Regions, *Gaul*, ſtretching very much to the North, the Winters begin early; *Cæſar* nevertheleſs reſolved to paſs over into *Britain*, having certain Intelligence, that in all his Wars with the *Gauls*, the Enemies of the Commonwealth had ever received Aſſiſtance from thence. He indeed foreſaw, that the Seaſon of the Year would not permit him to finiſh the War: Yet he thought it would be of no ſmall Advantage, if he ſhould but take a View of the Iſland, learn the Nature of the Inhabitants and acquaint himſelf

himſelf with the Coaſt, Harbours, and Landing-places, to all which the *Gauls* were perfect Strangers. For almoſt none but Merchants reſort to that Iſland; nor have even they any Knowledge of the Country, except the Sea-coaſt, and the Parts oppoſite to *Gaul*. Having therefore called together the Merchants from all Parts, they could neither inform him of the Largeneſs of the Iſland, nor what or how powerful the Nations were that inhabited it; nor of their Cuſtoms, Art of War, or the Harbours fit to receive large Ships. For theſe Reaſons, before he embarked himſelf, he thought proper to ſend *C. Voluſenus* with a Galley, to get ſome Knowledge of theſe Things; commanding him, as ſoon as he had informed himſelf in what he wanted to know, to return with all Expedition. He himſelf marched with his whole Army into the Territories of the *Morini*, becauſe thence was the neareſt Paſſage into *Britain*. Here he ordered a great many Ships from the neighbouring Ports to attend him, and the Fleet he had made uſe of the Year before in the *Venetian* War.

XIX. MEAN-WHILE the *Britons*, having Notice of his Deſign, by the Merchants that reſorted to their Iſland; Ambaſſadors from many of their States came to *Cæſar*, with an Offer of Hoſtages, and Submiſſion to the Authority of the People of *Rome*. To theſe he gave a favourable Audience; and exhorting them to continue in the ſame Mind, ſent them back into their own Country. Along with them he diſpatched *Comius*, whom he had conſtituted King of the *Atrebatians*; a Man in whoſe Virtue, Wiſdom, and Fidelity he greatly confided, and whoſe Authority in the Iſland was very conſiderable. To him he gave it in charge, to viſit as many States as he could, and perſuade them to enter into an Alliance with the *Romans*, letting them know at the ſame Time that *Cæſar* deſigned as ſoon as poſſible to come over in perſon to their Iſland. *Voluſenus* having taken a View of the Country, as far as was poſſible for one who had reſolved not to quit his Ship, or truſt himſelf in the Hands of the Barbarians, returned on the fifth Day, and acquainted *Cæſar* with his Diſcoveries.

XX. WHILE *Cæſar* continued in thoſe Parts, for the Sake of getting ready his Fleet, Deputies arrived from

from almoſt all the Cantons of the *Morini*, to excuſe their late War with the People of *Rome*, as proceeding wholly from a national Fierceneſs, and their Ignorance of the *Roman* Cuſtoms; promiſing likewiſe an entire Submiſſion for the future. This fell out very opportunely for *Cæſar*, who was unwilling to leave any Enemies behind him, nor would the Seaſon of the Year have even allowed him to engage in a War: Beſides, he judged it by no Means proper ſo far to entangle himſelf in theſe trivial Affairs, as to be obliged to poſtpone the Expedition into *Britain*. He therefore ordered them to ſend him a great Number of Hoſtages, and upon their being delivered, received them into his Alliance. Having got together about eighty Tranſports, which he thought would be ſufficient for the carrying over two Legions; he diſtributed the Gallies he had over and above, to the Queſtor, Lieutenants, and Officers of the Cavalry. There were beſides eighteen Tranſports detained by contrary Winds at a Port about eight Miles off, which he appointed to carry over the Cavalry. The reſt of the Army, under the Command of *Q. Titurius Sabinus*, and *L. Arunculeius Cotta*, were ſent againſt the *Menapians*, and thoſe Cantons of the *Morini* which had not ſubmitted. *P. Sulpicius Rufus* had the Charge of the Harbour where he embarked, with a ſtrong Garriſon to maintain it.

XXI. THINGS being in this Manner ſettled, and the Wind ſpringing up fair, he weighed Anchor about One in the Morning, ordering the Cavalry to embark at the other Port, and follow him. But, as theſe Orders were executed but ſlowly, he himſelf about Ten in the Morning reached the Coaſt of *Britain*, where he ſaw all the Cliffs covered with the Enemy's Forces. The Nature of the Place was ſuch, that the Sea being bounded by ſteep Mountains, the Enemy might eaſily launch their Javelins upon us from above. Not thinking this therefore a convenient Landing-place, he reſolved to lie by till Three in the Afternoon, and wait the Arrival of the reſt of his Fleet. Mean-while having called the Lieutenants and military Tribunes together, he informed them of what he had learnt from *Voluſenus*, inſtructed them in the Part they were to act, and particularly exhorted them to do every Thing with Readi-

neſs and at a Signal given, agreeable to the Rules of military Diſcipline, which in Sea Affairs eſpecially required Expedition and Diſpatch, becauſe of all others the moſt changeable and uncertain. Having diſmiſſed them, and finding both the Wind and Tide favourable, he made the Signal for weighing Anchor, and after ſailing about eight Miles farther, ſtopped over-againſt a plain and open Shore.

XXII. BUT the Barbarians perceiving our Deſign, ſent their Cavalry and Chariots before, which they frequently make uſe of in Battle; and following with the reſt of their Forces, endeavoured to oppoſe our Landing. And indeed we found the Difficulty very great on many Accounts: For our Ships being large, required a great Depth of Water; and the Soldiers, who were wholly unacquainted with the Places, and had their Hands embarraſſed and loaden with a Weight of Armour, were at the ſame Time to leap from the Ships, ſtand breaſt-high amidſt the Waves, and encounter the Enemy; while they, fighting upon dry Ground, or advancing only a little Way into the Water; having the free Uſe of all their Limbs, and in Places which they perfectly knew, could boldly caſt their Darts, and ſpur on their Horſes, well inured to that Kind of Service. All theſe Circumſtances ſerving to ſpread a Terror among our Men, who were wholly Strangers to this Way of Fighting; they puſhed not the Enemy with the ſame Vigour and Spirit, as was uſual for them in Combats upon dry Ground.

XXIII. CÆSAR obſerving this, ordered ſome Gallies, a Kind of Shipping leſs common with the Barbarians, and more eaſily governed and put in Motion, to advance a little from the Tranſports towards the Shore, in order to ſet upon the Enemy in Flank, and by means of their Engines, Slings, and Arrows, drive them to ſome Diſtance. This proved of conſiderable Service to our Men: For what with the Surpriſe occaſioned by the Make of our Gallies, the Motion of the Oars, and the Playing of the Engines, the Enemy were forced to halt, and in a little Time began to give back. But our Men ſtill demurring to leap into the Sea, chiefly becauſe of the Depth of the Water in thoſe Parts; the Standard-

bearer of the tenth Legion, having firſt invoked the Gods for Succeſs, cried out aloud: 'Follow me, Fellow-Soldiers, unleſs you will betray the *Roman* Eagle into the Hands of the Enemy; for my Part, I am reſolved to diſcharge my Duty to *Cæſar* and the Commonwealth.' Upon this he jumped into the Sea, and advanced with the Eagle againſt the Enemy; whereat our Men exhorting one another to prevent ſo ſignal a Diſgrace; all that were in the Ship followed him: Which being perceived by thoſe in the neareſt Veſſels, they alſo did the like, and boldly approached the Enemy.

XXIV. The Battle was obſtinate on both Sides: But our Men, as being neither able to keep their Ranks, nor get firm Footing, nor follow their reſpective Standards; becauſe leaping promiſcuouſly from their Ships, every one joined the firſt Enſign he met; were thereby thrown into great Confuſion. The Enemy on the other Hand being well acquainted with the Shallows; when they ſaw our Men advancing ſingly from the Ships, ſpurred on their Horſes, and attacked them in that Perplexity. In one Place great Numbers would gather round an Handful of the *Romans*: Others falling upon them in Flank, galled them mightily with their Darts. Which *Cæſar* obſerving, ordered ſome ſmall Boats to be manned, and ply about with Recruits. By this Means the foremoſt Ranks of our Men having got firm Footing, were followed by all the reſt; when falling upon the Enemy briſkly, they were ſoon put to the Rout. But as the Cavalry were not yet arrived, we could not purſue or advance far into the Iſland; which was the only Thing wanting to render the Victory complete.

XXV. The Enemy being thus vanquiſhed in Battle, no ſooner got together after their Defeat, than they diſpatched Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, to ſue for Peace; offering Hoſtages, and an entire Submiſſion to his Commands. Along with theſe Ambaſſadors came *Comius* the *Atrebatian*, whom *Cæſar*, as we have related above, had ſent before him into *Britain*. The Natives ſeized him as ſoon as he landed, and though he was charged with a Commiſſion from *Cæſar*, threw him into Irons. But upon their late Defeat they thought proper to ſend him back,

back, throwing the Blame of what had happened upon the Multitude, and begged of *Cæſar* to excuſe a Fault proceeding from Ignorance. *Cæſar*, after ſome Complaints of their Behaviour, in that having of their own accord ſent Ambaſſadors to the Continent to ſue for Peace, they had yet without any Reaſon begun a War againſt him; told them at laſt he would forgive their Fault, and ordered them to ſend a certain Number of Hoſtages. Part were ſent immediately, and the reſt, as living at ſome Diſtance, they promiſed to deliver in a few Days. Mean-time they diſbanded their Troops, and the ſeveral Chiefs came to *Cæſar*'s Camp, to manage their own Concerns, and thoſe of the States to which they belonged.

XXVI. A Peace being thus concluded four Days after *Cæſar*'s Arrival in *Britain*, the eighteen Tranſports appointed to carry the Cavalry, of whom we have ſpoken above, put to Sea with a gentle Gale. But when they had ſo near approached the Coaſt, as to be even within view of the Camp; ſo violent a Storm all on a ſudden aroſe, that being unable to hold on their Courſe, ſome were obliged to return to the Port whence they ſet out, and others driven to the lower End of the Iſland weſtward, not without great Danger. There they caſt Anchor: but the Waves riſing very high, ſo as to fill the Ships with Water, they were again in the Night obliged to ſtand out to Sea, and make for the Continent of *Gaul*. That very Night it happened to be full Moon, when the Tides upon the Sea-coaſt always riſe higheſt, a Thing at that time wholly unknown to the *Romans*. Thus at one and the ſame Time, the Gallies which *Cæſar* made uſe of to tranſport his Men, and which he had ordered to be drawn up on the Strand, were filled with the Tide; and the Tempeſt fell furiouſly upon the Tranſports that lay at Anchor in the Road. Nor was it poſſible for our Men to attempt any thing for their Preſervation. Many of the Ships being daſhed to pieces, and the reſt having loſt their Anchors, Tackle, and Rigging, which rendered them altogether unfit for ſailing, a general Conſternation ſpread itſelf through the Camp. For there were no other Ships to carry back the Troops, nor any Materials to repair thoſe that had been diſabled by the Tempeſt. And as it had been all along *Cæſar*'s Deſign to winter in *Gaul*, he was wholly

wholly without Corn to ſubſiſt the Troops in thoſe Parts.

XXVII. ALL this being known to the *Britiſh* Chiefs, who after the Battle had repaired to *Cæſar*'s Camp; to perform the Conditions of the Treaty; they began to hold Conferences among themſelves. And as they plainly ſaw that the *Romans* were deſtitute both of Cavalry, Shipping, and Corn; and eaſily judged, from the Smallneſs of the Camp, that the Number of their Troops was but inconſiderable; in which Notion they were the more confirmed, becauſe *Cæſar* having brought over the Legions without Baggage, had occaſion to incloſe but a ſmall Spot of Ground: they thought this a convenient Opportunity for taking up Arms, and by intercepting the *Roman* Convoys to protract the Affair till Winter; being confidently perſuaded, that by defeating theſe Troops, or cutting off their Return, they ſhould effectually put a Stop to all future Attempts upon *Britain*. Having therefore entered into a joint Confederacy, they by Degrees left the Camp, and began to draw the Iſlanders together. But *Cæſar*, though he was not yet apprized of their Deſign, yet gueſſing in part at their Intentions, by the Diſaſter which had befallen his Fleet, and the Delays formed in relation to the Hoſtages, determined to provide againſt all Events. He therefore had Corn daily brought in to his Camp, and ordered the Timber of the Ships that had been moſt damaged to be made uſe of in repairing the reſt, ſending to *Gaul* for what other Materials he wanted. As the Soldiers were indefatigable in this Service, his Fleet was ſoon in a Condition to ſail, having loſt only twelve Ships.

XXVIII. DURING theſe Tranſactions, the ſeventh Legion being ſent out to forage, according to Cuſtom; as part were employed in cutting down the Corn, and part in carrying it to the Camp, without Suſpicion of Attack; News was brought to *Cæſar*, that a greater Cloud of Duſt than ordinary was ſeen on that Side where the Legion was. *Cæſar*, ſuſpecting how Matters went, marched with the Cohorts that were upon Guard, ordering two others to ſucceed in their Room, and all the Soldiers in the Camp to arm and follow him as ſoon as poſſible. When he was advanced a little way from

the Camp, he ſaw his Men overpowered by the Enemy, and with great Difficulty able to ſuſtain the Fight, being driven into a ſmall Compaſs, and expoſed on every Side to the Darts of their Adverſaries. For as the Harveſt was gathered in every where elſe, and one only Field left; the Enemy ſuſpecting that our Men would come thither to forage, had hid themſelves during the Night in the Woods; and waiting till our Men had quitted their Arms, and diſperſed themſelves to fall a reaping; they ſuddenly attacked them, killed ſome, put the reſt into Diſorder, and began to ſurround them with their Horſes and Chariots.

XXIX. THEIR Way of fighting with their Chariots is this: Firſt they drive their Chariots on all Sides, and throw their Darts; inſomuch that by the very Terror of the Horſes, and Noiſe of the Wheels, they often break the Ranks of the Enemy. When they have forced their Way into the Midſt of the Cavalry, they quit their Chariots, and fight on Foot. Mean-time the Drivers retire a little from the Combat, and place themſelves in ſuch a Manner as to favour the Retreat of their Countrymen, ſhould they be overpowered by the Enemy. Thus in Action they perform the Part both of nimble Horſemen, and ſtable Infantry: and by continual Exerciſe and Uſe, have arrived at that Expertneſs, that in the moſt ſteep and difficult Places, they can ſtop their Horſes upon a full ſtretch, turn them which Way they pleaſe, run along the Pole, reſt on the Harneſs, and throw themſelves back into their Chariots with incredible Dexterity.

XXX. OUR Men being aſtoniſhed and confounded with this new Way of fighting, *Cæſar* came very timely to their Relief: for upon his Approach the Enemy made a ſtand, and the *Romans* began to recover from their Fear. This ſatisfied *Cæſar* for the preſent, who not thinking it a proper Seaſon to provoke the Enemy, and bring on a general Engagement, ſtood facing them for ſome Time, and then led back the Legions to the Camp. The continual Rains that followed for ſome Days after, both kept the *Romans* within their Intrenchments, and withheld the Enemy from attacking us. Mean-time the *Britons* diſpatched Meſſengers into all Parts, to make known

known to their Countrymen the ſmall Number of the *Roman* Troops, and the favourable Opportunity they had of making immenſe Spoils, and freeing their Country for ever from all future Invaſions, by ſtorming the Enemy's Camp. Having by this Means got together a great Body of Infantry and Cavalry, they drew towards our Intrenchments.

XXXI. Cæsar, though he foreſaw that the Enemy, if beaten, would, in the ſame Manner as before, eſcape the Danger by Flight; yet having got about thirty Horſe, whom *Comius* the *Atrebatian* had brought over with him from *Gaul*; he drew up the Legions in Order of Battle before the Camp: and falling upon the *Britons*, who were not able to ſuſtain the Shock of our Men, ſoon put them to flight. The *Romans* purſuing them as long as their Strength would permit, made a terrible Slaughter; and ſetting fire to their Houſes and Villages a great Way round, returned to the Camp.

XXXII. The ſame Day Ambaſſadors came from the Enemy to *Cæſar* to ſue for Peace. *Cæſar* doubled the Number of Hoſtages he had before impoſed upon them, and ordered them to be ſent over to him into *Gaul*, becauſe the Equinox coming on, and his Ships being leaky, he thought it not prudent to put off his Return till Winter. A fair Wind offering, he ſet ſail a little after Midnight, and arrived ſafe in *Gaul*. Two of his Tranſports not being able to reach the ſame Port with the reſt, were driven into a Haven a little lower in the Country.

XXXIII. In theſe two Veſſels were about three hundred Soldiers, who having landed, and being upon their March to the Camp; the *Morini*, who had ſubmitted to *Cæſar* upon his ſetting out for *Britain*, drawn by the Hopes of Plunder, ſurrounded them at firſt with only a few Men, and ordered them to lay down their Arms under Pain of being put to the Sword. But they, caſting themſelves into an Orb, ſtood upon their Defence; when all on a Sudden ſix thouſand more of the Enemy appeared, rouzed by the Noiſe of the Combatants. *Cæſar* having Notice of what paſſed, ſent all his Cavalry to the Aſſiſtance of the *Romans*. Mean-while our Men

withſtood all the Attacks of the Enemy, and bravely maintained the Fight for upwards of ſix Hours, having ſlain great Numbers of the *Morini*, while on their Side only a few were wounded. But no ſooner did our Cavalry appear, than the Enemy, throwing down their Arms, betook themſelves to Flight, and were almoſt all ſlain in the Purſuit.

XXXIV. THE Day after *Cæſar* ſent *T. Labienus*, with the Legions returned out of *Britain*, againſt the rebellious *Morini*; who being deprived by the Drought of the Benefit of their Marſhes, which had ſerved them for Shelter the Year before, almoſt all fell into his Power. Mean-time *Q. Titurius*, and *L. Cotta*, who had been ſent againſt the *Menapians*, having laid waſte their Territories with Fire and Sword, and plundered their Habitations, returned to *Cæſar*, not being able to come up with the *Menapians* themſelves, who had retired into impenetrable Foreſts. *Cæſar* quartered all his Troops among the *Belgians*. Only two of the *Britiſh* States ſent Hoſtages into *Gaul*, the reſt neglecting to perform the Conditions of the Treaty. For theſe Succeſſes a Thankſgiving of twenty Days was decreed by the Senate.

C. JULIUS

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in *GAUL.*

BOOK V.

81646

THE ARGUMENT.

I. Cæſar, *leaving Orders with his Lieutenants in* Gaul *to build a Fleet, ſets out for* Italy *and* Illyricum, *where he puts a Stop to the Incurſions of the* Piruſtæ. II. *Returning thence into* Gaul, *he marches againſt the* Treviri, *and quiets the Diſturbances in that Province.* IV. Dumnorix *withdrawing from the* Roman *Camp with the* Æduan *Cavalry, is purſued and ſlain.* VII. Cæſar *paſſes over into* Britain. VIII. *And forces the Enemy from the Woods in which they had taken Shelter.* IX. *But underſtanding that his Fleet had ſuffered greatly by a Storm, he quits the purſuit of the* Britons, *repairs his Fleet, fortifies his Camp, and then returns againſt the Enemy.* X. *A Deſcription of* Britain, *and its Inhabitants.* XI. Cæſar *defeats the* Britons *in various Encounters.* XIV. *Paſſes the* Thames. XIX. *Returns into* Gaul. XX. *And becauſe of the great Scarcity of Corn, diſtributes his Legions among the ſeveral States.* XXI. Taſgetius *ſlain among the* Carnutes. XXII. Ambiorix *and* Cativulcus *excite ſeveral States to a Revolt.* XXIII. Ambiorix *by an artful Speech perſuades* Titurius *to quit his Camp, and attacking him in his March, cuts him off with his whole Party.* XXX. *Being afterwards joined by the* Nervians, *he falls upon* Cicero's *Camp.* XXXVI. *The noble Emulation of* Pulfio *and* Varenus. XXXVII. Cæſar *marches to* Cicero's *Relief.* XLI. *The* Gauls *quit the Siege, and advance to meet him.* XLII. Cæſar *defeats them in Battle.* XLIV. *And to prevent their continual Revolts, reſolves to paſs the Winter in* Gaul. XLV. *The* Senones, Treviri, *and other States, bear the* Roman *Yoke with Impatience.* XLVII. Indutiomarus *attacks* Labienus's *Camp.* XLIX. *But being ſlain in the Attempt, the* Gauls *ſeparate, and Tranquillity is in a great Meaſure reſtored.*

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's
COMMENTARIES
OF HIS
WARS in *GAUL.*

BOOK V.

1. IN the Conſulſhip of *Lucius Domitius*, and *Appius Claudius*, *Cæſar*, leaving his Winter-quarters to go into *Italy*, as was his yearly Cuſtom, gave Orders to his Lieutenants, who had the Charge of the Legions, to build as many Ships as poſſible during the Winter, and to repair ſuch as were old. He preſcribed the Form and Manner of building; ordering them to be ſomewhat lower than was uſual in the *Mediterranean*, for the convenience of embarking and landing his Men; which he judged the more neceſſary, as he had obſerved, that by reaſon of the frequent Returns of the Tide, there was leſs Depth of Water upon the *Britiſh* Coaſt. He likewiſe commanded them to be built broader than ordinary, that they might receive the greater Number of Horſes and Carriages; and to be contrived for Lightneſs and Expedition, to which the Lowneſs of their Decks greatly contributed. He ſent to *Spain* for the Materials neceſſary in building and equipping them; and having finiſhed the Diet of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, ſet out for *Illyricum*, upon Advice that the *Piruſtæ* were laying waſte the Province by their Incurſions. When he arrived there, he ordered the ſeveral States to furniſh their Contingents, and appointed a Place of general Rendezvous. The Report of this no ſooner ſpread among the *Piruſtæ*, than they ſent Ambaſſadors to inform him; that nothing had been done againſt the Province by publick Authority,

and that they were ready to make what Satisfaction he required. *Cæsar*, pleased with their Submission, ordered them to bring him Hostages, and named the Day by which they were to be delivered; threatening them with a fierce War in case of Disobedience. These being accordingly brought by the Day prefixed, he appointed Arbitrators between the contending States, to estimate the Damages, and determine what Reparation was to be made.

II. HAVING dispatched these Affairs, and held a general Diet of the Province, he returned again into *Cisalpine Gaul*, and thence went to the Army. Upon his Arrival, he visited all the Quarters of the Legions; and found, that by the singular Diligence of the Soldiers, notwithstanding the greatest Scarcity of Materials, no less than six hundred Transports, such as we have described above, and twenty-eight Gallies, were in such Forwardness, that in a few Days they would be ready to be launched. Having praised his Soldiers, and those whom he had set over the Works, he gave them what further Instructions he thought necessary, and ordered the whole Fleet to rendezvous at *Port-Itius*, whence he knew lay the most commodious Passage to *Britain*; it being there not above thirty Miles distant from the Continent. Leaving what Soldiers he thought necessary for this Purpose, he advanced at the Head of four Legions without Baggage, and eight hundred Horse, into the Country of the *Treviri*; because they neither appeared at the general Diets of *Gaul*, nor submitted to the Orders of the Commonwealth; and were besides reported to be soliciting the *Germans* beyond the *Rhine*.

III. THIS State is by far the most powerful of all *Gaul* in Horse: they have likewise a very strong and numerous Infantry; and, as we have before observed, border upon the *Rhine*. Two of their principal Men, *Indutiomarus* and *Cingetorix*, were at this Time Competitors for the supreme Authority. *Cingetorix*, as soon as he heard of the Arrival of *Cæsar* and the Legions, came to him, and assured him; that he and all his Party would continue firm to their Duty, and never abandon the Interest of the *Romans*: at the same Time he informed him of all that had passed among the *Treviri*.

But *Indutiomarus*, drawing together great Numbers of Horſe and Foot, and ſecuring ſuch as were unable to bear Arms in the Foreſt of *Arden*, which extends from the *Rhine* quite croſs the Country of *Treves*, to the Territories of the *Rhemi*; reſolved to try the Fortune of War. But ſoon after, as ſeveral of the leading Men of the State, partly out of Attachment to *Cingetorix*, partly terrified by the Approach of the *Roman* Army, came to *Cæſar* to ſolicit in their own Behalf, ſince they found themſelves incapable of effectually ſerving their Country: *Indutiomarus*, fearing an univerſal Defection, ſent likewiſe Ambaſſadors to him to acquaint him: "That he "had choſen to ſtay at home, and forbear coming to the "*Roman* Camp, with no other View but to keep the "State in its Duty; leſt, in the Abſence of the "Nobility, the People might have been drawn into "ſome raſh Step: That the whole Country was now "at his Command; and he ready, with *Cæſar*'s Per-"miſſion, to attend him in perſon, and put his own "Concerns, as well as thoſe of the State, under his "Protection." Though *Cæſar* well underſtood the Reaſon of his preſent Submiſſion, and by what Conſiderations he had been deterred from the Proſecution of his firſt Deſign; yet unwilling to waſte the whole Summer in the Country of *Treves*, when every thing was in Readineſs for his Expedition into *Britain*, he ordered *Indutiomarus* to attend him with two hundred Hoſtages. Theſe being accordingly brought, and among them the Son, and all the neareſt Relations of *Indutiomarus*, whom he had ſpecified by Name; *Cæſar* encouraged and exhorted him to continue firm in his Duty. Nevertheleſs, aſſembling all the principal Men of *Treves*, he reconciled them one after another to *Cingetorix*, as well on account of his ſingular Merit, as becauſe he thought it of the greateſt Importance, to eſtabliſh thoroughly the Authority of a Man, of whoſe ſteady and inviolable Attachment he had ſuch convincing Proof. *Indutiomarus* highly reſented this Proceeding, which tended ſo much to the Diminution of his Power; and as he had all along been an Enemy to the *Romans*, this new Affront provoked him ſtill more.

IV. These Affairs being ſettled, *Cæſar* arrived with his Legions at the Port of *Itius*. There he found, that about

about forty of his Ships, built in the Country of the *Belgians*, having been attacked by a Storm, and disabled from continuing their Voyage, had been obliged to put back. The rest were all equipped and rigged, ready to obey the first Signal. All the Cavalry of *Gaul*, about four thousand in Number, and the prime Nobility of the several States, met him likewise, by Order, at this Place. His Design was, to leave only a few of these Nobles behind him in *Gaul*, on whose Fidelity he could rely; and to take the rest with him to *Britain* as Hostages, the better to prevent any Commotions during his Absence.

V. DUMNORIX the *Æduan*, of whom we have spoken above, was one of those that attended him on this Occasion. Him in particular he resolved to carry along with him, as he knew him to be a Lover of Novelties, ambitious, enterprising, and of great Interest and Authority among the *Gauls*. Besides all this, he had publickly said in an Assembly of the *Æduans*, that *Cæsar* had invested him with the Sovereignty of their State: which Resolution, though by no Means pleasing to the *Æduans*, they yet durst not send Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, either to oppose or get reversed: nor was *Cæsar* otherwise informed of the Matter, but by those whom he had placed about *Dumnorix*, to have an Eye over his Conduct. *Dumnorix*, at first, earnestly petitioned to be left in *Gaul*; sometimes pretending he was unused to sailing, and afraid of the Sea; sometimes urging religious Engagements, which required him to stay at home. But finding all his Endeavours to no Purpose, he began to solicit the Chiefs of the *Gauls*, discoursing them apart, and advising them not to leave the Continent. The more to awaken their Fears, he told them: "That "*Cæsar* had his particular Reasons for carrying with "him all the Nobility of *Gaul*; because not daring to "dispatch them in their own Country, he was in "Hopes of finding a favourable Opportunity to execute "his cruel Purpose in *Britain*." He therefore exhorted them to join in a mutual Alliance, and oblige themselves by a solemn Oath, to pursue with common Consent such Measures as should appear necessary for the Preservation of *Gaul*.

VI. THEN

VI. Though *Cæſar* was fully informed of theſe Practices; yet in conſideration of his ſingular Regard for the *Æduans*, he contented himſelf with endeavouring to check and traverſe his Deſigns: determined notwithſtanding to continue inflexible, and at all Hazards prevent any Misfortune to himſelf and the Commonwealth from a Spirit, which he found every Day growing more hardy and intrepid. Being therefore detained in this Place about five-and-twenty Days, during which the North-weſt Wind, very common on that Coaſt, hindered him from ſailing; he ſtudied by the Ways of Gentleneſs and Perſuaſion, to keep *Dumnorix* in his Duty, without neglecting however to watch all his Motions. At laſt, the Wind ſpringing up fair, he ordered the Horſe and Foot to embark. As this univerſally engaged the Attention of the Camp, *Dumnorix*, unknown to *Cæſar*, drew off the *Æduan* Cavalry, and began his March homeward. *Cæſar* being informed of it, immediately put a Stop to the Embarkation; and poſtponing every other Conſideration, ordered out a ſtrong Party of Horſe to purſue and bring him back. If he made Reſiſtance, or refuſed to obey, they had Orders to kill him: for he judged, that a Man who had ſlighted his perſonal Authority, would not pay any great Regard to his Commands in his Abſence. When they had overtaken him, he refuſed to return; and defending himſelf Sword in hand, implored the Aſſiſtance of his Followers, often calling out, that he was free, and the Subject of a free State. The *Romans*, according to the Orders they had received, ſurrounded and ſlew him; upon which all the *Æduan* Cavalry returned to *Cæſar*.

VII. This Affair concluded; and *Labienus* being left in *Gaul* with three Legions, and two thouſand Horſe, to defend the Port, provide Corn, have an eye upon the Tranſactions of the Continent, and take Meaſures accordingly; *Cæſar* weighed Anchor about Sun-ſet with five Legions, and the ſame Number of Horſe he had left with *Labienus*: and advancing with a gentle South-wind, continued his Courſe till Midnight, when he found himſelf becalmed: but the Tide ſtill driving him on, at Daybreak he ſaw *Britain* on his left. When again following the Return of the Tide, he rowed with all his Might, to reach that Part of the Iſland which he had

had marked out the Summer before, as moſt convenient for landing. And on this Occaſion the Diligence of the Soldiers cannot be enough commended; who labouring inceſſantly at the Oar, urged the Tranſports and Ships of Burden ſo ſwiftly, that they equalled the Courſe of the Gallies. The whole Fleet reached the Coaſt of *Britain* about Noon: nor did any Enemy appear in View. But as *Cæſar* afterwards underſtood from the Priſoners; though a great Army of *Britons* had repaired to the Coaſt; yet terrified by the vaſt Number of Ships, which, together with thoſe of the laſt Year's Expedition, and ſuch as had been fitted out by particular Perſons for their own Uſe, amounted to upwards of eight hundred; they retired haſtily from the Shore, and hid themſelves behind the Mountains.

VIII. CÆSAR having landed his Army, and choſen a proper Place for his Camp; as ſoon as he underſtood from the Priſoners where the Enemy's Forces lay; leaving ten Cohorts upon the Coaſt, together with three hundred Horſe, to guard his Fleet; he ſet out about Midnight in queſt of the Enemy; being under the leſs Concern for his Ships, becauſe he had left them at Anchor upon a ſmooth and open Shore, under the Charge of *Q. Atrius*. After a March of twelve Hours during the Night, he came within Sight of the Enemy; who having poſted themſelves behind a River with their Cavalry and Chariots, attacked us from the higher Ground, in order to oppoſe our Paſſage: but being repulſed by our Horſe, they retreated towards the Woods, into a Place ſtrongly fenced both by Nature and Art, and which in all probability, had been fortified before on occaſion of ſome domeſtick War: for all the Avenues were ſecured by ſtrong Barricades of felled Trees. They never ſallied out of the Wood but in ſmall Parties, thinking it enough to defend the Entrance againſt our Men. But the Soldiers of the ſeventh Legion, advancing under Cover of their Shields, and having caſt up a Mount, forced the Intrenchments with little Loſs, and obliged the Enemy to abandon the Wood. *Cæſar* forbid all Purſuit; both becauſe he was unacquainted with the Nature of the Country; and the Day being far ſpent, he reſolved to employ the reſt of it in fortifying his Camp.

IX. EARLY

IX. EARLY the next Morning, he divided his Troops both Horſe and Foot into three Bodies, and ſent them out in Purſuit of the Enemy. They were advanced but a little Way, and juſt come within Sight of the Rear of the *Britons*, when a Party of Horſe from *Atrius* came to *Cæſar*, and informed him, "That a dreadful Storm "ariſing the Night before, had fallen violently upon "the Fleet, and driven almoſt all the Ships aſhore: "That neither Anchors nor Cables, nor all the Addreſs "of the Mariners and Pilots, had been able to reſiſt the "Fury of the Tempeſt; which had done unſpeakable "Damage to the Fleet, by reaſon of the Ships running "foul of one another." *Cæſar*, upon this Intelligence, recalls his Legions and Cavalry, commanding them to give over the Purſuit. He himſelf returns to his Ships, and finds every thing according to the Reports and Letters he had received; forty of them being entirely deſtroyed, and the reſt ſo damaged that they were hardly repairable. He therefore ſet all the Carpenters of the Army to work, and wrote for others to *Gaul*; ordering *Labienus* at the ſame Time, with the Legions under his Command, to build what Ships he could. He thought it likewiſe ſafeſt, though a Work of great Labour and Difficulty, to draw all his Ships on Shore, and incloſe them within the Fortifications of his Camp. Ten Days were ſpent in the Service, during which the Soldiers had no Intermiſſion of Fatigue, not even in the Night. The Ships being in this Manner ſecured, and the Camp ſtrongly fortified, he left the ſame Troops to guard it as before, and returned to the Place where he had quitted the Purſuit of the Enemy. Upon his Arrival he found the Forces of the *Britons* conſiderably increaſed. The chief Command and Adminiſtration of the War, was, by common Conſent, conferred upon *Caſſibelanus*; whoſe Territories were divided from the Maritime States by the *Thames*, a River eighty Miles diſtant from the Sea. This Prince had hitherto been engaged in almoſt continual Wars with his Neighbours: but the Terror of our Arrival making the *Britons* unite among themſelves, they intruſted him with the whole Conduct of the War.

X. THE inland Parts of *Britain* are inhabited by thoſe, whom Fame reports to be the Natives of the Soil. The

The Sea-coaſt is peopled with *Belgians*, drawn thither by the Love of War and Plunder. Theſe laſt, paſſing over from different Parts, and ſettling in the Country, ſtill retain the Names of the ſeveral States whence they are deſcended. The Iſland is well peopled, full of Houſes built after the Manner of the *Gauls*, and abounds in Cattle. They uſe braſs Money, and iron Rings of a certain Weight. The Provinces remote from the Sea produce Tin, and thoſe upon the Coaſt Iron; but the latter in no great Quantity. Their Braſs is all imported. All Kinds of Wood grow here the ſame as in *Gaul*, except the Fir and Beech-tree. They think it unlawful to feed upon Hares, Pullets, or Geeſe; yet they breed them up for their Diverſion and Pleaſure. The Climate is more temperate than in *Gaul*, and the Colds leſs intenſe. The Iſland is triangular, one of its Sides facing *Gaul*. The Extremity towards *Kent*, whence is the neareſt Paſſage to *Gaul*, lies Eaſtward; the other ſtretches South-weſt. This Side extends about five hundred Miles. Another Side looks towards *Spain* weſtward. Over-againſt this lies *Ireland*, an Iſland eſteemed not above half as large as *Britain*, and ſeparated from it by an Interval equal to that between *Britain* and *Gaul*. In this Interval lies the Iſle of *Mona*, beſides ſeveral other leſſer Iſlands, of which ſome write, that in the Time of the Winter-ſolſtice, they have Night for thirty Days together. We could make out nothing of this upon Enquiry, only diſcovered by Means of our Hour-glaſſes, that the Nights were ſhorter than in *Gaul*. The Length of this Side is computed at ſeven hundred Miles. The laſt Side faces the North-eaſt, and is fronted by no Part of the Continent, only towards one of its Extremities it ſeems to eye chiefly the *German* Coaſt. It is thought to extend in length about eight hundred Miles. Thus the whole Iſland takes in a Circuit of two thouſand Miles. The Inhabitants of *Kent*, which lies wholly on the Sea-coaſt, are the moſt civilized of all the *Britons*, and differ but little in their Manners from the *Gauls*. The greater Part of thoſe within the Country never ſow their Lands, but live on Fleſh and Milk, and go clad in Skins. All the *Britons* in general paint themſelves with Woad, which gives a bluiſh Caſt to the Skin, and makes them look dreadful in Battle. They are long-haired; and ſhave all the reſt of the Body except the

Head and upper Lip. Ten or twelve of them live together, having their Wives in common; especially Brothers, or Parents and Children amongst themselves: But the Issue is always ascribed to him who first espoused the Mother.

XI. The Enemy's Horse, supported by their Chariots, vigorously charged our Cavalry on their March; yet we every where had the better, and drove them to their Woods and Hills: But after making great Slaughter, venturing to continue the Pursuit too far, we lost some Men. Some Time after, sallying unexpectedly from the Woods, and falling suddenly upon our Men while employed in fortifying their Camp, a sharp Conflict ensued between them and the advanced Guard. *Cæsar* sent two Cohorts to their Assistance; whom the *Britons* charging in separate Parties, so surprised with their new Manner of Fighting, that they broke through, routed them, and returned without Loss. *Q. Laberius Durus*, a military Tribune, was slain on this Occasion: But some fresh Cohorts coming up, the *Britons* were at last repulsed.

XII. By this Action, which happened within View of the Camp, and of which the whole Army were Spectators, it evidently appeared, that our heavy armed Legions, who could neither pursue those that retired, nor durst venture to forsake their Standards, were by no means a fit Match for such an Enemy. Nor could even the Cavalry engage without great Danger; it being usual for the *Britons* to counterfeit a Retreat, until they had drawn them a considerable Way from the Legions; when suddenly quitting their Chariots, they charged them on Foot, and by this unequal Manner of Fighting, made it alike dangerous to pursue or retire. Add to all this, that they never fought in a Body, but in small Parties, and with considerable Intervals between. They had likewise their Detachments so placed, as easily to protect their flying Troops, and send fresh Supplies where needful.

XIII. The next Day they stationed themselves among the Hills, at a Distance from our Camp, and appeared only in small Bodies, nor seemed so forward to

to ſkirmiſh with our Cavalry as the Day before. But about Noon, *Cæſar* ordering out three Legions to forage, with all the Cavalry, under the Command of *C. Trebonius* his Lieutenant; they fell ſuddenly upon the Foragers on all Sides, and even attacked the Legions and Standards. Our Men vigorouſly returning the Charge, repulſed them; and the Cavalry finding themſelves ſupported by the Foot, continued the Purſuit till they had utterly broken them; inſomuch that great Numbers being ſlain, they could neither find an Opportunity to rally, deſcend from their Chariots, or face about to make Reſiſtance. After this Defeat, the auxiliary Troops, which had come in from all Parts, returned ſeverally to their own Homes; nor did the Enemy, from this Time, appear any more againſt us with their whole Forces.

XIV. CÆSAR perceiving their Deſign, marched towards the *Thames*, to penetrate into the Kingdom of *Caſſibelanus*. This River is fordable only in one Place, and that not without great Difficulty. When he arrived, he ſaw the Enemy drawn up in great Numbers on the other Side. They had likewiſe ſecured the Banks with ſharp Stakes, and driven many of the ſame Kind into the Bottom of the River, yet ſo as to be covered by the Water. *Cæſar* having Intelligence of this from the Priſoners and Deſerters, ſent the Cavalry before, ordering the Legions to follow cloſe after; which they did with ſo much Expedition and Briſkneſs, though nothing but their Heads were above the Water, that the Enemy, unable to ſuſtain their Charge, quitted the Banks, and betook themſelves to Flight.

XV. CASSIBELANUS, as we have before intimated, finding himſelf unable to keep the Field, diſbanded all his other Forces; and retaining only four Thouſand Chariots, watched our Motions, always keeping at ſome Diſtance from us, and ſheltering himſelf in Woods and inacceſſible Places, whither he had likewiſe made ſuch of the Inhabitants with their Cattle retire, as lay upon our Route: And if at any Time our Cavalry ventured upon a freer Excurſion into the Fields, to plunder and lay waſte the Country; as he was perfectly acquainted with all the Roads and Defiles, he would ſally from the

Woods

Woods with ſome of the Chariots, and fall upon our Men diſperſed and in Diſorder. Theſe frequent Alarms obliged us to be much upon our Guard; nor would *Cæſar* ſuffer the Cavalry to remove to any Diſtance from the Legions, or to pillage and deſtroy the Country, unleſs where the Foot was at hand to ſuſtain them.

XVI. Mean-time the *Trinobantes*, one of the moſt powerful States in thoſe Parts, ſend Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*. Of this State was *Mandubratius*, who had fled for Protection to *Cæſar* in *Gaul*, that he might avoid the Fate of his Father *Imanuentius*, whom *Caſſibelanus* had put to Death. The Ambaſſadors promiſed Obedience and Submiſſion in the Name of the Province; and withal intreated him to defend *Mandubratius* againſt the Violence of *Caſſibelanus*, and reſtore him to the Government of their State. *Cæſar* ordered them to deliver forty Hoſtages, and furniſh his Army with Corn; ſending back at the ſame Time *Mandubratius*. They yielded to his Demands without Delay, ſent the appointed Number of Hoſtages, and ſupplied him with Corn.

XVII. The Protection granted to the *Trinobantes* ſecuring them from the Inſults of the Soldiers, the *Cenimagni*, *Segontiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroci*, and *Caſſi*, ſend Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, and ſubmit. From them he had Intelligence, that he was not far from the Capital of *Caſſibelanus*, which was ſituated amidſt Woods and Marſhes, and whither great Numbers of Men and Cattle were retired. A Town among the *Britons* is nothing more than a thick Wood, fortified with a Ditch and Rampart, to ſerve as a Place of Retreat againſt the Incurſions of their Enemies. Thither he marched with his Legions: And though the Place appeared to be extremely ſtrong both by Art and Nature, he nevertheleſs reſolved to attack it in two ſeveral Quarters. The Enemy, after a ſhort Stand, were obliged at laſt to give way, and retire by another Part of the Wood. Vaſt Numbers of Cattle were found in the Place; and many of the *Britons* were either made Priſoners, or loſt their Lives in the Purſuit.

XVIII. WHILE theſe Things paſſed beyond the *Thames*, *Caſſibelanus* diſpatched Meſſengers to *Kent*, which, as we have before obſerved, was ſituated along the Sea-coaſt. This Country was then under the Government of four Kings, *Cingetorix*, *Carnilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, who had Orders to draw all their Forces together, and fall ſuddenly upon the naval Camp of the *Romans*. But our Men ſallying upon them as they approached, made great Slaughter of their Troops, took *Cingetorix* one of their Leaders Priſoner, and returned ſafe to the Camp. *Caſſibelanus*, upon the News of this Battle, diſcouraged by ſo many Loſſes, the Devaſtation of his Territories, and above all the Revolt of the Provinces; ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* to ſue for Peace, by the Mediation of *Comius* of *Arras*.

XIX. CÆSAR, deſigning to paſs the Winter in *Gaul*, becauſe of the frequent Commotions in that Country; and reflecting that but a ſmall Part of the Summer remained, during which it would be eaſy to protract the War; demanded Hoſtages, and appointed the yearly Tribute which *Britain* was to pay to the *Romans*. At the ſame Time he ſtrictly charged *Caſſibelanus* to offer no Injury to *Mandubratius*, or the *Trinobantes*. Having received the Hoſtages, he led his Troops back to the Sea-ſide, where he found his Fleet repaired. Orders were immediately given to launch it: And becauſe the Number of Priſoners was exceeding great, and ſeveral Ships had been deſtroyed by the Tempeſt, he reſolved to carry over his Men at two Embarkations. Happily it ſo fell out, notwithſtanding the great Number of Ships, and their frequent paſſing and repaſſing, that not one periſhed either this or the preceding Year, which had any Soldiers on board: Whereas thoſe ſent empty to him from the Continent, as well the Ships concerned in the firſt Embarkation, as others built afterwards by *Labienus*, to the Number of ſixty, were almoſt all driven back or loſt. *Cæſar* having waited for them a conſiderable Time to no Purpoſe, and fearing to loſe the proper Seaſon for ſailing, as the Time of the Equinox drew near, choſe to ſtow his Men on board the few Ships he had: And taking the Opportunity of an extraordinary Calm, ſet Sail about ten at Night, and by Day-break brought his whole Fleet ſafe to the Continent of *Gaul*.

XX.

XX. Having laid up his Fleet, and held a general Aſſembly of the *Gauls* at *Samarobriva*; as the Crop had been very indifferent this Year, by reaſon of the great Droughts, he was obliged to quarter his Legions otherwiſe than in former Winters, and canton them one by one in the ſeveral Provinces of *Gaul*. One Legion he quartered on the *Morini*, under the Command of *C. Fabius*: Another among the *Nervians*, under *Q. Cicero*: A third with the *Æduans*, under *L. Roſcius*: And a fourth in the Country of the *Rhemi*, on the Borders of the *Treviri*, under *Labienus*. Three were ſent into *Belgium*, over whom he appointed three Commanders; *M. Craſſus* his Queſtor, *L. Munatius Plancus*, and *C. Trebonius*. The eighth and laſt, which *Cæſar* had newly raiſed on the other Side of the *Po*, was ſent, together with five Cohorts, among the *Eburones*, between the *Rhine* and the *Meuſe*, where *Ambiorix* and *Cativulcus* reigned. At the Head of this Body were two Commanders; *Q. Titurius Sabinus*, and *L. Arunculeius Cotta*. By this Diſtribution of his Legions, he thought he had found an eaſy Remedy againſt the Scarcity of Corn; and yet they all lay within the Compaſs of an hundred Miles, except that under *L. Roſcius*, for which he was in no Pain, as being quartered in a very quiet and friendly Country. He reſolved however not to leave *Gaul* till he had received Advice from all his Lieutenants, and was aſſured that their Quarters were eſtabliſhed, fortified, and ſecured.

XXI. Among the *Carnutes* lived *Taſgetius*, a Man of diſtinguiſhed Birth, and whoſe Anceſtors had been poſſeſſed of the Sovereignty in that State. *Cæſar* had reſtored him to the Dignity of his Forefathers, in conſideration of his Virtue and Affection to him, and the many ſignal Services he had done him in all his Wars. It was now the third Year of his Reign, when his Enemies, many of whom were of his own State, conſpiring againſt him, openly aſſaſſinated him. The Affair was laid before *Cæſar*; who fearing leſt the great Number concerned in the Plot might draw the State into a Revolt, ordered *L. Plancus*, with a Legion from *Belgium*, to march ſpeedily into the Country of the *Carnutes*, fix his Winter-quarters in that Province, and ſeizing all who had been concerned in the Murder of *Taſgetius*,

ſend them Priſoners to him. Mean-time he was informed by his Lieutenants and Queſtors, to whom he had committed the Care of the Legions, that they were ſeverally arrived at their appointed Quarters, and had fortified themſelves in them.

XXII. ABOUT fifteen Days after the Arrival of the Legions in their Winter-quarters, a ſudden Inſurrection and Revolt broke out among the *Eburones*, by the ſecret Practices of *Ambiorix* and *Cativulcus*. Theſe two Princes had been to meet *Sabinus* and *Cotta* on their Frontiers, and in a friendly Manner had ſupplied them with Corn: But now inſtigated by *Indutiomarus* of *Treves*, they excited their People to take up Arms; and having ſurpriſed ſome Soldiers that were gone to cut Wood, came with a great Body of Troops to attack the *Roman* Camp. Our Men immediately flew to Arms, aſcended the Rampart, and ſending out a Detachment of *Spaniſh* Horſe, put their Cavalry to Rout. Upon this, deſpairing of Succeſs, they drew off their Men from the Attack; and, according to their Cuſtom, demanded a Conference; pretending they had ſomething to ſay which concerned the common Intereſt, and might ſerve to put an End to the preſent Differences.

XXIII. ACCORDINGLY *C. Arpinius*, a *Roman* Knight, the Friend of *Q. Titurius*; and *Q. Junius* of *Spain*, who had frequently before been ſent by *Cæſar* to *Ambiorix*, were deputed to treat. *Ambiorix* addreſſed them in Words to this Effect: "That he had in no Sort forgot "the many Obligations he lay under to *Cæſar*; who "had freed him from the Tribute he had been wont to "pay the *Atuatici*; and who had reſtored him his Son "and Nephew, whom that People, after receiving them "as Hoſtages, had treated as Slaves: That the Hoſtilities he had juſt committed were not the Effect of "his own private Animoſity to the *Romans*, but in conſequence of a Reſolution of the State; where the "Government was of ſuch a Nature, that the People "had as much Power over him, as he over the People: "That even the State itſelf had been in a Manner "forced into this War, by a ſudden Confederacy of "all *Gaul*: That he could appeal to his own Weakneſs for the Truth of what he ſaid, being not ſo very

"unſkilled

"unskilled in Affairs as to imagine, that the Forces of "the *Eburones* were a Match for the Power of the *Ro-* "*mans*: That it was a Project formed by all the States "of *Gaul* in common, who had agreed to storm in one "Day, the very Day on which he spoke, all the Quar- "ters of the *Roman* Army; so that no one might be "able to succour another: That it was not easy for "*Gauls* to resist the Importunity of those of their own "Nation, especially in a Proposal to act in concert "for the Recovery of their Liberty: But that, after "having performed what the common Voice of his "Country demanded, he thought he might now listen "to that of Gratitude: That he found himself com- "pelled by his Attachment to *Cæsar*, and by his Friend- "ship for *Sabinus*, to give Notice of the extreme Danger "to which the Legion was exposed: That a great Body "of *Germans* had actually passed the *Rhine*, and would "be there in two Days at farthest: That *Sabinus* and "*Cotta* were to consider, whether it would not be pro- "per to retire with their Troops, before the neighbour- "ing States could be apprized of their Design, and go "and join *Labienus* or *Cicero*, who were neither of them "distant much above fifty Miles: That as far as re- "garded himself, he engaged by all that was sacred to "secure their Retreat through his Territories; and un- "dertook it the more readily, as he should thereby not "only discharge his Duty to his Country, in deliver- "ing it from the Inconvenience of wintering the *Ro-* "*mans*, but at the same Time manifest his Gratitude to "*Cæsar*." Having made this Speech he withdrew.

XXIV. Arpinius and *Junius* reported what they had heard to the Lieutenants; who alarmed at the Sud- denness of the Thing, thought the Information not to be neglected, though it came from an Enemy: Nor were they a little moved by this Consideration, that it appeared to them altogether incredible, that the *Ebu- rones*, a weak and inconsiderable State, should of their own Accord presume to take up Arms against the *Romans*. They therefore laid the Matter before a Council of War, where a warm Debate arose. *L. Arunculeius*, with a great Number of military Tribunes, and Centurions of the first Rank, were against undertaking any Thing hastily, or quitting their Winter-quarters, before they had

had received Orders to that Purpoſe from *Cæſar*. They alleged: "That having ſtrongly fortified their Camp, "they were able to defend themſelves, even againſt all "the Forces of the *Germans*: That the late Attempt "of the *Gauls* was a ſufficient Proof of this, whom "they had not only withſtood with Courage, but re-"pulſed with Loſs: That they had Proviſions in "Abundance, and might therefore ſecurely wait the "Arrival of Relief from *Cæſar* and the neighbouring "Legions: In fine, that nothing could be more diſ-"honourable, or argue greater Want of Judgment, "than in Affairs of the higheſt Moment, to take Mea-"ſures upon the Information of an Enemy." *Titurius*, on the other Hand, exclaimed: "That it would be then "too late to think of retiring, when the Enemy in "greater Numbers, and ſtrengthened by the Acceſſion "of the *Germans*, ſhould come up againſt them; or "when the Quarters next them ſhould have received "ſome ſignal Check: That the Time for Deliberation "was ſhort: That *Cæſar*, he made no queſtion, was "gone into *Italy*; it not being likely, that either the "*Carnutes* would have formed the Deſign of aſſaſſinating "*Taſgetius*, or the *Eburones* in ſo contemptuous a Man-"ner aſſaulted the *Roman* Camp, had they not been "aſſured of his Departure; That the Information of "an Enemy weighed not with him, but the real Cir-"cumſtances of Things. The *Rhine* was not far off. "The *Germans* were much exaſperated by the Death of "*Arioviſtus*, and their late frequent Defeats. *Gaul* "burnt with Impatience to throw off the *Roman* Yoke, "avenge the many Loſſes they had ſuſtained, and re-"cover their former Glory in War, of which now "ſcarce a Shadow remained. In ſhort, who could "imagine that *Ambiorix*, without a Certainty of being "ſupported, would have embarked in ſo dangerous an "Enterprize? That his Opinion was in all Reſpects "ſafe; becauſe, if no ſuch Confederacy had been "formed, they had nothing to apprehend in marching "to the neareſt Legion; if, on the contrary, all *Gaul* "and *Germany* were united, Expedition alone could "ſave them from Deſtruction: Whereas, by following "the Advice of *Cotta*, and thoſe who were againſt a "Retreat; though the Danger perhaps might not prove "immediate, yet were they ſure in the End of periſhing

"by

" by Famine." The Diſpute continued for ſome Time; *Cotta*, and the principal Officers, ſtrongly oppoſing the March of the Troops. At laſt *Sabinus* raiſing his Voice, that he might be heard by the Soldiers without: "Be " it ſo then, (ſays he,) ſince you ſeem ſo reſolved: I " am not he among you who is moſt afraid of Death. " But if any Misfortune happens, thoſe who hear me " will know whom to blame. In two Days, did not " you oppoſe it, we might eaſily reach the Quarters " next us; and there, in Conjunction with our Fellow- " Soldiers, confront the common Danger: Whereas by " keeping the Troops ſeparate and at a Diſtance, you " reduce them to the Neceſſity of periſhing by Sword or " Famine."

XXV. THE Council was then going to riſe: But the Officers ſurrounding their Generals, conjured them not to put all to Hazard by their Diſſenſion and Obſtinacy. They told them, " That whatever Reſolution " was taken, whether to go or ſtay, the Danger was by " no Means great, provided they acted with Union " among themſelves; but their Diſagreement threatened " the Troops with inevitable Deſtruction." The Debate continued till Midnight: When at length *Cotta*, vanquiſhed by Importunity, yielded to the Opinion of *Sabinus*. Orders were given for marching by Break of Day. The Remainder of the Night was none of it employed in Sleep; each Man being taken up in chooſing what Things to carry along with him, and what of his Winter-neceſſaries to leave behind. In ſhort, they did every Thing to make their Stay more dangerous; and by their Fatigue and Want of Reſt, incapacitate themſelves for a vigorous Defence upon their March. At Day-break they left their Camp, not like Men acting by the Advice of an Enemy, but as if *Ambiorix* had been their particular Friend; marching in a very extended Column, and followed by a great Train of Baggage.

XXVI. THE Enemy judging from the Hurry and Motion in the Camp, that the *Romans* intended to leave it, placed themſelves in Ambuſcade in two Bodies in a Wood; where, well-ſheltered and covered from View, they waited at about two Miles Diſtance their Arrival;

and when the greateſt Part of the Army had entered a large Valley, ſuddenly appearing on both Sides of it, they attacked them at the ſame Time in Front and Rear, and obliged them to fight in a Place of great Diſadvantage.

XXVII. THEN at length *Titurius*, like one who had neglected all the neceſſary Precautions, unable to hide his Concern, ran up and down among the Troops, and began to diſpoſe them in Order of Battle; but with an Air ſo timid and diſconcerted, that it appeared he had no Hopes of Succeſs; as happens for the moſt Part to thoſe who leave all to the laſt Moment of Execution. But *Cotta*, who had foreſeen that this might happen, and had therefore oppoſed the Departure of the Troops, omitted nothing in his Power for the common Safety; calling to and encouraging the Men like an able General, and at the ſame Time fighting with the Bravery of a common Soldier. And becauſe the great Length of the Column rendered it difficult for the Lieutenants to remedy all Diſorders, and repair expeditiouſly enough to the Places where their Preſence was neceſſary; Orders were given to quit the Defence of the Baggage, and form into an Orb. This Diſpoſition, though not improper in theſe Circumſtances, was nevertheleſs attended with very unhappy Conſequences; for being conſidered as the Effect of Terror and Deſpair, it diſcouraged our Men, and augmented the Confidence of the Enemy. Beſides, as unavoidably happens on ſuch Occaſions, many of the Soldiers quitting their Enſigns, haſtened to fetch from the Baggage what they had moſt of Value, and filled all Parts with Uproar and Lamentation.

XXVIII. THE *Gauls* mean-while conducted themſelves with great Prudence; their Officers proclaimed through the Ranks, "That not a Man ſhould ſtir from "his Poſt; that the Booty was theirs, and every Thing "belonging to the *Romans* muſt certainly fall into their "Hands: But that all depended upon ſecuring the "Victory." Our Men were not inferior to the Enemy either in Valour, Number, or Way of Fighting. Though they had neither General nor Fortune on their Side, they hoped ſtill by their Bravery to ſurmount all Difficulties; and whenever any of the Cohorts ſallied out, ſo

ſo as to join the Enemy, Hand to Hand, a conſiderable Slaughter of the *Gauls* enſued. This being perceived by *Ambiorix*, he ordered his Men to caſt their Darts at a Diſtance, to avoid a cloſe Fight, retire before the *Romans* whenever they advanced, and purſue them as they returned to their Standards: In which Way of Fighting they were become ſo expert, by the Lightneſs of their Arms, and daily Exerciſe, that it was impoſſible to do them any Hurt. Theſe Orders were exactly followed; inſomuch that when any Cohort left the Orb, and came forward to attack the Enemy, they retreated and diſperſed in a Moment: Mean-while it uncovered its own Flanks, and expoſed them to the Darts on either Side. The Danger was ſtill greater when they returned; for then not only the Troops that ſtood next them, but thoſe who had retired before them, ſurrounded and charged them on all Hands. If, on the contrary, they choſe to continue in their Poſt; neither could their Valour any Thing avail them, nor was it poſſible for Men ſtanding ſo cloſe together, to avoid the Darts of ſo great a Multitude. And yet notwithſtanding all theſe Diſadvantages, and the many Wounds they had received, they ſtill maintained their Ground; and though much of the Day was now ſpent, the Fight having continued from Sun-riſe till Two in the Afternoon, they did nothing in all that Time unworthy the Dignity of the *Roman* Name. At length *T. Balventius*, who the Year before had been made firſt Centurion of a Legion, a Man of diſtinguiſhed Courage, and great Authority among the Troops, had both his Thighs pierced with a Dart. *Q. Lucanius*, an Officer of the ſame Rank, endeavouring to reſcue his Son, whom he ſaw ſurrounded by the Enemy, was killed after a brave Reſiſtance. And *L. Cotta*, the Lieutenant, encouraging the ſeveral Cohorts and Companies, received a Blow on the Mouth from a Sling.

XXIX. So many Misfortunes quite diſpirited *Titurius*; who perceiving *Ambiorix* at a Diſtance animating his Troops, ſent *Cn. Pompey* his Interpreter, to beg Quarters for himſelf and his Soldiers. *Ambiorix* replied; "That he was ready to grant him a Conference "if he deſired it: That he hoped to prevail with the "Multitude to ſpare the *Romans*; and that as to *Sa-*

"*binus*

" *binus* himſelf, he gave his Word no Hurt ſhould be " done him." *Sabinus* communicated this Anſwer to *Cotta*, propoſing that they ſhould leave the Battle, and go and confer with *Ambiorix*, from whom he was in hopes of obtaining Quarter both for themſelves and their Men. *Cotta* abſolutely refuſed to treat with an armed Enemy, and perſiſted in that Reſolution. *Sabinus* ordered the military Tribunes and principal Centurions that were about his Perſon to follow him, and when he drew near to *Ambiorix*, being commanded to lay down his Arms, obeyed; charging thoſe that were with him to do the ſame. Mean-while, as they were treating about the Conditions, *Ambiorix* ſpinning out the Deliberations on purpoſe, he was by Degrees ſurrounded and ſlain. Then the *Gauls*, according to their Cuſtom, raiſing a Shout, and calling out Victory, charged our Troops with great Fury, and put them into Diſorder. *L. Cotta*, fighting manfully, was ſlain, with the greateſt Part of the Soldiers. The reſt retreated to the Camp they had quitted in the Morning; of whom *L. Petroſidius*, the Standard-bearer, finding himſelf ſore preſſed by the Enemy, threw the Eagle within the Intrenchments, and was killed fighting bravely before the Camp. Thoſe that remained, with much ado, ſuſtained the Attack till Night; but finding themſelves without Hope, they killed one another to the laſt Man. A few who eſcaped out of the Fight, got by different Ways to *Labienus*'s Camp, and brought him the News of this ſad Event.

XXX. AMBIORIX, elated with this Victory, marched immediately at the Head of his Cavalry into the Country of the *Atuatici*, which bordered upon his Territories; and travelling Day and Night without Interniſſion, left Orders for the Infantry to follow him. Having informed them of his Succeſs, and rouſed them to Arms, he the next Day arrived among the *Nervians*, and urged them not to loſe the favourable Opportunity of freeing themſelves for ever from the Yoke of Slavery, and avenging the Injuries they had received from the *Romans*. He told them, " That two of their Lieu-" tenants had been ſlain, and a great Part of their " Army cut to Pieces: That it would be an eaſy " Matter, ſuddenly to attack and deſtroy the Legion " quartered in their Country under *Cicero*: And that

" he

"he was himſelf ready to aſſiſt them in the Enter-
"priſe." By this Speech he eaſily drew in the *Nervians.*

XXXI. Accordingly, having forthwith diſpatched Meſſengers to the *Centrones*, *Grudii*, *Levaci*, *Pleumoſians*, and *Gorduni*, who are all ſubject to their State; they aſſembled what Forces they could, and came unexpectedly upon *Cicero*'s Quarters, who as yet had heard nothing of the Fate of *Titurius*. Here likewiſe it unavoidably fell out, that the Soldiers ſent to cut Wood for Firing and the Fortifications of the Camp, were intercepted by the ſudden Arrival of their Cavalry. Having put all theſe to the Sword; the *Eburones*, *Atuatici*, and *Nervians*, with their Allies and Tributaries, amounting to a formidable Army, came and attacked the Camp. Our Men immediately flew to Arms, aſcended the Rampart, and with great Difficulty ſuſtained that Day's Aſſault; for the Enemy placed all their Hopes in Diſpatch, and firmly believed that if they came off Conquerors on this Occaſion, they could not fail of Victory every where elſe.

XXXII. Cicero's firſt Care was to write to *Cæſar*, promiſing the Meſſengers great Rewards if they carried his Letters ſafe. But as all the Ways were beſet by the Enemy's Troops, his Couriers were continually intercepted. Mean-while of the Materials brought for fortifying the Camp, an hundred and twenty Towers were built during the Night with incredible Diſpatch, and the Works about the Rampart completed. Next Day the Enemy, with a much greater Force than before, attacked the Camp, filled the Ditch, but were again repulſed by our Men. This continued for ſeveral Days together. The Night was wholly employed in repairing the Breaches made by Day, inſomuch that neither the Sick or Wounded were permitted to reſt. Whatever might be of Uſe to reſiſt the next Day's Aſſault, was prepared with great Diligence during the Night. Stakes were hardened in the Fire; Paliſades planted in great Number; Towers raiſed upon all Parts of the Rampart; and the whole ſtrengthened with a Parapet and Battlements. *Cicero* himſelf, though much out of Order, would take no Reſt, even during the Night; ſo that the

the Soldiers were obliged to force him from Time to Time to take some Repose.

XXXIII. MEAN-TIME such of the *Nervian* Chiefs and Leaders, as had any Intimacy or Friendship with *Cicero*, desired a Conference. This being agreed to, they addressed him in the same Strain as *Ambiorix* had before used towards *Sabinus*: "That all *Gaul* was in "Arms: That the *Germans* had passed the *Rhine*: "That *Cæsar* and the rest of the Troops were besieged "in their Winter-quarters." They told him likewise of the Fate of *Sabinus*; and to gain Credit, produced *Ambiorix*; adding: "That it was in vain to expect "Relief from those who were themselves in the utmost "Distress: That they meant not however any Injury to "*Cicero* and the People of *Rome*, but merely to prevent "their wintering in the Country, and establishing that "Practice into a Custom: That he was therefore at "Liberty to leave his Quarters without Molestation, "and retire in Safety where he pleased." To this *Cicero* only answered: "That it was not usual with the "People of *Rome* to accept Conditions from an armed "Enemy: But if they would lay down their Arms, "he promised to interpose his Mediation, and per-"mit them to send Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, from "whose Justice they might reasonably expect Re-"dress."

XXXIV. THE *Nervians*, driven from this Hope, surrounded the Camp with a Line, whose Rampart was eleven Foot high, and Ditch fifteen Foot deep. They had learnt something of this in their former Wars with *Cæsar*, and the Prisoners they had made gave them further Instructions. But being unprovided of the Tools necessary in this Kind of Service, they were obliged to cut the Turf with their Swords, dig up the Earth with their Hands, and carry it in their Cloaks. And hence it will be easy to form some Judgment of their Number: for in less than three Hours they completed a Line of fifteen Miles in Circuit. The following Days were employed in raising Towers, proportioned to the Height of our Rampart; and in preparing Scythes, and wooden Galleries, in which they were again assisted by the Prisoners.

XXXV. ON

XXXV. On the ſeventh Day of the Attack, a very high Wind ariſing; they began to throw red-hot Balls of Clay, and burning Javelins, upon the Barracks of the *Romans*, which after the Manner of the *Gauls* were thatched with Straw. Theſe ſoon took fire; and the Flames were in a Moment ſpread by the Wind into all Parts of the Camp. The Enemy falling on with a mighty Shout, as if already ſecured of Victory, advanced their Towers and Galleries, and prepared to ſcale the Rampart. But ſuch was the Conſtancy and Preſence of Mind of the Soldiers; that though the Flames ſurrounded them on every Side, and they were oppreſſed with the Multitude of the Enemy's Darts; though they ſaw their Huts, their Baggage, and their whole Fortunes in a Blaze; yet not only did they continue firm in their Poſts, but ſcarce a Man offered ſo much as to look behind him; ſo intent were they on fighting and repelling the Enemy. This was much the hardeſt Day for our Troops; but had nevertheleſs this fortunate Iſſue, that far the greateſt Number of the Enemy were on that Day wounded or ſlain: for as they had crowded cloſe up to the Rampart, thoſe behind prevented the front Ranks from retiring. The Flames abating by degrees, and the Enemy having brought forward one of their Towers to the very Foot of the Rampart; the Centurions of the third Cohort drew off their Men a little, beckoning to the *Gauls*, and challenging them to enter: but as not a Man would run the Hazard, they attacked them on all Sides with Stones, drove them from the Tower, and ſet it on fire.

XXXVI. In this Legion were two Centurions of diſtinguiſhed Valour, *T. Pulfio*, and *L. Varenus*, who ſtood fair for being raiſed to the firſt Rank of their Order. Theſe were perpetually diſputing with one another the Pre-eminence in Courage, and at every Year's Promotion contended with great Eagerneſs for Precedence. In the Heat of the Attack before the Rampart, *Pulfio* addreſſing *Varenus*: "What hinders "you now (ſays he,) or what more glorious Oppor- "tunity would you deſire of ſignalizing your Bravery? "This, this is the Day for determining the Contro- "verſy between us." At theſe Words he ſallied out of the Camp, and ruſhed amidſt the thickeſt of the *Gauls*.

Gauls. Nor did *Varenus* decline the Challenge; but thinking his Honour at ſtake, followed at ſome Diſtance. *Pulfio* darted his Javelin at the Enemy, and transfixed a *Gaul* that was coming forward to engage him: who falling dead of the Wound, the Multitude advanced to cover him with their Shields, and all poured their Darts upon *Pulfio*, giving him no Time to retire. A Javelin pierced his Shield, and ſtuck faſt in his Belt. This Accident entangled his right Hand, prevented him drawing his Sword, and gave the Enemy Time to ſurround him. *Varenus* his Rival flew to his Aſſiſtance, and endeavoured to reſcue him. Immediately the Multitude quitting *Pulfio*, as fancying the Dart had diſpatched him, all turned upon *Varenus*. He met them with his Sword drawn, charged them Hand to Hand; and having laid one dead at his Feet, drove back the reſt: but purſuing with too much Eagerneſs, ſtept into a Hole, and fell down. *Pulfio* in his Turn haſtened to extricate him; and both together, after having ſlain a Multitude of the *Gauls*, and acquired infinite Applauſe, retired unhurt within the Intrenchments. Thus Fortune gave ſuch a Turn to the Diſpute, that each owed his Life to his Adverſary; nor was it poſſible to decide to which of them the Prize of Valour was due.

XXXVII. As the Defence every Day became more difficult and hazardous, chiefly by the great Multitude of killed and wounded, which conſiderably leſſened the Number of Defendants; *Cicero* ſent Letter upon Letter to inform *Cæſar* of his Danger. Many of theſe Couriers falling into the Enemy's Hands, were tortured to Death within View of our Soldiers. There was at that Time in the *Roman* Camp a *Nervian* of Diſtinction, by name *Vertico*, who in the Beginning of the Siege had fled to *Cicero*, and given ample Proofs of his Fidelity. This Man, by the Hopes of Liberty, and a Promiſe of great Rewards, engaged one of his Slaves to carry a Letter to *Cæſar*. Having concealed it in his Javelin, and paſſed through the Camp of the *Gauls* without ſuſpicion, as being himſelf of that Nation, he arrived ſafe at *Cæſar*'s Quarters, who by this Means was informed of the Danger of *Cicero* and the Legion.

XXXVIII. Cæsar, receiving the Letter about five in the Afternoon, immediately diſpatched a Meſſenger to *M. Craſſus*, who was quartered among the *Bellovaci*, twenty-five Miles off, ordering him to draw out his Legion at Midnight, and march with all the Expedition he could to join him. *Craſſus*, according to his Orders, came along with the Courier. He ſent likewiſe to *C. Fabius*, directing him to lead his Legion into the Country of the *Atrebatians*, which lay in the Way to *Cicero*. He wrote to *Labienus*, if it could be done with Safety, to meet him upon the Frontiers of the *Nervians*. He himſelf in the Mean-time aſſembled about four hundred Horſe from the neareſt Garriſons, reſolving not to wait for the reſt of the Army, which lay at too great a Diſtance.

XXXIX. At nine in the Morning he had notice from his Scouts of the Arrival of *Craſſus*. That Day he marched twenty Miles, leaving *Craſſus* with a Legion at *Samarobriva*, where he had depoſited the Baggage, Hoſtages, publick Papers and all the Proviſions which had been laid up for the Winter. *Fabius*, in conſequence of his Inſtructions, having made all the Haſte he could, met him with his Legion. *Labienus*, who had been informed of the Death of *Sabinus*, and the Deſtruction of the Troops under his Command, and who ſaw all the Forces of *Treves* advancing againſt him; fearing leſt if he ſhould quit his Quarters, the Enemy might conſtrue it as a Flight, and that it would be impoſſible for him to ſuſtain their Attack, eſpecially as they were fluſhed with their late Succeſs; wrote to *Cæſar*, informing him of the Danger that would attend the quitting his Camp, of the Diſaſter that happened among the *Eburones*, and that all the Forces of the *Treviri*, both Horſe and Foot, were encamped within three Miles of him.

XL. Cæsar approving his Reaſons; though he thereby found himſelf reduced from three to two Legions, was yet ſenſible that all depended upon Expedition. He makes forced Marches; and reaching the Territories of the *Nervians*, learnt from ſome Priſoners the State of the Siege, and the Danger the Legion was in. Immediately he engages a *Gauliſh* Horſeman, by the Promiſe of great Rewards,

Rewards, to carry a Letter to *Cicero*. It was wrote in *Greek* Characters, that if it fell into the Enemy's Hands, it might not be intelligible to them. The Meſſenger had Orders, in caſe he found it impracticable to penetrate himſelf into the *Roman* Camp, to tie the Letter to a Javelin, and throw it in. In this Letter *Cæſar* ſent *Cicero* word that he was already on the March to relieve him, and would be up very ſoon; exhorting him in the Mean-time, to defend himſelf with his wonted Bravery. The *Gaul*, dreading a Diſcovery, threw the Letter into the Camp as he had been ordered: but the Javelin by Accident ſticking in a Tower, remained there two Days unperceived. On the third a Soldier ſaw it, took it down, and brought it to *Cicero*; who immediately read it in full Aſſembly, and diffuſed the common Joy through the whole Camp. At the ſame Time they perceived the Smoke of the Villages fired by *Cæſar* in his March, which put the Arrival of the Succours beyond all Doubt.

XLI. THE *Gauls* having Notice of it alſo by their Scouts, thought proper to quit the Siege, and go to meet *Cæſar*. Their Army conſiſted of about ſixty thouſand Men. *Cicero*, now at Liberty, applied again to *Vertico*, for the Slave ſpoken of above; and having admoniſhed him to uſe the utmoſt Diligence and Circumſpection, diſpatched him with a Letter to *Cæſar*, informing him that the Enemy had raiſed the Siege, and were advancing againſt him with all their Forces. *Cæſar* received the Letter about Midnight, communicated the Contents to his Army, and exhorted them to meet the Enemy with Courage. Next Day he decamped early, and after a March of four Miles, diſcovered the *Gauls* on the other Side of a large Valley, with a River in Front. It was dangerous to engage ſo great a Force upon unequal Ground. Knowing therefore that the Siege of *Cicero*'s Camp was raiſed, and having no longer any Reaſon to be in a Hurry, he encamped in the moſt convenient Spot he could find, and completed his Intrenchments. His Army conſiſting of no more than ſeven thouſand Men without Baggage, required at beſt but a very ſmall Camp; yet he purpoſely contracted it as much as poſſible, to inſpire the Enemy with the greater Contempt of him. Mean-time ſending out Scouts

Scouts on all Sides, he endeavoured to find where he might croſs the Valley with moſt Safety.

XLII. The reſt of the Day paſſed in ſlight Skirmiſhes between the Cavalry near the Brook; but the main Body of the Army on both Sides kept within their Lines: The *Gauls*, in Expectation of more Forces, which were not yet come up: *Cæſar*, that by pretending Fear, he might draw the Enemy on this Side the Valley, and engage them before his Camp; or, if that could not be effected, that having diſcovered the Paſſes, he might be enabled to croſs the Valley and Rivulet with leſs Danger. Early next Morning the Enemy's Cavalry coming up to our Camp, charged our Horſe; who, by *Cæſar*'s Orders purpoſely gave ground, and retired behind the Works. At the ſame Time he cauſed the Ramparts to be raiſed higher, the Gates to be barricaded, and cautioned the Soldiers, in the Execution of theſe Orders, to run up and down tumultuouſly, and affect an Air of Timidity and Concern. The Enemy, invited by all theſe Appearances, croſſed the Valley, and drew up in a very diſadvantageous Poſt. Our Men mean-while retiring from the Rampart, they approached ſtill nearer, caſt their Darts on all Sides within the Trenches, and ſent Heralds round the Camp to proclaim, That if any of the *Gauls* or *Romans* had a mind to come over to them, they ſhould be at Liberty ſo to do till nine o'Clock, after which no Quarter would be granted. Nay, ſo far did they carry their Contempt, that thinking they could not break in by the Gates, (which, to deceive them, were ſtopt up with ſingle Rows of Turf,) ſome began to ſcale the Rampart, others to fill up the Ditch. But then *Cæſar* ſallying by all the Gates at once, and charging them briſkly with his Cavalry, put them ſo precipitately to Flight, that not a Man offered to make the leaſt Reſiſtance. Great Numbers of them were ſlain, and the reſt obliged to throw down their Arms.

XLIII. Not caring to purſue them far, on account of the Woods and Marſhes that lay in his Way; and finding that conſiderable Execution had been done upon the Spot, he the ſame Day joined *Cicero* with all his Forces; where beholding the Towers, Galleries, and other Works of the *Gauls*, he could not help being

ſtruck with Admiration. He then reviewed *Cicero*'s Legion, and found that not a tenth Man had eſcaped without Wounds; which gave him a juſt Idea of the Greatneſs of the Danger to which they had been expoſed, and of the vigorous Defence they had made. He beſtowed great Commendations on the Legion, and its Commander; and addreſſed himſelf to the Centurions and military Tribunes by Name, of whoſe Valour *Cicero* made honourable Mention. He learnt particularly from the Priſoners all the Circumſtances of the unhappy Affair of *Sabinus* and *Cotta*: And calling the Soldiers together next Day, gave them an Account of the whole Tranſaction, comforted them, confirmed their Courage, and told them; that a Diſaſter occaſioned by the Imprudence and Raſhneſs of the Lieutenant, ought to give them the leſs Diſturbance; as by the Favour of the immortal Gods, and their Valour, Vengeance had followed ſo ſuddenly, that neither had the Joy of the Enemy for the Victory continued any Time, nor their Grief for the Loſs remained long without Allay.

XLIV. MEAN-TIME the Report of *Cæſar*'s Victory flew with incredible Speed through the Country of the *Rhemi* to *Labienus*. For though he lay at the Diſtance of fifty Miles from *Cicero*'s Camp, whither *Cæſar* did not arrive till paſt three in the Afternoon; yet before Midnight a Shout was raiſed at the Gates of his Camp, by which the *Rhemi* ſignified to him *Cæſar*'s Victory, and their own Congratulation on that Succeſs. The Report of this being carried to the *Treviri*; *Indutiomarus*, who the next Day had determined to attack *Labienus*'s Camp, made off in the Night, and retired with all his Forces into his own Country. *Cæſar* ſent back *Fabius* with his Legion to his former Quarters, reſolving to winter himſelf near *Samarobriva* with three Legions, diſtributed in three different Cantonments; and as all *Gaul* was in Motion, to continue with the Army in perſon. For the Defeat and Death of *Sabinus* ſpreading every where, almoſt all the States of *Gaul* were meditating a Revolt; and with this View ſent Meſſengers and Deputies into all Parts, to concert Meaſures, and contrive where to begin the War. Nay, they held Aſſemblies by Night in deſart Places; inſomuch that during the whole Winter, ſcarce a Day paſſed, but *Cæſar* had Intelligence of ſome new

new Reſolves or Inſurrections of the *Gauls*. Among the reſt, *L. Roſcius*, his Lieutenant, who commanded the thirteenth Legion, ſent him Word: That great Numbers of *Gauls*, from the ſeveral States of *Armorica*, had aſſembled to attack him, and advanced within eight Miles of his Camp; but upon hearing of *Cæſar*'s Victory, had ſeparated ſo haſtily, that their Retreat had all the Appearance of a Flight.

XLV. BUT *Cæſar* ſummoning the principal Noblemen of every State to attend him; partly by Menaces, making them ſenſible he was no Stranger to their Deſigns; partly by Exhortations, found means to keep the greateſt Part of *Gaul* in its Duty. The *Senones* however, a potent State, and of great Authority among the *Gauls*, formed the Deſign of publickly aſſaſſinating *Cavarinus*, whom *Cæſar* had given them for a King; whoſe Brother *Moritaſgus* had held the Sovereignty at *Cæſar*'s Arrival in *Gaul*, and whoſe Anceſtors had long been in Poſſeſſion of the ſame Dignity. But he having Intelligence of the Plot, thought proper to fly; whereupon purſuing him to the very Frontiers, they drove him from his Palace and Throne: And ſending Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* to juſtify their Conduct; upon his ordering their whole Senate to repair to him, they refuſed to ſubmit. So powerful was this Example amongſt the Barbarians, that ſome at laſt were found of Courage enough to begin the War; and ſo great a Change did it produce in the Inclinations of all; that except the *Æduans* and *Rhemi*, who had been always particularly diſtinguiſhed and favoured by *Cæſar*; the firſt, on account of their ancient and inviolable Fidelity to the People of *Rome*; the laſt, for their late Services in the *Gallick* War; ſcarce was there a ſingle State in all *Gaul* that did not incur Suſpicion. Nor is this, in Truth, ſo much to be wondered at; as for many other Reaſons, ſo particularly for this: That a People famed above all Nations for their military Virtues, could not with Patience bear to ſee themſelves ſo far ſtript of their former Renown, as to be forced to ſubmit to the Yoke of the *Romans*.

XLVI. INDUTIOMARUS and the *Treviri* ceaſed not, during the whole Winter, to ſend Ambaſſadors over the *Rhine*; ſoliciting the *German* States; offering them

Money; and urging, that a great Part of our Army having already been cut off, much the leaſt conſiderable remained. But no Part of that Country could be perſuaded to come into their Deſigns: Becauſe having twice before tried their Fortune with the *Romans*, in the War with *Arioviſtus*, and in the Defeat of the *Tenchtheri*; they were reſolved, they told them, to run no more Hazards. *Indutiomarus*, diſappointed of this Hope, was not leſs active in drawing Forces together, ſoliciting Recruits from the neighbouring States, providing Horſes, and encouraging even Out-laws and Convicts, by the Promiſe of great Rewards, to engage in his Service. And ſo great an Authority had he by this Means acquired in *Gaul*, that Ambaſſadors flocked from all Parts; ſome publickly, others in a private Manner, to requeſt his Protection and Friendſhip.

XLVII. FINDING himſelf thus voluntarily applied to: On one Side, by the *Senones* and *Carnutes*, impelled by a Conſciouſneſs of the Guilt they had incurred; on the other, by the *Nervians* and *Atuatici*, who were preparing for a War with the *Romans*; and that if he once took the Field, Forces would not be wanting: He called an Aſſembly of the States in Arms. This, according to the Cuſtom of the *Gauls*, implies an actual Commencement of War; and, by a ſtanding Law, obliges all their Youth to appear at the Diet in Arms; in which they they are ſo extremely ſtrict, that whoſoever has the Misfortune to come laſt, is put to Death in Sight of the Multitude, with all Manner of Torments. In this Aſſembly, *Cingetorix*, the Head of the oppoſite Faction, and Son-in-law of *Indutiomarus*; who, as we have related above, had declared for *Cæſar*, and ſtill continued firm to him, was proclaimed a publick Enemy, and his Eſtate confiſcated. After which *Indutiomarus* acquainted the Council, that the *Senones*, *Carnutes*, and ſeveral other States of *Gaul* had ſolicited his Aſſiſtance; that he accordingly intended to join his Forces with theirs, taking his Route through the Territories of the *Rhemi*, and giving up their Lands to be plundered; but that before he began his March, he was deſirous of maſtering the Camp of *Labienus*. To that End he gave the neceſſary Directions.

XLVIII.

XLVIII. LABIENUS, whoſe Camp, both by the Nature of the Ground, and the Fortifications he had added, was extremely ſtrong, feared nothing, either for himſelf or the Legion; but nevertheleſs was intent how he might give the Enemy ſome conſiderable Blow. Having therefore been informed by *Cingetorix* and his Adherents, of the Speech made by *Indutiomarus* in the Council of *Gaul*; he ſent Deputies to the neighbouring States, ſolicited Cavalry from all Parts, and appointed them a Day of Rendezvous. Mean-time *Indutiomarus*, with all his Cavalry, appeared almoſt every Day within Sight of the Camp; one while, to examine its Situation; another, to intimidate *Labienus*, or invite him to a Conference. On theſe Occaſions, it was uſual for the Enemy to caſt their Darts over the Rampart. *Labienus* kept his Men within the Works, and uſed all the Methods he could think of to make the *Gauls* believe he was afraid of them.

XLIX. INDUTIOMARUS approaching the Trenches every Day with greater Contempt than before: *Labienus* received into his Camp, by Night, all the Cavalry he had ſent for from the neighbouring States; and was ſo careful to reſtrain his Men within their Lines, by Guards planted at all the Outlets, that it was impoſſible for the *Treviri* to get Intelligence of the Reinforcement he had received. Mean-time *Indutiomarus*, according to Cuſtom, came up to the Camp, and continued there the greater Part of the Day. The Cavalry diſcharged their Darts over the Rampart, and in opprobrious Language challenged our Men to fight. The *Romans* making no Anſwer, they retired towards Night, but diſperſed and without Order. Then *Labienus*, ordering a ſudden Sally with all the Cavalry, ſtrictly cautioned and charged his Men, that as ſoon as they had put the *Gauls* to Flight, (which happened according to his Expectation,) they ſhould all ſingle out *Indutiomarus*, nor offer to wound a Man of the Enemy, till they ſaw him ſlain: For he was unwilling that any Delay, occaſioned by the Slaughter of the reſt, ſhould give him an Opportunity to eſcape. He promiſed great Rewards to the Man that ſhould kill him; and ſent the Cohorts after to ſuſtain the Horſe. The Deſign ſucceeded: For as all were intent upon *Indutiomarus*

alone, he was overtaken and ſlain in paſſing a River, and his Head brought back to the Camp. Our Cavalry, in their Return, put all to the Sword that came in their Way. Upon the News of this Defeat, the Forces of the *Eburones* and *Nervians* returned Home, and *Gaul* was ſomewhat quieter the reſt of the Winter.

C. JULIUS

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in *GAUL.*

BOOK VI.

The ARGUMENT.

I. Cæſar *apprehending greater Commotions in* Gaul, *augments his Forces.* II. *He reduces the* Nervians *by a ſudden Invaſion.* III. *And admits the* Senones, Carnutes, *and* Menapians *to a Surrender.* VI. Labienus *pretending Fear, ſuddenly attacks and routs the* Treviri. IX. Cæſar *paſſes the* Rhine *a ſecond Time.* X. *The* Suevians *prepare to oppoſe the* Romans. XI. *The Manners of the* Gauls *and* Germans *deſcribed.* XII. *The* Æduans *and* Sequani *at the Head of two oppoſite Factions in* Gaul. *The* Sequani *declining in Power, the* Rhemi *ſubſtitute themſelves in their Place.* XIII. *Deſcription of the Druids.* XV. *The Religion of the* Gauls. XVI. *The* Gauls *and* Germans *differ much as to their Manners and Cuſtoms.* XXIII. *The* Hercynian *Foreſt.* XXIV. *A Bull with one Horn.* XXV. *Wild Aſſes.* XXVI. *Buffalos.* XXVII. Cæſar, *fearing the Want of Proviſions, repaſſes the* Rhine, *and marches againſt* Ambiorix. XXVIII. *The great Power of Fortune.* XXIX. Ambiorix *diſbands his Troops, and counſels them to provide for their own Safety.* XXX. Cæſar *divides his Army, and marches in perſon in queſt of* Ambiorix. XXXI. *Is obliged to proceed with great Circumſpection in ravaging the Country.* XXXII. *The* Sicambri *croſs the* Rhine, *and fall upon* Cicero's *Camp.* XXXV. *The aſtoniſhing Bravery of* Sextius Baculus *upon this Occaſion.* XXXVII. *The* Romans *ſuffer ſome Loſs.* XXXVIII. *The* Germans *at length relinquiſh the Attack, and return Home.* XL. Cæſar *lays waſte the Country of the* Eburones. Ambiorix *narrowly eſcapes being taken.* XLI. Cæſar *returns to* Italy.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in *GAUL.*

BOOK VI.

I. CÆSAR, for many Reaſons, expecting greater Commotions in *Gaul*, ordered his Lieutenants *M. Silanus*, *C. Antiſtius Reginus*, and *T. Sextius*, to levy Troops. At the ſame Time he deſired of *Cn. Pompey* the Proconſul, that ſince he was himſelf detained by publick Affairs at *Rome*, he would ſet on Foot the Legion he had inliſted in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, during his Conſulſhip, and ſend it to him: for he conſidered it as of the utmoſt Importance towards ſecuring a proper Reſpect from the *Gauls* for the Time to come, to give them ſuch an Idea of the Power of *Italy*, as might convince them that it was not only able ſpeedily to repair any Loſſes ſuſtained, but even to bring a greater Force into the Field. Friendſhip and the good of the Commonwealth equally determined *Pompey* to yield to this Requeſt: and the Levies being completed with great Diligence by the Lieutenants, three new Legions were formed and brought into *Gaul* before the End of Winter. Thus, having doubled the Number of Cohorts loſt under *Titurius*, he ſoon made the Enemy ſenſible, both by his Expedition and the Strength of the Reinforcement, of what they had to apprehend from the Power and Diſcipline of the *Romans*.

II. INDUTIOMARUS being ſlain, as we have related above, the *Treviri* conferred the Command on his Relations.

Relations. They perſiſted likewiſe in ſoliciting the *Germans*, and making them offers of Money. But not being able to prevail with thoſe that lay neareſt them, they applied to ſome of the more remote States; and finding them inclined to treat, entered into a ſolemn Engagement with them, giving Hoſtages for Security of the Money ſtipulated, and aſſociating *Ambiorix* into the Confederacy. *Cæſar* informed of theſe Things, and finding that he was threatened with War on all Sides; that the *Nervians*, *Atuatici*, and *Menapians*, with all the *Germans* on this Side the *Rhine*, were actually in Arms; that the *Senones* refuſed to attend him according to Orders, and were tampering with the *Carnutes* and other neighbouring States; and that the *Treviri* were ſoliciting the *Germans* by frequent Embaſſies; he judged it would be neceſſary to open the Campaign early. Accordingly, without waiting till the Winter was at an End, he drew together the four neareſt Legions, and fell unexpectedly into the Territories of the *Nervians*, before they could either aſſemble in a Body, or find Means to ſave themſelves by Flight. Having carried off a great Number of Men and Cattle, enriched his Soldiers with the Booty, and laid waſte the Country; he compelled them to ſubmit and give Hoſtages, and then led back his Legions to their Winter-quarters.

III. EARLY in the Spring, having ſummoned a general Aſſembly of *Gaul*, purſuant to his Deſign; as all the other States but the *Senones*, *Carnutes*, and *Treviri* appeared; looking upon this as the Beginning of a Revolt, and willing to poſtpone every thing elſe, he adjourned the Diet to *Paris*. This City was upon the Borders of the *Senones*, and had been united with them about an Age before; but was thought to have no Share in their preſent Revolt. Having declared the Adjournment to the Aſſembly, he the ſame Day ſet out with his Legions againſt the *Senones*, and by great Marches reached their Territories. *Acco*, who was at the Head of the Confederacy, hearing of his Approach, ordered the Multitude to ſhelter themſelves in the Towns: but before that could be done, the *Romans* appeared. This obliged them to change their Meaſures, and ſend Deputies to *Cæſar*, to implore Forgiveneſs. They were ſeconded by the *Æduans*, the old and faithful Allies of the *Romans*,

Romans, at whoſe Requeſt *Cæſar* readily pardoned them; and the rather, becauſe the Summer being now come, he had no mind to ſpend the Seaſon for Action in proceeding formally againſt the Guilty. He ordered them to ſend an hundred Hoſtages, whom he committed to the Cuſtody of the *Æduans*. The *Carnutes* too, at the Interceſſion of the *Rhemi*, under whoſe Protection they were, having ſent Deputies and Hoſtages, obtained the ſame Conditions. *Cæſar* then went to the Aſſembly of the States, put an End to the Diet, and ordered the *Gauls* to provide him Cavalry.

IV. TRANQUILLITY being reſtored in theſe Parts, *Cæſar* turned all his Thoughts to the Management of the War with *Ambiorix* and the *Treviri*. He ordered *Cavarinus* to attend him with the Cavalry of the *Senones*, to prevent any new Commotions in his Abſence, either in conſequence of the Reſentment of that Prince, or the Hatred he had incurred of the State. And having thus ſettled all Things to his Mind, as he knew *Ambiorix* was determined not to hazard a Battle, he ſet himſelf to watch his other Deſigns.

V. THE *Menapians*, whoſe Territories border upon thoſe of the *Eburones*, are ſecured by Woods and Moraſſes on every Side; and were the only People of *Gaul*, who had not ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* to deſire a Peace. He knew *Ambiorix* was in good Intelligence with them; and that by Means of the *Treviri*, he had alſo entered into an Alliance with the *Germans*. He therefore thought it beſt to deprive him of theſe Reſources, before he attacked him in perſon; leſt deſpairing of being able to defend himſelf, he ſhould either retire among the *Menapians*, or throw himſelf into the Arms of the *Germans* beyond the *Rhine*. This Reſolution being taken, he ſent the Baggage of the whole Army to *Labienus* in the Country of the *Treviri*, ordered him a Reinforcement of two Legions, and marched himſelf againſt the *Menapians* with five Legions, who carried nothing with them but their Arms. That Nation truſting to their Situation, inſtead of aſſembling Forces, retreated to their Woods and Moraſſes, and carried all their Effects along with them. *Cæſar*, dividing his Forces with *C. Fabius* his Lieutenant, and

M. Craſſus

M. Craſſus his Queſtor; and having ſpeedily finiſhed his Bridges, entered their Country in three Bodies, ſet all their Houſes and Villages on fire, and carried off ſuch Numbers of Men and Cattle, that the *Menapians* were at laſt conſtrained to ſue for Peace. He granted it, on Condition they ſent him Hoſtages, and engaged not to admit *Ambiorix* or any one from him into their Territories; threatening to treat them as Enemies if they did. Theſe Things ſettled, he left *Comius* of *Arras* there with a Body of Horſe to keep them in Awe, and ſet out himſelf againſt the *Treviri*.

VI. WHILST *Cæſar* was thus employed, the *Treviri*, having drawn together a great Number of Horſe and Foot, were preparing to attack the Legion which had wintered in their Territories under *Labienus*. They were now advanced within two Days March of the Lieutenant's Camp, when they learnt that he had received a Reinforcement of two Legions from *Cæſar*. Upon this, encamping at about fifteen Miles diſtance, they reſolved to wait for the Auxiliaries they expected from *Germany*. *Labienus*, having Intelligence of their Deſign, and hoping their Raſhneſs might furniſh him with an Opportunity of fighting, left the Baggage under a Guard of five Cohorts; and with the twenty-five remaining, and all his Cavalry, marched towards the Enemy, and pitched his Camp about a Mile from them.

VII. BETWEEN *Labienus* and the Enemy was a River, with ſteep Banks, and difficult to paſs. And indeed neither was *Labienus* himſelf minded to try the Paſſage, nor did he expect the Enemy would offer at ſuch an Attempt. The Hope of being joined by the Auxiliaries grew ſtronger in the Camp of the *Gauls* every Day. *Labienus* declared publickly in a Council of War; "That as the *Germans* were ſaid to be upon "their March, he was determined not to expoſe him-"ſelf and the Army to Danger, but would decamp "early next Morning." This was ſoon carried to the Enemy; for as our Cavalry conſiſted moſtly of *Gauls*, it was natural for ſome of them to favour their Countrymen. *Labienus*, aſſembling the military Tribunes and principal Centurions during the Night, laid before them his

his real Deſign: and the better to betray the Enemy into a Suſpicion of his being afraid, gave Orders for decamping with more Noiſe and Tumult than was uſual in a *Roman* Army. By this Means his March had all the Appearance of a Flight; and the Enemy, whoſe Camp was ſo very near, had Notice of it before Day-break from their Spies.

VIII. SCARCE had our Rear got without the Trenches, when the *Gauls*, encouraging one another not to loſe ſo fair a Prey, or ſtay in expectation of the *Germans*, at a Time the *Romans* were retreating in ſuch a Panick; and conſidering it as an Indignity, with ſo great a Superiority of Forces, to forbear attacking an Handful of Men already put to Flight and incumbered with their Baggage; reſolved to paſs the River, and engage the *Romans*, notwithſtanding the Diſadvantage of the Ground. *Labienus*, who had foreſeen this; that he might draw them all over the River, continued the Feint of his March, and went on quietly. Then ſending the Baggage a little before, and ordering it to be placed upon a riſing Ground: "Behold, Fellow-"ſoldiers, ſays he, the Opportunity you ſo much "deſired: you have the Enemy at a Diſadvantage, and "in a Place where they cannot ſuſtain the Onſet: ſhew "only under my Command the Valour you have ſo often "manifeſted to our General; think him preſent, and "and that he ſees and obſerves you." At the ſame Time he ordered them to face about, and form in Line of Battle; and detaching a few Troops of Horſe to guard the Baggage, drew up the reſt on the two Wings. Our Men gave a ſudden Shout, and threw their Javelins. The Enemy, contrary to their Expectation, ſeeing thoſe whom they imagined put to flight, marching againſt them with diſplayed Banners, could not ſuſtain the very firſt Shock; but betaking themſelves immediately to Flight, took Refuge in the neareſt Woods. *Labienus* purſuing with his Cavalry, put many of the Enemy to the Sword, and took a great Number of Priſoners; inſomuch that within a few Days the whole State was obliged to ſubmit: for the *Germans*, who were coming to their Aſſiſtance, upon hearing of their Defeat, returned home. The Relations of *Indutiomarus*, who had been the Authors of the Revolt, choſe likewiſe to

to retire with them, and abandon their Country. *Cingetorix*, who had always continued faithful to the *Romans*, was thereupon inveſted with the ſupreme Authority.

IX. CÆSAR, after his Arrival in *Treves*, from among the *Menapians*, reſolved for two Reaſons to paſs the *Rhine*: one, becauſe the *Germans* had aſſiſted the *Treviri* againſt the *Romans*; the other, to deprive *Ambiorix* of a Retreat into thoſe Parts. In conſequence of this Reſolution, he ſet about making a Bridge on the River, but ſomewhat higher up than before. As the Form and Manner was known, the Soldiers, by their extraordinary Diligence, finiſhed the Work in a few Days. Leaving a ſtrong Guard on the Side of *Treves*, to prevent any ſudden Inſurrection in that Country, he carried over the reſt of his Army. The *Ubians*, who had before ſubmitted and given Hoſtages, ſent Ambaſſadors to him to vindicate their Conduct, and aſſure him, that they had neither ſent Troops to the Aſſiſtance of the *Treviri*, nor in any Inſtance departed from their Engagements. They urged and requeſted, that he would ſpare their Territories, and not, out of a general Hatred to the *Germans*, involve the Innocent in the Puniſhment of the Guilty. If he deſired more Hoſtages, they told him they were ready to ſend them. *Cæſar* finding upon Inquiry, that the Supplies had been ſent by the *Suevians*, accepted the Submiſſion of the *Ubians*: and preparing to March againſt the *Suevians*, informed himſelf of the Ways and Acceſſes to their Country.

X. A FEW Days after, he had Intelligence from the *Ubians*, that the *Suevians* were drawing their Forces to a general Rendezvous, and had ſent Orders to all the Nations under their Juriſdiction, to furniſh their Contingents of Horſe and Foot. Upon this having furniſhed himſelf with Proviſions, and choſen a proper Place for his Camp, he ordered the *Ubians* to retire into their Towns with their Cattle and Effects; hoping that ſo unſkilful and barbarous an Enemy, might eaſily be drawn by the Want of Proviſions, to fight in a Place of Diſadvantage. He further injoined the *Ubians* to ſend Spies into all Parts, to learn the Deſigns and Motions of

of the *Suevians*. They readily complied, and in a few Days brought him back Word; "That the *Suevians*, "upon certain Information of the Arrival of the *Roman* "Army, had retired to the remoteſt Part of the Coun- "try, with all their own Forces, and thoſe of their "Allies: that there they had reſolved to wait the "coming up of the *Romans*, at the Entrance of a Foreſt "of immenſe Extent, called *Bacenis*, which reached a "great Way into the Country, and ſerved as a Barrier "between the *Cheruſci* and *Suevians*, to prevent their "mutual Incurſions."

XI. On this Occaſion it may not be improper to ſay ſomewhat of the Manners of the *Gauls* and *Germans*, and the Difference of Cuſtoms between theſe two Nations. A Spirit of Faction prevails throughout *Gaul*, and that not only in their ſeveral States, Diſtricts, and Villages, but almoſt in every private Family. The Men of greateſt Eſteem and Conſideration among them, are commonly at the Head of theſe Factions, and give what Turn they think proper to all publick Deliberations and Counſels. This Cuſtom is of long ſtanding, and ſeems deſigned to ſecure thoſe of lower Rank from the Oppreſſion of the Powerful: for the Leaders always take care to protect thoſe of their Party, otherwiſe they would ſoon loſe all their Authority. This equally obtains through the whole Continent of *Gaul*, the Provinces being in general divided into two Factions.

XII. When *Cæſar* arrived in the Country, the *Æduans* were at the Head of one Faction, and the *Sequani* of the other. Theſe laſt being the weaker, becauſe the *Æduans* had long bore the greateſt Sway, and had a Number of conſiderable States in their dependence; they united with *Arioviſtus* and the *Germans*, whom by great Preſents and Promiſes they drew over the *Rhine* to their Aſſiſtance. This Alliance made them ſo powerful, that having worſted their Adverſaries in ſeveral Battles, and killed almoſt all their Nobility; they forced the States dependent upon the *Æduans* to have recourſe to them for Protection; obliged the *Æduans* themſelves to give the Children of their principal Nobility as Hoſtages, ſwear publickly not to attempt any thing againſt the *Sequani*,

Sequani, and reſign up to their Poſſeſſion a Part of their Territories; and by this Means rendered themſelves in a Manner Sovereigns of all *Gaul*. *Divitiacus*, in this Neceſſity, applied to the Senate of *Rome* for Relief, but without Effect. *Cæſar*'s Arrival ſoon changed the Face of Affairs. The *Æduan* Hoſtages were ſent back, their former Clients reſtored, and new ones procured them by *Cæſar*'s Intereſt; it appearing, that ſuch as were under their Protection, enjoyed a more equal and milder Lot: by all which their Fortune and Authority being conſiderably enlarged, the *Sequani* were obliged to reſign the Sovereignty. The *Rhemi* ſucceeded in their Place: and as they were known to be in the ſame Degree of Favour with *Cæſar*, ſuch as could not get over their old Animoſity to the *Æduans*, put themſelves under their Protection. The *Rhemi* were extremely attentive to the Intereſts of their Clients, and thereby both preſerved their old Authority, and that which they had newly acquired. Such therefore was the then Situation of *Gaul*, that the *Æduans* poſſeſſing indiſputably the firſt Rank, the *Rhemi* were next in Conſideration and Dignity.

XIII. OVER all *Gaul*, there are only two Orders of Men, in any Degree of Honour and Eſteem: for the common People are little better than Slaves, attempt nothing of themſelves, and have no Share in the publick Deliberations. As they are generally oppreſſed with Debt, heavy Tributes, or the Exactions of their Superiors; they make themſelves Vaſſals to the Great, who exerciſe over them the ſame Juriſdiction as Maſters do over Slaves. The two Orders of Men, with whom, as we have ſaid, all Authority and Diſtinctions are lodged, are the Druids and Nobles. The Druids preſide in Matters of Religion, have the Care of publick and private Sacrifices, and interpret the Will of the Gods. They have the Direction and Education of the Youth, by whom they are held in great Honour. In almoſt all Controverſies, whether publick or private, the Deciſion is left to them: and if any Crime is committed, any Murder perpetrated; if any Diſpute ariſes touching an Inheritance, or the Limits of adjoining Eſtates; in all ſuch Caſes, they are the ſupreme Judges. They decree Rewards and Puniſhments; and if any one refuſes to ſubmit

ſubmit to their Sentence, whether Magiſtrate or private Man, they interdict him the Sacrifices. This is the greateſt Puniſhment that can be inflicted among the *Gauls*; becauſe ſuch as are under this Prohibition, are conſidered as impious and wicked: all Men ſhun them, and decline their Converſation and Fellowſhip, leſt they ſhould ſuffer from the Contagion of their Misfortunes. They can neither have recourſe to the Law for Juſtice, nor are capable of any publick Office. The Druids are all under one Chief, who poſſeſſes the ſupreme Authority in that Body. Upon his Death, if any one remarkably excels the reſt, he ſucceeds: but if there are ſeveral Candidates of equal Merit, the Affair is determined by Plurality of Suffrages. Sometimes they even have recourſe to Arms before the Election can be brought to an Iſſue. Once a Year they aſſemble at a conſecrated Place in the Territories of the *Carnutes*, whoſe Country is ſuppoſed to be the Middle of *Gaul*. Hither ſuch as have any Suits depending flock from all Parts, and ſubmit implicitly to their Decrees. Their Inſtitution is ſuppoſed to come originally from *Britain*, whence it paſſed into *Gaul*; and even at this Day, ſuch as are deſirous of being perfect in it, travel thither for Inſtruction. The Druids never go to War, are exempted from Taxes and military Service, and enjoy all Manner of Immunities. Theſe mighty Encouragements induce Multitudes of their own Accord to follow that Profeſſion; and many are ſent by their Parents and Relations. They are taught to repeat a great Number of Verſes by Heart, and often ſpend twenty Years upon this Inſtitution: for it is deemed unlawful to commit their Statutes to Writing; though in other Matters, whether publick or private, they make uſe of *Greek* Characters. They ſeem to me to follow this Method for two Reaſons: to hide their Myſteries from the Knowledge of the Vulgar; and to exerciſe the Memory of their Scholars, which would be apt to lie neglected, had they Letters to truſt to, as we find is often the caſe. It is one of their principal Maxims that the Soul never dies, but after Death paſſes from one Body to another; which, they think, contributes greatly to exalt Mens Courage, by diſarming Death of its Terrors. They teach likewiſe many Things relating to the Stars and their Motions, the Magnitude of the

World and our Earth, the Nature of Things, and the Power and Prerogatives of the immortal Gods.

XIV. THE other Order of Men is the Nobles, whose whole Study and Occupation is War. Before *Cæsar*'s Arrival in *Gaul*, they were almost every Year at War, either offensive or defensive; and they judge of the Power and Quality of their Nobles by his Vassals, and the Number of Men he keeps in his Pay: for these are the only Marks of Grandeur they make any account of.

XV. THE whole Nation of the *Gauls* is extremely addicted to Superstition: whence in threatening Distempers, and the imminent Dangers of War, they make no scruple to sacrifice Men, or engage themselves by Vow to such Sacrifices; in which they make use of the Ministry of the Druids: for it is a prevalent Opinion among them, that nothing but the Life of Man can atone for the Life of Man; insomuch that they have established even publick Sacrifices of this Kind. Some prepare huge Colossuses of osier Twigs, into which they put Men alive, and setting fire to them, those within expire amidst the Flames. They prefer for Victims such as have been convicted of Theft, Robbery, or other Crimes; believing them the most acceptable to the Gods: but when real Criminals are wanting, the Innocent are often made to suffer. *Mercury* is the chief Deity with them: of him they have many Images, account him the Inventor of all Arts, their Guide and Conductor in their Journeys, and the Patron of Merchandize and Gain. Next to him are *Apollo*, and *Mars*, and *Jupiter*, and *Minerva*. Their Notions in regard to them are pretty much the same with those of other Nations. *Apollo* is their God of Physic; *Minerva* of Works and Manufactures; *Jove* holds the Empire of Heaven; and *Mars* presides in War. To this last, when they resolve upon a Battle, they commonly devote the Spoil. If they prove victorious, they offer up all the Cattle taken, and set apart the rest of the Plunder in a Place appointed for that Purpose: and it is common in many Provinces, to see these Monuments of Offerings piled up in consecrated Places. Nay, it rarely happens that

that any one ſhews ſo great a Diſregard of Religion, as either to conceal the Plunder, or pillage the publick Oblations; and the ſevereſt Puniſhments are inflicted upon ſuch Offenders.

XVI. THE *Gauls* fancy themſelves to be deſcended from the God *Pluto*; which, it ſeems, is an eſtabliſhed Tradition among the Druids. For this Reaſon they compute the Time by Nights, not by Days; and in the Obſervance of Birth-days, new Moons, and the Beginning of the Year, always commence the Celebration from the preceding Night. In one Cuſtom they differ from almoſt all other Nations; that they never ſuffer their Children to come openly into their Preſence, until they are of Age to bear Arms: for the Appearance of a Son in publick with his Father, before he has reached the Age of Manhood, is accounted diſhonourable.

XVII. WHATEVER Fortune the Woman brings, the Huſband is obliged to equal it out of his own Eſtate. This whole Sum, with its annual Product, is left untouched, and falls always to the Share of the Survivor. The Men have Power of Life and Death over their Wives and Children: and when any Father of a Family of illuſtrious Rank dies, his Relations aſſemble, and upon the leaſt Ground of Suſpicion put even his Wives to the Torture like Slaves. If they are found guilty, Iron and Fire are employed to torment and deſtroy them. Their Funerals are magnificent and ſumptuous, according to their Quality. Every Thing that was dear to the Deceaſed, even Animals, are thrown into the Pile: and formerly ſuch of their Slaves and Clients as they loved moſt, ſacrificed themſelves at the Funeral of their Lord.

XVIII. In their beſt regulated States they have a Law, that whoever hears any Thing relating to the Publick, whether by Rumour or otherwiſe, ſhall give immediate Notice to the Magiſtrate, without imparting it to any one elſe: for the Nature of the People is ſuch, that raſh and unexperienced Men, alarmed by falſe Reports, are often hurried to the greateſt Extremities, and take upon them to determine in Matters of the

higheſt Conſequence. The Magiſtrates ſtifle Things improper to be known, and only communicate to the Multitude what they think needful for the Service of the Commonwealth: nor do the Laws permit to ſpeak of State Affairs, except in publick Council.

XIX. THE *Germans* differ widely in their Manners from the *Gauls*. For neither have they Druids to preſide in religious Affairs; nor do they trouble themſelves about Sacrifices. They acknowledge no Gods but thoſe that are Objects of Sight, and by whoſe Power they are apparently benefited; the Sun, the Moon, Fire. Of others they know nothing; not even by Report. Their whole Life is addicted to Hunting and War; and from their Infancy they are inured to Fatigue and Hardſhips. They eſteem thoſe moſt, who continue longeſt Strangers to Women; as imagining nothing contributes ſo much to Stature, Strength, and Vigour of Body: but to have any Commerce of this Kind before the Age of twenty, is accounted in the higheſt Degree ignominious. Nor is it poſſible to conceal any Irregularity this Way; becauſe they bathe promiſcuouſly in Rivers, and are clothed in Skins, or ſhort Mantles of Fur, which leave the greateſt Part of their Bodies naked.

XX. AGRICULTURE is little regarded among them, as they live moſtly on Milk, Cheeſe, and the Fleſh of Animals. Nor has any Man Lands of his own, or diſtinguiſhed by fixed Boundaries. The Magiſtrates, and thoſe in Authority, portion out yearly to every Canton and Family, ſuch a Quantity of Land, and in what Part of the Country they think proper; and the Year following remove them to ſome other Spot. Many Reaſons are aſſigned for this Practice: leſt ſeduced by Habit and Continuance, they ſhould learn to prefer Tillage to War: leſt a Deſire of enlarging their Poſſeſſions ſhould gain ground, and prompt the Stronger to expel the Weaker: leſt they ſhould become curious in their Buildings, in order to guard againſt the Extremes of Heat and Cold: leſt Avarice ſhould get Footing amongſt them, whence ſpring Factions and Diſcords: in fine, to preſerve Contentment and Equanimity among the People, when they find their Poſſeſſions nothing inferior to thoſe of the moſt Powerful.

XXI. IT

XXI. IT is accounted honourable for States to have the Country all around them lie waſte and depopulated: for they think it an Argument of Valour to expel their Neighbours, and ſuffer none to ſettle near them; at the ſame Time that they are themſelves alſo the ſafer, as having nothing to apprehend from ſudden Incurſions. When a State is engaged in War, either offenſive or defenſive, they make choice of Magiſtrates to preſide in it, whom they arm with a Power of Life and Death. In Time of Peace there are no publick Magiſtrates; but the Chiefs of the ſeveral Provinces and Clans adminiſter Juſtice, and decide Differences within their reſpective Limits. Robbery has nothing infamous in it, when committed without the Territories of the State to which they belong: they even pretend that it ſerves to exerciſe their Youth, and prevent the Growth of Sloth. When any of their Princes in this caſe offers himſelf publickly in Council as a Leader, ſuch as approve of the Expedition riſe up, profeſs themſelves ready to follow him, and are applauded by the whole Multitude. They who go back from their Engagement are looked upon as Traitors and Deſerters, and loſe all Eſteem and Credit for the Time to come. The Laws of Hoſpitality are held inviolable among them. All that fly to them for Refuge, on whatever Account, are ſure of Protection and Defence; their Houſes are open to receive them, and they plentifully ſupply their Wants.

XXII. FORMERLY the *Gauls* exceeded the *Germans* in Bravery, often made War upon them, and as they abounded in People beyond what the Country could maintain, ſent ſeveral Colonies over the *Rhine*. Accordingly the more fertile Places of *Germany*, in the Neighbourhood of the *Hercynian* Foreſt, (which I find mentioned by *Eratoſthenes* and other *Greek* Writers under the Name of *Orcinia*,) fell to the Share of the *Volcæ*, who ſettled in thoſe Parts, and have ever ſince kept Poſſeſſion. They are in the higheſt Reputation for Juſtice and Bravery, and no leſs remarkable than the *Germans* for Poverty, Abſtinence, and Patience of Fatigue; conforming exactly to their Cuſtoms, both in Habit and Way of living. But the Neighbourhood of the *Roman* Province, and an Acquaintance with Traffick, has introduced Luxury and Abundance

among the *Gauls*; whence becoming by little and little an unequal Match for the *Germans*, and being worſted in many Battles, they no longer pretend to compare with them in Valour.

XXIII. The *Hercynian* Foreſt, of which we have been juſt ſpeaking, is about nine Days Journey in Breadth: for as the *Germans* are ignorant of the Uſe of Meaſures, there is no other Way of computing it. It begins from the Confines of the *Helvetians*, *Nemetes*, and *Rauraci*; and following directly the Courſe of the *Danube*, extends to the Territories of the *Anartes* and *Dacians*. Thence turning from the River to the left, it runs through a Multitude of different Regions; and though there are many in the Country, who have advanced ſix Days Journey into this Foreſt; yet no one pretends to have reached the Extremity of it, or diſcovered how far it extends. Many different Species of Animals, unknown in other Countries, harbour here; the moſt remarkable of which, and that beſt deſerve to be mentioned, are theſe.

XXIV. THERE is a Bull that nearly reſembles a Stag, with only one Horn riſing from the Middle of his Forehead, taller and ſtraighter than thoſe of our Cattle, and which at Top divides into many large Branches. The Males and Females are ſhaped alike, and have Horns the ſame in Size.

XXV. HERE are likewiſe a Kind of wild Aſſes, ſhaped and ſpotted like Goats, but of a larger Size; without Horns, or Joints in their Legs; that never lie down to ſleep; nor can raiſe themſelves, if by any Accident they are overthrown. They lean againſt Trees, which ſerve to ſupport them when they ſleep. Hence the Huntſmen, after having diſcovered their Haunts, either looſen the Roots of the Trees, or ſaw them almoſt quite off; ſo that when the Animal, according to Cuſtom, reclines againſt them, they immediately give way, and both fall down together.

XXVI. A third Species of Animals are the *Uri*, nearly equalling the Elephant in Bulk; but in Colour, Shape, and Kind, reſembling a Bull. They are of uncommon

common Strength and Swiftneſs, and ſpare neither Man nor Beaſt that comes in their Way. They are taken and ſlain by means of Pits dug on purpoſe. This Way of hunting is frequent among the Youth, and ſerves to inure them to Fatigue. They who kill the greateſt Number, and produce their Horns in publick as a Proof, are in high Reputation with their Countrymen. It is found impoſſible to tame them, or conquer their Fierceneſs, though taken never ſo young. Their Horns, both in Largeneſs, Figure, and Kind, differ much from thoſe of our Bulls. The Natives preſerve them with great Care, tip their Edges with Silver, and uſe them inſtead of Cups on their moſt ſolemn Feſtivals.

XXVII. Cæsar underſtanding from the *Ubian* Scouts, that the *Suevians* were retired into their Woods; and fearing the Want of Proviſions, becauſe, as we have already obſerved, the *Germans* are but little addicted to Agriculture; reſolved not to advance any farther. But to keep the Enemy ſtill under ſome Awe of his Return, and prevent their ſending Succours to *Gaul*; having repaſſed the *Rhine*, he only broke down about two hundred Feet of his Bridge, on the *German* Side; and to ſecure the reſt, built at the Extremity a Tower of four Stories, where he left a Garriſon of twelve Cohorts, and ſtrengthened the Place with all Manner of Works. Young *C. Volcatius Tullus* had the Charge of the Fort and Garriſon. He himſelf, as ſoon as the Corn began to be ripe, marched againſt *Ambiorix*; taking his Way through the Foreſt of *Arden*, which is much the largeſt in all *Gaul*, and reaches from the Banks of the *Rhine*, and the Confines of *Treves*, quite to the *Nervians*, through a Space of more than five hundred Miles. *L. Minucius Baſilus* was ſent before with all the Cavalry, in hopes that the Quickneſs of his March, and the Opportunity of ſome lucky Conjuncture, might enable him to do ſomething conſiderable. He had Orders to light no Fires in his Camp, the better to conceal his Approach from the Enemy; and *Cæſar* aſſured him, he would follow with all Expedition. *Baſilus* exactly followed his Inſtructions; and coming ſuddenly and unexpectedly upon the *Gauls*, ſurpriſed great Numbers of them in the Field. Being informed by them of the Place whither

Ambiorix had retired with a few Cavalry, he marched directly againſt him.

XXVIII. BUT as Fortune has a conſiderable Share in all human Concerns, ſo particularly in thoſe of War. For as it was a very extraordinary Chance, that he ſhould thus come upon *Ambiorix* unprepared, and ſurpriſe him with his perſonal Arrival, before he had the leaſt Notice of it from Fame or Report: So was it an equal Effect of Fortune, that the *Gaul* himſelf, after having loſt his Arms, Horſes, and Chariots, ſhould yet find Means to eſcape. This was principally owing to the Situation of his Houſe, which was ſurrounded with a Wood; it being cuſtomary among the *Gauls*, in order to avoid the Heats, to build in the Neighbourhood of Woods and Rivers. By this Means his Attendants and Friends, poſſeſſing themſelves of a Defile, ſuſtained for a Time the Attack of our Cavalry; during which, one of his Servants having provided him with a Horſe, he eſcaped into the Woods. Thus Fortune remarkably played her Part, both in bringing him into the Danger, and delivering him out of it.

XXIX. AMBIORIX, after his Eſcape, made no Attempt to draw his Forces together; nor is it known whether he acted in this Manner out of Choice, as not thinking it ſafe to hazard a Battle; or becauſe he thought he ſhould not have ſufficient Time, being ſurpriſed by the ſudden Arrival of the Cavalry, and believing that all the reſt of the Army followed. Diſpatching therefore Meſſengers privately through the Country, he counſelled every one to provide for his own Safety; upon which ſome took Refuge in the Foreſt of *Arden*, and ſome in the adjoining Moraſſes. Thoſe who lived upon the Sea-coaſt, hid themſelves in the Iſlands formed by the Tide at High-water: And many abandoning their Country altogether, truſted themſelves and their All to the Faith of Foreigners. *Cativulcus*, who jointly with *Ambiorix* was King of the *Eburones*, and had aſſociated with him in all his Deſigns, being of a very advanced Age, and unable to bear the Fatigues of War or Flight; after many Imprecations againſt *Ambiorix*, who had been the prime Contriver of the Revolt; poiſoned himſelf with

with an Extract of Yew, a Tree very common in *Gaul* and *Germany*. The *Segni* and *Condrusi*, originally *German* Nations, whose Territories lay between those of *Treves* and the *Eburones*, sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar* to intreat: "That he would not consider them as Ene-"mies, nor look upon all the *Germans* on this Side the "*Rhine*, as equally obnoxious: That they had har-"boured no Thoughts of War, nor been any ways "aiding to *Ambiorix*." *Cæsar* finding it to be so by the Answers of the Prisoners, ordered them to deliver up such of the *Eburones* as had fled to them for Refuge; and promised, upon that Condition, not to molest their Territories.

XXX. THEN dividing his Army into three Bodies, he sent all the Baggage to *Atuatuca*, a Castle situated almost in the Heart of the Country of the *Eburones*, where *Titurius* and *Arunculeius* had been quartered during the Winter. This Place he chose, as for other Reasons, so likewise because the Fortifications raised the Year before were still entire, which would lessen the Labour of his Soldiers. He left the fourteenth Legion to guard the Baggage, being one of the three lately levied in *Italy*, and brought thence into *Gaul*. *Q. Tullius Cicero* had the Charge both of the Legion and Fort, which was further strengthened with an additional Guard of two hundred Horse. The Army being thus divided; he sent *T. Labienus*, with three Legions, towards the Sea-coast, and the Provinces that border upon the *Menapians*; *C. Trebonius*, with a like Number of Legions, to lay waste the Country adjoining to the *Atuatici*; and resolved to march himself with the other three towards the *Scheld*, which flows into the *Meuse*, and to the Extremities of the Forest of *Arden*, whither he was informed *Ambiorix* had retired with a few Horse. He promised, at his Departure, to return in seven Days; the Legion he had left in Garrison being provided with Corn only for that Time: And exhorted *Labienus* and *Trebonius*, if they found it consistent with the publick Advantage, to return likewise with their Legions within the same Space; that joining Counsel together, and taking their Measures from the Conduct of the Enemy, they might resolve where next to carry the War.

XXXI. THERE

XXXI. THERE was, as we have already obſerved, no formed Body of Troops, no Garriſon, no fortified Town to defend by Arms; but a Multitude diſperſed on all Sides. Wherever a Cave, or a Thicket, or a Moraſs offered them Shelter, thither they retired. Theſe Places were well known to the Natives; and great Care and Caution was required on our Part, not for the Security of the whole Army, (which had no Danger to fear whilſt in a Body, from Enemies diſperſed and full of Terror;) but for the Preſervation of each Individual. And yet even this regarded not a little the whole Army: For the Deſire of Plunder drew many of the Men to a great Diſtance; and the Woods full of Defiles and hidden Ways, hindered them from keeping together in a Body. If *Cæſar* meant to terminate the War altogether, and extirpate this Race of perfidious Men; the Soldiers muſt be divided into ſmall Parties, and detached on all Sides. If, on the contrary, he kept his Men together, as the Rules of War, and the *Roman* Diſcipline required; the Enemy were ſheltered by their Situation, nor wanted Boldneſs to form Ambuſcades, and cut off Stragglers. Amidſt theſe Difficulties, all poſſible Precautions were taken; and although the Soldiers were eagerly bent upon Revenge, yet *Cæſar* choſe rather not to puſh the Enemy too far, than expoſe his Men to Danger. He therefore ſent Meſſengers to the neighbouring States, inviting them all by the Hopes of Plunder, to join in the Deſtruction of the *Eburones*; chooſing rather to expoſe the Lives of the *Gauls* in the Woods, than of the legionary Soldiers; and hoping by the Multitude employed againſt them, totally to extirpate the Name and Memory of a State, whoſe Revolt had rendered them ſo obnoxious. Accordingly great Numbers flocked ſuddenly thither from all Parts.

XXXII. THUS were the *Eburones* attacked on all Sides, and the Havock continued till the ſeventh Day, which *Cæſar* had appointed for returning to his Camp and Baggage. It then evidently appeared what Influence Fortune has over War, and how many Accidents ſpring from her Interpoſition. The Enemy being diſperſed and full of Terror, as we have related above; there remained no Body of Troops in the Field, to give any the leaſt Ground of Fear. A Report ſpread among the *Germans*

mans beyond the *Rhine*, that the Territories of the *Eburones* were given up to Plunder, and all without Diſtinction invited to ſhare in the Spoil. The *Sicambri*, who inhabit upon the *Rhine*, and had afforded a Retreat to the *Uſipetes* and *Tenchtheri*, as mentioned above; aſſembled immediately a Body of two thouſand Horſe, paſſed the River in Barks about thirty Miles below *Cæſar's* Bridge and Fort, and advanced directly towards the Territories of the *Eburones*. Many of thoſe that fled, and had diſperſed themſelves up and down the Country, fell into their Hands; as likewiſe Abundance of Cattle, of which the Barbarians are extremely covetous. Allured by this Succeſs, they advanced farther. Neither Woods nor Moraſſes proved any Obſtacles to Men, trained up from their Infancy to Wars and Incurſions. Inquiring of the Priſoners concerning *Cæſar*, they underſtood that he was a great Way off, and had left the Country with his whole Army. One in particular addreſſing them: "Why, ſays he, do you loſe Time in Purſuit of ſo "ſlight and trifling a Booty, when Fortune offers one "of ſo much greater Value. In three Hours you may "reach *Atuatuca*, where the *Romans* have depoſited all "their Wealth. The Garriſon is hardly ſufficient to "line the Rampart, much leſs to ſally out of their In-"trenchments." Urged by this Hope, they left their preſent Booty in a Place of Safety, and marched directly to *Atuatuca*, being conducted by the Captive who had given them the Information.

XXXIII. CICERO, who hitherto had kept his Soldiers ſtrictly within the Camp, according to *Cæſar's* Orders, nor ſuffered ſo much as a Servant to ſtraggle beyond the Lines; ſeeing the ſeventh Day arrive, began to deſpair of *Cæſar's* Return, who, as he heard, was marched farther into the Country, and had ſent him no Notice of his Route. Wherefore, tired with the continual Murmurs of the Soldiers, who complained of his Patience, and told him they were kept like Men beſieged; and not ſuſpecting that any Accident could befall him, within the ſmall Extent of three Miles; eſpecially as the Enemy, oppoſed by nine Legions, and a very numerous Cavalry, were in a manner totally diſperſed and cut off; he ſent out five Cohorts to forage in an adjoining Field, ſeparated from the Camp only by a ſingle Hill.

A great

A great many ſick Men had been left behind by *Cæſar*, of whom about three Hundred, that were now pretty well recovered, joined the Detachment. Theſe were followed by almoſt all the Servants of the Camp, together with a vaſt Number of Carts and Carriage-horſes.

XXXIV. IN that very Inſtant, as Fortune would have it, the *German* Cavalry arrived; and without diſcontinuing their Courſe, endeavoured to force an immediate Entrance by the *Decuman* Gate. As their March had been covered by a Wood, they were not diſcovered till they were juſt upon the Camp; inſomuch that the Sutlers, who kept their Booths under the Rampart, had not Time to retire within the Intrenchments. Our Men were ſo ſurpriſed at this ſudden and unexpected Attack, that the Cohort upon Guard could ſcarce ſuſtain the firſt Onſet. The Enemy ſpread themſelves on all Sides to find a Place of Entrance. The *Romans* with Difficulty defended the Gates; the Rampart ſecuring them every where elſe. The whole Camp was in an Uproar, every one inquiring of another the Cauſe of the Confuſion; nor could they determine which Way to advance the Standards; or where to poſt themſelves. Some reported the Camp was already taken: Others, that the *Germans*, having deſtroyed *Cæſar* and his Army, were come victorious to ſtorm their Trenches. The greater Number, full of imaginary Fears, when they conſidered the Place in which they were encamped, called to mind the Fate of *Cotta* and *Titurius*, who periſhed in that very Fort. This univerſal Conſternation being perceived by the Barbarians, confirmed them in the Belief of what the Priſoners had told them, that there was ſcarce any Garriſon within to defend the Camp. They renewed their Endeavours to force the Intrenchments, and mutually exhorted one another, not to let ſo fair a Prize eſcape out of their Hands.

XXXV. AMONG the Sick in Garriſon was *P. Sextius Baculus*, a Centurion of the firſt Rank, of whom Mention has been made in former Battles, and who had not taſted Food for five Days. This Officer, anxious for his own Safety, and that of the Legion, ruſhed unarmed out of his Tent. He ſaw the Enemy at hand, and the Danger extreme. Snatching the firſt Arms that offered,

offered, he poſted himſelf in the Gate of the Camp. The Centurions of the Cohort upon Guard followed the Example, and for a while ſuſtained the Enemy's Charge. *Sextius* expired under a Multitude of Wounds, and was with Difficulty carried off by the Soldiers. This ſhort Delay gave the reſt Time to reſume their Courage; ſo far at leaſt, as to mount the Rampart, and make a Shew of defending themſelves.

XXXVI. MEAN-TIME our Foragers returning, heard the Noiſe at the Camp. The Cavalry advancing before, were ſoon apprized of the Danger. Here was no Fortification to ſhelter the frighted Troops. The new Levies, unexperienced in Matters of War, fixed their Eyes upon the Tribunes and Centurions, waiting their Orders. Not a Man was found ſo hardy and reſolute, as not to be diſturbed by ſo unexpected an Accident. The *Germans* perceiving our Enſigns at a Diſtance, gave over the Attack of the Camp, imagining at firſt it was *Cæſar* and the Legions, which the Priſoners had informed them were marched farther into the Country. But ſoon obſerving how few they were, they ſurrounded and fell upon them on all Sides.

XXXVII. THE Servants of the Camp fled to the neareſt riſing Ground; whence being immediately driven, they threw themſelves amongſt the Ranks of the Cohorts, and thereby increaſed their Terror. Some were for drawing up in Form of a Wedge, and forcing their Way through the Enemy: For as the Camp was ſo very near, they imagined, that if ſome fell, the reſt at leaſt muſt eſcape. Others were for retiring to an Eminence, and all ſharing there the ſame Fate. The veteran Soldiers, who had marched out with the Detachment, could by no means reliſh this Propoſal: Wherefore mutually encouraging one another, and being led by *C. Trebonius*, a *Roman* Knight, under whoſe Command they were, they broke through the Midſt of the Enemy, and all to a Man arrived ſafe in the Camp. The Servants and Cavalry following them, and ſeconding their Retreat, were likewiſe by their Bravery preſerved. But the Troops who had retired to the Hill, being unexperienced in military Affairs, could neither perſiſt in the Reſolution they had taken of defending themſelves from the higher

Ground, nor imitate that briſk and vigorous Effort which they ſaw had been ſo ſerviceable to their Companions: But endeavouring to gain the Camp, quitted the Advantage of their Situation. The Centurions, ſome of whom had been ſelected from veteran Legions, and on Account of their Bravery promoted to higher Stations among the new Levies; fought reſolutely to maintain the Glory they had acquired, and endeavoured to ſell their Lives as dear as they could. Their Valour obliging the Enemy to fall back a little, Part of the Troops, contrary to Expectation, reached the Camp. The reſt were ſurrounded and cut to Pieces by the Barbarians.

XXXVIII. THE *Germans* deſpairing to carry the Camp, as they ſaw our Men now prepared to defend the Works, repaſſed the *Rhine* with the Booty they had depoſited in the Woods. But ſo great was the Terror of the *Romans* even after their Retreat, that *C. Voluſenus* arriving in the Camp the ſame Night with the Cavalry, could not perſuade them that *Cæſar* and the Army were ſafe. For Fear had taken ſo thorough a Poſſeſſion of their Minds, that as if bereft of Underſtanding, they perſiſted in believing the Infantry was wholly deſtroyed, and that the Cavalry alone had eſcaped: It ſeeming to them altogether incredible, that the *Germans* would have dared to attack the Camp, had no Misfortune befallen the *Roman* Army. But *Cæſar*'s Arrival ſoon put an End to their Fears.

XXXIX. UPON his Return, being informed of what had happened, he only complained of the ſending out the Cohorts to forage; obſerving: "That in War no-"thing ought to be left to Fortune, whoſe Power ap-"peared evidently in the ſudden Arrival of the Enemy, "and much more in their coming up unperceived to the "very Gates of the Camp." But nothing in this whole Affair appeared to him more wonderful, than that the *Germans* having croſſed the *Rhine* with Deſign to plunder the Territories of *Ambiorix*, ſhould by falling upon the *Roman* Camp do him a moſt acceptable Service.

XL. CÆSAR marched a ſecond Time to haraſs the Enemy, and having drawn a great Number of Troops

together from the neighbouring States, ſent them into all Parts upon this Service. All the Houſes and Villages were ſet on Fire: The Plunder was univerſal: The vaſt Number of Men and Horſes not only deſtroyed great Quantities of Corn, but the Rains and advanced Seaſon made Havock of all that was left; inſomuch that if any of the Enemy eſcaped for the preſent, it ſeemed yet likely, that after the Retreat of the Army, they muſt periſh by Famine. As the Cavalry were divided into many Parties, they often came to Places, where the Priſoners not only informed them they had ſeen *Ambiorix* flying, but that he could even yet be ſcarce out of View. The Hope of coming up with him made them leave nothing unattempted, as imagining they would thereby gain the higheſt Favour with *Cæſar*, whoſe good Fortune wanted only this to render it complete. But all their Endeavours were fruitleſs: For he ſtill found Means to hide himſelf in the Woods and Moraſſes; whence removing privately in the Night, he eſcaped into other Regions, accompanied with only four Horſemen, in whom alone he durſt confide.

XLI. Cæsar having deſtroyed the whole Country, led back his Army into the Territories of the *Rhemi*, with the Loſs of only two Cohorts. There he ſummoned a general Aſſembly of *Gaul*, to examine into the Affair of the *Senones* and *Carnutes*: And having paſſed a ſevere Sentence againſt *Acco*, the Contriver of the Revolt, ordered him to be executed on the Spot. Some fearing a like Fate, fled; whom having baniſhed by a Decree of the Diet, he quartered two Legions in *Treves*, two among the *Lingones*, and the remaining ſix at *Agendicum*, in the Country of the *Senones*. And having provided the Army with Corn, he went, purſuant to his Deſign, into *Italy*, to hold the Aſſemblies of *Ciſalpine Gaul*.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in *GAUL*.

BOOK VII.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. *The* Gauls *concert Measures for renewing the War.* II. *The* Carnutes *massacre a Number of* Roman *Citizens at* Genabum. VI. Vercingetorix *excites his Followers to a Revolt, and by the Consent of many Nations is declared Generalissimo of the League.* VIII. Cæsar *suddenly invades* Auvergne. X. Vercingetorix *invests* Gergovia, *whither he is followed by* Cæsar. XI. Cæsar *makes himself Master of* Vellaunodunum *and* Genabum. XII. Vercingetorix *quits the Siege of* Gergovia. Cæsar *possesses himself of* Noviodunum, *puts* Vercingetorix's *Cavalry to Flight, and invests* Avaricum. XIII. *By Advice of* Vercingetorix, *the* Biturigians *set Fire to their Towns, that they may not furnish Subsistence to the* Romans. XVI. Cæsar *in great Straits for want of Corn.* XVII. *The two Armies near each other, but without coming to a Battle.* XIX. Vercingetorix, *accused of Treason, clears himself.* XXI. Cæsar *continues the Siege of* Avaricum. XXII. *The Construction of the Walls of Towns among the* Gauls. XXIII. Avaricum, *after a resolute Defence, is at last taken by Storm.* XXVIII. Vercingetorix *consoles his Men by a Speech.* XXIX. *And prepares with greater Force to renew the War.* XXX. Cæsar *quiets the intestine Divisions of the* Æduans. XXXII. *Sets out upon his March towards* Auvergne. XXXIII. *Passes the* Allier *by a Feint.* XXXIV. *And arriving before* Gergovia, *seizes an Eminence near the Town.* XXXV. *The* Æduans *form the Design of a Revolt from the* Romans. XXXVIII. *But by* Cæsar's *Prudence and Diligence, are in some measure prevented.* XLI. Cæsar *carries three of the Enemy's Camps before* Gergovia. XLIV. *The* Romans *pressing the Attack too far, are repulsed with great Slaughter.* XLIX. Cæsar *reprehends the Temerity of his Soldiers.* L. *And resolves to retire into the Country of the* Æduans. LII. Noviodunum *seized and set on fire by the Treachery of the* Æduans. LIV. Labienus, *after a successful Expedition against the* Parisians, *returns to* Cæsar *with all his Forces.* LVII. *The Revolt of the* Æduans *followed by that of almost all* Gaul. LVIII. *Preparations for War.* LIX. *The* Gauls, *under the Conduct of* Vercingetorix, *attack* Cæsar *in the Territories of the* Lingones. LXI. *But are routed with great Slaughter.* LXII.

THE ARGUMENT.

Cæſar *purſues them as far as* Aleſia. LXIII. *Deſcription of that Town.* LXIV. *The* Gauls *defeated in an Engagement between the Cavalry.* LXV. Vercingetorix *ſends away all his Horſe.* LXVI. Cæſar *ſurrounds* Aleſia *with Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation.* LXIX. *The* Gauls, *drawing their Forces together, endeavour to raiſe the Siege.* LXXI. Critognatus's *Speech to the Garriſon of* Aleſia. LXXII. *The* Gauls *within and without the Town prepare to attack the* Romans. LXXIII. *A Battle of the Horſe, in which the* Romans *have the Advantage.* LXXIV. *The* Gauls *make ſeveral Attempts upon the* Roman *Lines, but are always repulſed with Loſs.* LXXXI. *At length the* Romans *ſallying from the Intrenchments, defeat the* Gauls *with great Slaughter.* LXXXII. Aleſia *ſurrenders.* LXXXIII. *The* Æduans *and* Averni *ſubmit.* Cæſar *ſends his Army into Winter-quarters.*

C. JULIUS

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's
COMMENTARIES
OF HIS
WARS in *GAUL.*

BOOK VII.

I. *CÆSAR* having quieted the Commotions in *Gaul*, went, as he deſigned, into *Italy*, to preſide in the Aſſembly of the States. There he was informed of the Death of *P. Clodius:* And underſtanding farther, that the Senate had paſſed a Decree, ordering all the Youth of *Italy* to take up Arms, he reſolved to levy Troops over the whole Province. The Report of this ſoon ſpread into Farther *Gaul:* And the *Gauls* themſelves, forward to encourage ſuch Rumors, added of their own Accord what the Caſe ſeemed to require: "That *Cæſar* was "detained by a domeſtick Sedition, and could not, "while theſe Diſorders continued, come to head the "Army." Animated by this Opportunity; they, who before lamented their Subjection to the *Romans*, now began with more Freedom and Boldneſs to enter upon Meaſures of War. The leading Men of the Nation, concerting private Meetings among themſelves, in Woods and remote Places, complained of the Death of *Acco*; remonſtrated, that ſuch might one Time or other be their own Fate; and after bemoaning the common Fortune of their Country, endeavoured by all Manner of Promiſes and Rewards, to draw over ſome to begin the War, and with the Hazard of their own Lives, pave the Way to the Liberty of *Gaul.* But chiefly they thought it incumbent upon them, before their ſecret Conferences ſhould be diſcovered, to cut off *Cæſar*'s Return to the

Army. This appeared abundantly eaſy; becauſe neither would the Legions, in the Abſence of their General, dare to quit their Winter-quarters; nor was it poſſible for the General to join the Legions, without a Body of Troops to guard him. In fine, they concluded it was better to die bravely in the Field, than not recover their former Glory in War, and the Liberty they had received from their Anceſtors.

II. SUCH were the Debates in the private Councils of the *Gauls*: When the *Carnutes*, declaring their Readineſs to ſubmit to any Danger for the common Safety, offered to be the firſt in taking up Arms againſt the *Romans*. And becauſe the preſent giving of Hoſtages might endanger a too early Diſcovery of their Deſigns, they propoſed; that the other States ſhould bind themſelves by a ſolemn Oath, in Preſence of the military Enſigns, which is the moſt ſacred Obligation among the *Gauls*, not to abandon them during the Courſe of the War. This Offer of the *Carnutes* was received with univerſal Applauſe, the Oath required was taken by all preſent, and the Time for Action being fixed, the Aſſembly ſeparated.

III. WHEN the appointed Day came; the *Carnutes*, headed by *Cotuatus* and *Conetodunus*, Men of deſperate Reſolution, flew upon a Signal given to *Genabum*; maſſacred the *Roman* Citizens ſettled there on account of Trade; among the reſt *C. Fuſius Cotta*, a *Roman* Knight of Eminence, whom *Cæſar* had appointed to ſuperintend the Care of Proviſions; and plundered their Effects. The Fame of this ſoon ſpread into all the Provinces of *Gaul*. For when any Thing ſingular and extraordinary happens, they publiſh it from Place to Place by Outcries, which being ſucceſſively repeated by Men ſtationed on purpoſe, are carried with incredible Expedition over the whole Country. And thus it was on the preſent Occaſion. For what had been done at *Genabum* about Sun-riſe, was known before nine at Night in the Territories of the *Auerni*, a Diſtance of one hundred and ſixty Miles.

IV. FIRED by this Example, *Vercingetorix*, the Son of *Celtillus*, of the Nation of the *Auerni*, a young Noble-

man

man of great Power and Intereſt, whoſe Father had preſided over all *Celtic Gaul*, and for aiming at the Sovereignty been put to Death by his Countrymen; calling his Clients and Followers together, eaſily perſuaded them to a Revolt. His Deſign being diſcovered, the People immediately flew to Arms: And *Gobanitio*, his Uncle, with the other principal Men of the State, dreading the Conſequences of ſo raſh an Enterpriſe, united all their Authority againſt him, and expelled him the City *Gergovia*. Yet ſtill he adhered to his former Reſolution, and aſſembling all the Outlaws and Fugitives he could find, engaged them in his Service. Having by this Means got together a Body of Troops, he brought all to whom he applied himſelf to fall in with his Views; preſſed them to take up Arms for the common Liberty; and finding his Forces greatly increaſed, quickly drove thoſe out of the Territories of *Auvergne*, who had ſo lately expelled him the City *Gergovia*. Upon this he was ſaluted King by his Followers: And diſpatching Ambaſſadors into all Parts, exhorted them to continue firm to the Confederacy. The *Senones*, *Pariſians*, *Pictones*, *Cadurci*, *Turones*, *Aulerci*, *Lemovices*, *Andes*, and all the other Nations bordering upon the Ocean, readily came into the Alliance, and with unanimous Conſent declared him Generaliſſimo of the League. Armed with this Authority, he demanded Hoſtages of the ſeveral States; ordered them to furniſh a certain Number of Men immediately; appointed what Quantity of Arms each was to prepare, with the Time by which they muſt be in Readineſs; and above all applied himſelf to have on foot a numerous Cavalry. To the moſt extreme Diligence, he joined an extreme Rigor of Command; and by the Severity of his Puniſhments, obliged the Irreſolute to declare themſelves: For in greater Faults the Criminals, after having been tortured, were burnt alive: And for lighter Offences, ordering the Ears of the Guilty to be cut off, or one of their Eyes put out, he ſent them thus mutilated Home, to ſerve as an Example to the reſt, and by the Rigor of their Sufferings to keep others in Awe.

V. Having by the Terror of theſe Puniſhments ſpeedily aſſembled an Army: He ſent *Luterius* of *Quercy*, a bold and enterpriſing Man, with Part of the Forces

againſt the *Rutheni*; and marched himſelf into the Territories of the *Biturigians*. The *Biturigians*, upon his Arrival, diſpatched Ambaſſadors to the *Æduans*, under whoſe Protection they were, to demand Succours againſt the Enemy. The *Æduans*, by Advice of the Lieutenants *Cæſar* had left with the Army, ordered a Supply of Horſe and Foot to the Aſſiſtance of the *Biturigians*. This Body of Troops, advancing to the Banks of the *Loire*, which divides the *Biturigians* from the *Æduans*, halted there a few Days; and not daring to paſs that River, returned again to their own Country. The Reaſon of this Conduct, according to the Report made to our Lieutenants, was an Apprehenſion of Treachery from the *Biturigians:* for that People, as they pretended, had formed the Deſign of ſurrounding them beyond the *Loire*, on one Side with their own Troops, on the other with thoſe of *Auvergne*. Whether this was the real Cauſe of their Return, or whether they acted perfidiouſly in the Affair, is what we have not been able to learn with Certainty, and therefore cannot venture to affirm. The *Biturigians*, on their Departure, immediately joined the Forces of the *Averni*.

VI. THESE Things being reported to *Cæſar* in *Italy*; as the Troubles at *Rome* were in a great meaſure quieted by the Care and Vigilance of *Pompey*, he ſet out immediately for *Tranſalpine Gaul*. Upon his Arrival there, he found it extremely difficult to reſolve after what Manner to rejoin the Army. For ſhould he order the Legions to repair to the Province, he foreſaw they would be attacked on their March in his abſence: and ſhould he himſelf proceed to the Quarters of the Legions, he was not without Apprehenſions of Danger, even from thoſe States that ſeemingly continued faithful to the *Romans*.

VII. In the Mean-time *Luterius* of *Quercy*, who had been ſent into the Territories of the *Rutheni*, brought over that State to the Alliance of the *Averni*; advancing thence among the *Nitobrigians* and *Gabali*, he received Hoſtages from both Nations; and having got together a numerous Body of Troops, drew towards *Narbonne*, to attack the *Roman* Province on that Side. *Cæſar* being informed

informed of his Deſign, thought it firſt and principally incumbent upon him, to provide for the Security of the Province. With this View he flew to *Narbonne*; confirmed the Wavering and Timorous; placed Garriſons in the Towns of the *Rutheni* ſubject to the *Romans*; alſo in thoſe of the *Volſcians*, *Toloſatians*, and other States bordering upon the Enemy: and having thus taken effectual Meaſures againſt *Luterius*, ordered Part of the provincial Forces, with the Recruits he had brought from *Italy*, to rendezvous upon the Frontiers of the *Helvetians*, whoſe Territories adjoin to thoſe of the *Averni*.

VIII. THESE Diſpoſitions being made, and *Luterius* checked and forced to retire, becauſe he did not think it adviſeable to venture among the *Roman* Garriſons; *Cæſar* advanced into the Country of the *Helvians*, Although the Mountains of the *Sevennes*, which ſeparate the *Helvians* from *Auvergne*, by the great Depth of the Snow in that extreme rigorous Seaſon, threatened to obſtruct his March; yet having cleared away the Snow, which lay to the Depth of ſix Feet, and with infinite Labour to the Soldiers opened a Paſſage over the Mountains, he at length reached the Confines of the *Averni*. As they were altogether unprepared, regarding the *Sevennes* as an impenetrable Barrier, impaſſable at that Seaſon even to ſingle Men, he ordered the Cavalry to ſpread themſelves on all Sides, and ſtrike as univerſal a Terror into the Enemy as poſſible. Fame and Meſſengers from the State ſoon informed *Vercingetorix* of the Diſaſter befallen his Country. All the *Averni* gathered round him in a Body, and with Looks full of Diſmay, conjured him to regard their Fortunes, and not abandon them to the Ravages of the *Roman* Army; more eſpecially, as he now ſaw the whole War pointed againſt them. *Vercingetorix*, moved by their Intreaties, put his Army upon the March, and quitting the Territories of the *Biturigians*, drew towards *Auvergne*.

IX. THIS *Cæſar* had foreſeen: and after a Stay of two Days in thoſe Parts, ſet out under pretence of fetching a Reinforcement. He left young *Brutus* to command in his Abſence; charged him to diſperſe the Cavalry as wide as he could; and promiſed to return, if poſſible, within

within three Days. Then, deceiving the *Romans* themſelves, that he might the better impoſe upon the *Gauls*, he poſted by great Journeys to *Vienne*. There he found the new levied Cavalry whom he had ſent thither ſome Time before: and travelling Day and Night without Intermiſſion, through the Country of the *Æduans*, to prevent by his Expedition any Deſigns they might form againſt him; he at length reached the Confines of the *Lingones*, where two of his Legions wintered. Thence ſending immediately to the reſt, he drew them all together into a Body, before the *Averni* could be apprized of his Arrival.

X. VERCINGETORIX, upon Notice of this, led back his Army into the Territories of the *Biturigians*; and marching thence, reſolved to inveſt *Gergovia*, a Town belonging to the *Boii*, where they had been ſettled by *Cæſar* after the Defeat of the *Helvetians*, and made ſubject to the *Æduan* State. This Step greatly perplexed the *Roman* General; if he continued encamped with his Legions in one Place during the reſt of the Winter, and abandoned the Subjects of the *Æduans* to the Attempts of the Enemy; he had Reaſon to apprehend that the *Gauls*, ſeeing him afford no Protection to his Friends, would univerſally give into a Revolt: if, on the contrary, he took the Field early, he riſked the want of Proviſion and Forage, by the great Difficulty of procuring Convoys. Reſolving however at all Hazards, not to ſubmit to an Affront, that muſt for ever alienate the Hearts of his Allies; he preſſingly enjoined the *Æduans* to be very careful in ſupplying him with Proviſions: and diſpatching Meſſengers to the *Boii*, to inform them of his Approach, exhorted them to continue firm to their Duty, and ſuſtain with Courage the Aſſaults of the Enemy. Mean-while leaving two Legions and the Baggage of the whole Army at *Agendicum*, he ſet out upon his March to their Relief.

XI. ARRIVING the next Day before *Vellaunodunum*, a City of the *Senones*; that he might leave no Enemy behind him capable of obſtructing his Convoys, he reſolved to beſiege it, and in two Days completed his Circumvallation. On the third, Deputies came from the

the Town to treat about a Surrender: when ordering them to deliver up their Arms, Horſes, and ſix hundred Hoſtages, he left *C. Trebonius*, one of his Lieutenants, to cauſe the Articles be put in Execution; and continuing his March with all Diligence, advanced towards *Genabum*. The *Carnutes*, to whom this City belonged, were drawing Troops together for its Defence; imagining that the Siege of *Vellaunodunum*, of which they had juſt then received Intelligence, would be a Work of ſome Time. *Cæſar* reached the Place in two Days, encamped before it, and finding it began to be late, deferred the Aſſault till next Morning. Mean-while he gave the neceſſary Orders to his Men: and becauſe the Town had a Bridge over the *Loire*, by which the Inhabitants might endeavour to eſcape in the Night, he obliged two Legions to continue under Arms. A little before Midnight, the *Genabians*, as he had foreſeen, ſtole ſilently out of the City, and began to paſs the River. Notice being given of this by his Spies; he ſet fire to the Gates, introduced the Legions whom he had kept in readineſs for that Purpoſe, and took poſſeſſion of the Place. Very few of the Enemy eſcaped on this Occaſion; becauſe the Narrowneſs of the Bridge and Paſſages obſtructed the Flight of the Multitude. *Cæſar* ordered the Town to be plundered and burnt; diſtributing the Spoil among the Soldiers: and croſſing the *Loire* with his whole Army, advanced into the Territories of the *Biturigians*.

XII. VERCINGETORIX, upon Notice of his Approach, quitted the Siege of *Gergovia*, and marched directly to meet him. *Cæſar* mean-while had ſat down before *Noviodunum*, a City of the *Biturigians*, that lay upon his Route. The Inhabitants ſending Deputies to the Camp, to implore Forgiveneſs and Safety: that he might the ſooner accompliſh his Deſigns, in which Expedition had hitherto availed him ſo much, he ordered them to deliver up their Arms, Horſes, and a certain Number of Hoſtages. Part of the Hoſtages had been already ſent; the other Articles of the Treaty were upon the Point of Execution; and even ſome Centurions and Soldiers had entered the Place, to ſearch for Arms and Horſes: when the Enemy's Cavalry, who were a little advanced before the reſt of the Army, appeared at a Diſtance.

a Diſtance. Immediately the Beſieged, upon this Proſpect of Relief, ſetting up a Shout, flew to Arms, ſhut the Gates, and manned the Walls. The Centurions in the Town, judging from the Noiſe among the *Gauls*, that they had ſome new Project in view, poſted themſelves with their Swords drawn at the Gates; and getting all their Men together, retreated without Loſs to the Camp. *Cæſar* ordering the Cavalry to advance, fell upon the Enemy's Horſe; and finding his Troops hard preſſed, ſuſtained them with ſome Squadrons of *Germans*, whom, to the Number of about four Hundred, he had all along retained in his Service. The *Gauls*, unable to ſtand their Charge, at length betook themſelves to Flight, and were driven with great Slaughter to the main Body of their Army. Upon this the People of *Noviodunum*, terrified anew by the Defeat of their Friends, ſeized all who had been inſtrumental in breaking the Capitulation, ſent them Priſoners to *Cæſar*'s Camp, and delivered up the Town. Theſe Affairs diſpatched, *Cæſar* directed his March towards *Avaricum*. As this was the ſtrongeſt and moſt conſiderable City of the *Biturigians*, and ſituate in the fineſt Part of the Country, he eaſily perſuaded himſelf, that by the Reduction of it, he ſhould bring the whole Nation under Subjection.

XIII. VERCINGETORIX, after ſo many ſucceſſive Loſſes, at *Vellaunodunum*, *Genabum*, *Noviodunum*; calling a general Council of his Followers, repreſented: "That it was neceſſary to reſolve upon a very different "Plan of War, from that which hitherto had been "purſued: and above all Things make it their En"deavour, to intercept the *Roman* Convoys and Fora"gers: That this was both a ſure and practicable Scheme, "as they themſelves abounded in Horſe, and the "Seaſon of the Year greatly favoured the Deſign: "That the Ground as yet affording no Produce, the "Enemy muſt unavoidably diſperſe themſelves in the "Villages for Subſiſtence, and give them daily Oppor"tunities of cutting them off by means of their Ca"valry. That where Life and Liberty were at ſtake, "Property and private Poſſeſſion ought to be neglected: "That therefore the beſt Reſolution they could take "was, to ſet all their Houſes and Villages on fire,

"from

" from the Territories of the *Boii*, to wherever the " *Romans* might extend their Quarters for the ſake of " Forage: That they themſelves had no Reaſon to " apprehend Scarcity, as they would be plentifully " ſupplied by thoſe States, whoſe Territories ſhould " become the Seat of the War; whereas the Enemy muſt " either be reduced to the Neceſſity of Starving, or " making diſtant and dangerous Excurſions from their " Camp: That it equally anſwered the Purpoſe of the " *Gauls*, to cut the *Roman* Army to pieces, or ſeize " upon their Baggage and Convoys; becauſe without " theſe laſt, it would be impoſſible for them to carry " on the War: That they ought to ſet fire even to " the Towns themſelves, which were not ſtrong enough " by Art or Nature, to be perfectly ſecure againſt all " Danger; as by this Means they would neither become " Places of retreat to their own Men, to ſcreen them " from military Service; nor contribute to the Support " of the *Romans*, by the Supplies and Plunder they " might furniſh: In fine, that though theſe Things " were indeed grievous and terrible, they ought " yet to eſteem it ſtill more terrible and grievous, to " ſee their Wives and Children dragged into Captivity, " and themſelves expoſed to Slaughter, which was the " unavoidable Lot of the Vanquiſhed."

XIV. THIS Propoſal being approved by all, upwards of twenty Cities of the *Biturigians* were burnt in one Day. The like was done in other States. Nothing but Conflagrations were to be ſeen over the whole Country. And though the Natives bore this Deſolation with extreme Regret, they nevertheleſs conſoled themſelves with the Hope that an approaching and certain Victory would ſoon enable them to recover their Loſſes. A Debate ariſing in Council about *Avaricum*, whether it would be proper to defend or ſet it on fire; the *Biturigians*, falling proſtrate at the Feet of the reſt of the *Gauls*, implored: " That they might not be obliged " to burn with their own Hands, one of the fineſt " Cities of all *Gaul*, which was both the Ornament and " Security of their State; more eſpecially as the Town " itſelf, almoſt wholly ſurrounded by a River and " Moraſs, and affording but one very narrow Approach, " was, from the Nature of its Situation, capable of

" an

"an easy Defence." Their Request prevailed; *Vercingetorix*, though he at first opposed, afterwards coming into the Design; partly moved by the Intreaties of the *Biturigians*, partly by the Compassion of the Multitude. A chosen Garrison was immediately put into the Place.

XV. VERCINGETORIX followed *Cæsar* by easy Marches, and chose for his Camp a Place surrounded with Woods and Marshes, about fifteen Miles distant from *Avaricum*. There he had hourly Intelligence by his Scouts, of all that passed before the Town; and sent his Orders from Time to Time to the Garrison. Mean-while he strictly watched our Convoys and Foragers; set upon our dispersed Parties, who were obliged to fetch Provisions from a great Distance; and in spite of all Endeavours to prevent it, by choosing such Times and Routes, as were most likely to deceive his Vigilance, very much incommoded them by his Attacks.

XVI. CÆSAR encamping on that Side of the Town, where the Intermission of the River and Morass formed, as we have said, a narrow Approach; began to raise a Mount, bring forward his battering Engines, and prepare two Towers of Assault; without troubling himself about Lines of Circumvallation, which the Nature of the Ground rendered impossible. Mean-while he was continually soliciting the *Æduans* and *Boii* for Corn: but received no great Supplies from either; partly occasioned by the Negligence of the *Æduans*, who were not hearty in the Affair; partly by the want of Ability in the *Boii*, who possessing only a small and inconsiderable Territory, soon consumed all the Produce of their own Lands. But though the Army laboured under the greatest Scarcity of Corn, through the Inability of the *Boii*, the want of Inclination in the *Æduans*, and the universal Devastation of the Country: though they were even for many Days altogether without Bread, and had nothing to appease their extreme Hunger, but the Cattle brought from distant Villages: yet not an Expression was heard over the whole Camp, unworthy the Majesty of the *Roman* Name, or the Glory they had acquired by former Victories. Nay, when *Cæsar*

Cæſar viſited the different Quarters of the Legions in perſon, and offered to raiſe the Siege, if they found the Famine inſupportable; they all with one Voice requeſted him not to do it, adding: "That during the many "Years they had ſerved under him, they never yet "had met with any Check, or undertaken aught in "which they had not ſucceeded: That they could not "but look upon it as inglorious, to relinquiſh a Siege "they had once begun; and had rather undergo the "greateſt Hardſhips, than not revenge the Blood of "the *Roman* Citizens, perfidiouſly maſſacred by the "*Gauls* at *Genabum*." The ſame they ſaid to the Centurions and military Tribunes, intreating them to report their Sentiments to *Cæſar*.

XVII. And now the Towers began to approach the Walls: when *Cæſar* was informed by ſome Priſoners, that *Vercingetorix* having conſumed all the Forage round him, had removed his Camp nearer to *Avaricum*, and was gone himſelf at the Head of the Cavalry, and the light-armed Troops accuſtomed to fight in their Intervals, to form an Ambuſcade for the *Romans*, in a Place where it was ſuppoſed they would come next Day to forage. Upon this Intelligence, ſetting out about Midnight in great Silence, he arrived next Morning at the Enemy's Camp. But they having had timely Notice of his Approach by their Scouts, inſtantly conveyed their Baggage and Carriages into a thick Wood, and drew up in Order of Battle upon an open Hill. *Cæſar* then ordered all the Baggage to be brought together into one Place, and the Soldiers to prepare for an Engagement.

XVIII. The Hill itſelf where the Enemy ſtood, riſing all the Way with an eaſy Aſcent, was almoſt wholly ſurrounded by a Moraſs, difficult and dangerous to be paſſed, though not above fifty Foot over. Here the *Gauls*, confiding in the Strength of their Poſt, and having broke down all the Bridges over the Moraſs, appeared with an Air of Reſolution. They had formed themſelves into different Bodies, according to their ſeveral States: and planting ſelect Detachments at all the Avenues and Fords, waited with determined Courage, that if the *Romans* ſhould attempt to force their

Way thorough, they might fall upon them from the higher Ground while entangled in the Mud. To attend only to the Nearneſs of the two Armies, they ſeemed as if ready to fight us on even Terms; but when the Advantage of their Situation was conſidered, all this Oſtentation of Bravery, was eaſily diſcerned to be mere Shew and Pretence. Nevertheleſs the *Romans*, full of Indignation, that the Enemy ſhould dare to face them with ſo ſmall a Space between, loudly demanded to be led to Battle. *Cæſar* checked their Ardor for the preſent, and endeavoured to make them ſenſible, that in attacking an Army ſo ſtrongly poſted, the Victory muſt coſt extremely dear, and be attended with the Loſs of many brave Men. To this he told them, he was the more averſe, becauſe finding them prepared to face every Kind of Danger for his Glory, he thought he could not be too tender of the Lives of thoſe who merited ſo highly at his Hands. Having by this Speech conſoled the Soldiers, he led them back the ſame Day to their Camp, and applied himſelf wholly to the carrying on of the Siege.

XIX. VERCINGETORIX, upon his Return to the Camp, was accuſed by the Army of Treaſon. The Removal of his Quarters nearer to thoſe of the Enemy; his Departure at the Head of all the Cavalry; his leaving ſo many Troops without a Commander in Chief; and the opportune and ſpeedy Arrival of the *Romans* during his Abſence: all theſe, they ſaid, could not eaſily happen by Chance, or without Deſign; and gave great Reaſon to believe, that he had rather owe the Sovereignty of *Gaul* to *Cæſar*'s Grant, than to the Favour and free Choice of his Countrymen. To this Charge he replied: "That the Removal of his Camp "was occaſioned by the Want of Forage, and done "at their own expreſs Deſire: That he had lodged "himſelf nearer to the *Romans*, on account of the "Advantage of the Ground, which ſecured him againſt "all Attacks: That Cavalry were by no Means "wanted in a Moraſs, but might have been extremely "ſerviceable in the Place to which he had carried "them: That he purpoſely forbore naming a Com-"mander in Chief at his Departure, leſt the Im-"patience of the Multitude ſhould have forced him

" upon a Battle; to which he perceived they were all " ſtrongly inclined, through a certain Weakneſs and " Effeminacy of Mind, that rendered them incapable " of long Fatigue: That whether Accident or Intelli- " gence brought the *Romans* to their Camp; they " ought to thank, in the one Caſe Fortune, in the " other the Informer, for giving them an Opportunity " of diſcovering from the higher Ground the incon- " ſiderable Number, and deſpiſing the feeble Efforts " of the Enemy; who not daring to hazard an En- " gagement, ignominiouſly retreated to their Camp: " That for his Part, he ſcorned treacherouſly to hold " an Authority of *Cæſar*, which he hoped ſoon to " merit by a Victory, already in a Manner aſſured, " both to himſelf and the reſt of the *Gauls*: That he " was willing even to reſign the Command, if they " thought the Honour done him by that Diſtinction too " great for the Advantages procured by his Conduct. " And, added he, to convince you of the Truth and " Sincerity of my Words, hear the *Roman* Soldiers " themſelves." He then produced ſome Slaves, whom he had made Priſoners a few Days before in foraging, and by Severity and hard Uſage brought to his Purpoſe. Theſe, according to the Leſſon taught them beforehand, declared: " That they were legionary Soldiers: That " urged by Hunger, they had privately ſtolen out of " the Camp, to ſearch for Corn and Cattle in the " Fields: That the whole Army laboured under the " like Scarcity, and was reduced to ſo weak a Condi- " tion, as no longer to be capable of ſupporting Fatigue: " That the General had therefore reſolved, if the " Town held out three Days longer, to draw off his " Men from the Siege. Such (ſaid *Vercingetorix*) are " the Services you receive from the Man whom " you have not ſcrupled to charge with Treaſon. To " him it is owing, that without drawing a Sword, you " ſee a powerful and victorious Army almoſt wholly " deſtroyed by Famine; and effectual Care taken, that " when Neceſſity compels them to ſeek Refuge in a " ſhameful Flight, no State ſhall receive them into its " Territories."

XX. THE whole Multitude ſet up a Shout; and ſtriking, as their Manner was, their Lances againſt

their Swords, to denote their Approbation of the Speaker, declared *Vercingetorix* a conſummate General, whoſe Fidelity ought not to be queſtioned, and whoſe Conduct deſerved the higheſt Praiſes. They decreed that ten thouſand Men, choſen out of all the Troops, ſhould be ſent to reinforce the Garriſon of *Avaricum*; it ſeeming too hazardous to rely upon the *Biturigians* alone for the Defence of a Place, whoſe Preſervation, they imagined, would neceſſarily give them the Superiority in the War.

XXI. AND indeed, though the Siege was carried on by our Men with incredible Bravery, yet were all their Efforts in a great Meaſure rendered ineffectual, by the Addreſs and Contrivances of the *Gauls*. For they are a People of ſingular Ingenuity, extremely quick of Apprehenſion, and very happy in imitating what they ſee practiſed. They not only turned aſide our Hooks with Ropes, and after having ſeized them, drew them into the Town with Engines; but likewiſe ſet themſelves to undermine the Mount: in which they the more ſucceeded, becauſe the Country abounding with Iron Mines, they are perfectly ſkilled in that whole Art. At the ſame Time they raiſed Towers on all Parts of the Wall, covered them carefully with raw Hides, and continuing their Sallies Day and Night, either ſet Fire to the Mount, or fell upon the Workmen. In Proportion as our Towers increaſed in Height, by the continual Addition to the Mount; in like Manner did they advance the Towers upon their Walls, by raiſing one Story perpetually over another: and counterworking our Mines with the utmoſt Diligence, they either filled them up with great Stones, or poured melted Pitch into them, or repulſed the Miners with long Stakes, burnt and ſharpened at the End; all which very much retarded the Approaches, and kept us at a Diſtance from the Place.

XXII. THE fortified Towns among the *Gauls* have their Walls moſtly built in the following Manner. Long maſſy Beams of Wood are placed upon the Ground, at the equal Diſtances of two Feet one from another, and ſo as to conſtitute by their Length the Thickneſs of the Wall. Theſe being again croſſed over by

by others, which ſerve to bind them together, have their Intervals on the inſide filled up with Earth, and on the outſide with large Stones. The firſt Courſe thus completed and firmly joined, a ſecond is laid over it; which allowing the ſame Openings between the Beams, reſts them not immediately upon thoſe of the Order below, but diſpoſes them artfully above their Intervals, and connects them as before with interjacent Earth and Stones. In this Manner the Work is carried on to a proper Height, and pleaſes the Eye by its uniform Variety, the alternate Courſes of Stones and Beams, running in even Lines, according to their ſeveral Orders. Nor is it leſs adapted to Security and Defence. For the Stones are Proof againſt Fire, and the whole Maſs is impenetrable to the Ram; becauſe being ſtrongly bound together by continual Beams, to a Depth of forty Feet, it can neither be disjointed nor thrown down.

XXIII. Such were the Obſtacles we met with in the Siege. But the Soldiers though obliged to ſtruggle during the whole Time, with Cold, Dirt, and perpetual Rains; yet by Dint of Labour overcame all Difficulties, and at the End of twenty-five Days, had raiſed a Mount three hundred and thirty Feet broad, and eighty Feet high. When it was brought almoſt cloſe to the Walls, *Cæſar* according to Cuſtom attending the Works, and encouraging the Soldiers to labour without Intermiſſion; a little before Midnight it was obſerved to ſmoke, the Enemy having undermined and fired it. At the ſame Time they raiſed a mighty Shout, and ſallying vigorouſly by two ſeveral Gates, attacked the Works on both Sides. Some threw lighted Torches and dry Wood from the Walls upon the Mount, others Pitch and all Sorts of Combuſtibles; ſo that it was hard to determine on which Side to make Head againſt the Enemy, or where firſt to apply Redreſs. But as *Cæſar* kept always two Legions upon Guard in the Trenches, beſides great Numbers employed in the Works, who relieved one another by Turns: his Troops were ſoon in a Condition; ſome to oppoſe thoſe that ſallied from the Town; others to draw off the Towers, and make Openings in the Mount; whilſt the whole Multitude ran to extinguiſh the Flames.

XXIV. THE Fight continued with great Obſtinacy during the remaining Part of the Night: The Enemy ſtill entertained Hopes of Victory; and perſiſted with the more Firmneſs, as they ſaw the Mantles that covered the Towers burnt down, and the *Romans* unable to reſcue them for want of Shelter. At the ſame Time freſh Troops were continually ſent, to ſupply the Place of thoſe that were fatigued; the Beſieged believing, that the Safety of *Gaul* entirely depended upon the Iſſue of that critical Moment. And here I cannot forbear mentioning a remarkable Inſtance of Intrepidity, to which I was myſelf a Witneſs on this Occaſion. A certain *Gaul* poſted before the Gate of the City, threw into the Fire Balls of Pitch and Tallow to feed it. This Man being expoſed to the Diſcharge of a *Roman* Battery, was ſtruck through the Side with a Dart and expired. Another ſtriding over his Body, immediately took his Place. He alſo was killed in the ſame Manner. A third ſucceeded: To the third a fourth: Nor was this dangerous Poſt left vacant, till the Fire of the Mount being extinguiſhed, and the Enemy repulſed on all Sides, an End was put to the Conflict.

XXV. THE *Gauls* having tried all Methods of Defence, and finding that none of them ſucceeded, conſulted next Day about leaving the Town; in concert with, and even by the Order of *Vercingetorix*. This they hoped eaſily to effect in the Night; as that General's Camp was not far off, and the Moraſs between them and the *Romans*, would ſerve to cover their Retreat. Night came, and the Beſieged were preparing to put their Deſign in Execution: When ſuddenly the Women running out into the Streets, and caſting themſelves at their Huſbands Feet, conjured them with many Tears, not to abandon to the Fury of an enraged Enemy, them and their common Children, whom Nature and Weakneſs rendered incapable of Flight. But finding their Intreaties ineffectual; for in extreme Danger, Fear often excludes Compaſſion; they began to ſet up a loud Cry, and inform the *Romans* of the intended Flight. This alarmed the Garriſon, who apprehending the Paſſages would be ſeized by our Horſe, deſiſted from their Reſolution.

XXVI. NEXT

XXVI. Next Day *Cæſar* brought forward the Tower, and gave the neceſſary Directions about the Works. A heavy Rain chancing juſt then to fall, he thought it a favourable Opportunity for effecting his Deſign; as he obſerved the Wall to be leſs ſtrictly guarded. Wherefore ordering the Soldiers to abate a little of their Vigour, and having inſtructed them in what Manner to proceed; he exhorted the Legions, who advanced under Cover of the Machines, to ſeize at laſt the Fruit of a Victory acquired by ſo many Toils. Then, promiſing Rewards to thoſe who ſhould firſt ſcale the Town, he gave the Signal of Attack. The *Romans* ruſhed ſuddenly upon the Enemy from all Parts, and in a Moment poſſeſſed themſelves of the Walls.

XXVII. The *Gauls* terrified at this new Manner of Aſſault, and driven from their Towers and Battlements, drew up Triangle-wiſe in the Squares and open Places, that on whatever Side our Men ſhould come to attack them, they might face in order of Battle. But obſerving that we ſtill kept upon the Walls, and were endeavouring to get poſſeſſion of their whole Circuit; they began to fear they ſhould have nō Outlet to eſcape by; and throwing down their Arms, ran tumultuouſly to the fartheſt Part of the Town. There many fell within the City, the Narrowneſs of the Gates obſtructing their Flight: Others were ſlain by the Cavalry without the Walls: Nor did any one for the preſent think of Plunder. The *Romans* eager to revenge the Maſſacre at *Genabum*, and exaſperated by the obſtinate Defence of the Place, ſpared neither old Men, Women, nor Children; inſomuch that of all that Multitude, amounting to about forty Thouſand, ſcarce eight Hundred, who had quitted the Town upon the firſt Alarm, eſcaped ſafe to *Vercingetorix*'s Camp. They arrived there late in the Night, and were received in great Silence: For *Vercingetorix* fearing leſt their Entrance in a Body, and the Compaſſion it would naturally raiſe among the Troops, might occaſion ſome Tumult in the Camp, had ſent out his Friends, and the principal Noblemen of each Province, to meet them by the Way, and conduct them ſeparately to the Quarters of their ſeveral States.

XXVIII. NEXT Day having called a Council, he conſoled and exhorted the Troops, not to be too much diſheartened, or caſt down by their late Misfortune: "That the *Romans* had not overcome by Bravery, or in "the Field; but by their Addreſs and Skill in Sieges, "with which Part of War the *Gauls* were leſs ac-"quainted: That it was deceiving themſelves to hope "for Succeſs in every Meaſure they might think fit to "purſue: That himſelf, as they all knew, had never "adviſed the Defence of *Avaricum*, and could not but "impute the preſent Diſaſter to the Imprudence of the "*Biturigians*, and the too eaſy Compliance of the reſt: "That he hoped however ſoon to compenſate it by ſu-"perior Advantages, as he was uſing his utmoſt En-"deavours to bring over the other States, which had "hitherto refuſed their Concurrence, and to form one "general Confederacy of all *Gaul*, againſt whoſe united "Strength, not the whole Earth would be able to pre-"vail: That he had even in a great Meaſure effected "his Deſign, and in the mean Time only required of "them, for the Sake of the common Safety, that they "would ſet about fortifying their Camp, the better to ſe-"cure them from the ſudden Attacks of the Enemy." This Speech was not unpleaſing to the *Gauls*; and the rather, as notwithſtanding ſo great a Blow, *Vercingetorix* ſeemed to have loſt nothing of his Courage; neither withdrawing from publick View, nor ſhunning the Sight of the Multitude. They even began to entertain a higher Opinion of his Prudence and Foreſight, as from the firſt he had adviſed the burning of *Avaricum*, and at laſt ſent Orders to abandon it. And thus bad Succeſs, which uſually ſinks the Reputation of a Commander, ſerved only to augment his Credit, and give him greater Authority among the Troops. At the ſame Time they were full of Hopes, from the Aſſurances he had given them, of ſeeing the other States accede to the Alliance. And now for the firſt Time the *Gauls* ſet about fortifying their Camp; being ſo humbled by their late Miſfortune, that though naturally impatient of Fatigue, they reſolved to refuſe no Labour impoſed upon them by their General.

XXIX. NOR was *Vercingetorix* leſs active on his Side, to bring over the other Provinces of *Gaul* to the Con-federacy,

federacy, endeavouring to gain the leading Men in each by Preſents and Promiſes. For this Purpoſe he made choice of fit Agents, who by their Addreſs, or particular Ties of Friendſhip, were moſt likely to influence thoſe to whom they were ſent. He provided Arms and Clothing for the Troops that had eſcaped from *Avaricum*; and to repair the Loſs ſuſtained by the Taking of that Place, gave Orders to the ſeveral States, to furniſh a certain Number of Men, and ſend them to the Camp by a Day prefixed. At the ſame Time he commanded all the Archers, of which there were great Numbers in *Gaul*, to be ſought out and brought to the Army. By theſe Meaſures he ſoon replaced the Men whom he loſt at the Siege of *Avaricum*. Mean-while *Theutomatus*, the Son of *Ollovico*, and King of the *Nitobrigians*, whoſe Father had been ſtiled Friend and Ally by the Senate of *Rome*, came and joined him with a great Body of Horſe, which he had raiſed in his own Territories, and in the Province of *Aquitain*.

XXX. CÆSAR finding great Plenty of Corn and other Proviſions at *Avaricum*, ſtayed there ſeveral Days to refreſh his Men, after the Fatigue and Scarcity they had ſo lately undergone. Winter was now drawing towards a Period; and as the Seaſon itſelf invited him to take the Field, he reſolved to march againſt the Enemy, either to draw them out of the Woods and Marſhes, or beſiege them in their Faſtneſſes. While he was full of theſe Thoughts, Deputies arrived from the *Æduans*, to beg his Interpoſition and Authority, for ſettling the Differences of their State. "Every Thing there, they told "him, threatened an inteſtine War. For whereas it "had been all along the Cuſtom to be governed by a "ſingle Magiſtrate, who poſſeſſed the ſupreme Power "for the Space of one Year; they had now two diſ-"puting for that Title, each pretending his Election "was according to Law: That the one was *Convictolitanis*, an illuſtrious and popular young Nobleman; "the other *Cotus*, of an ancient Family, great Autho-"rity, and powerful Relations, whoſe Brother *Videliacus* had exerciſed the ſame Office the Year before: "That the whole State was in Arms, the Senate di-"vided, and each Party backed by their Clients among "the People; nor had they any other Hopes of eſcap-

" ing a civil War, but in his Care and timely Endea-
" vours to put an End to the Controverſy."

XXXI. ALTHOUGH *Cæſar* was ſenſible it would greatly prejudice his Affairs, to quit the Purſuit of the War, and the Enemy; yet reflecting on the Miſchiefs that often ariſe from Diviſions, and deſirous if poſſible to prevent ſo powerful a State, in ſtrict Amity with the People of *Rome*, and which he had always in a particular Manner cheriſhed and befriended, from having Recourſe to the Method of Violence and Arms, which might drive the Party that leaſt confided in his Friendſhip, to ſeek the Aſſiſtance of *Vercingetorix*; he reſolved to make it his firſt Care, to put a ſtop to the Progreſs of theſe Diſorders. And becauſe by the Conſtitutions of the *Æduans*, it was not lawful for the ſupreme Magiſtrate to paſs beyond the Limits of the State; that he might not ſeem to detract from their Privileges, he reſolved to go in perſon thither, and ſummoned the Senate and two Candidates to meet him at *Deciſe*. The Aſſembly was very numerous: When finding upon Enquiry, that *Cotus* had been declared chief Magiſtrate by his own Brother, in Preſence of only a few Electors privately called together, without Regard to Time or Place, and even contrary to the expreſs Laws of the State, which forbid two of the ſame Family, while yet both alive, either to hold the ſupreme Dignity, or ſo much as ſit together in the Senate; he obliged him to reſign in favour of *Convictolitanis*, who upon the Expiration of the Office of the preceding Magiſtrate, had been elected in all the Forms by the Prieſts.

XXXII. THIS Sentence being paſſed; and having exhorted the *Æduans* to lay aſide their Quarrels and Diviſions, and apply themſelves ſolely to the Buſineſs of the preſent War; to expect with Confidence the full Recompenſe of their Services, as ſoon as the Reduction of *Gaul* was completed; and to ſend him immediately all their Cavalry, with ten thouſand Foot, to form a Chain of Poſts for the Security of his Convoys; he divided his Army into two Parts. Four Legions under the Conduct of *Labienus*, were ſent againſt the *Senones* and *Pariſians*. Six, headed by himſelf, in perſon, marched along the Banks of the *Allier*, towards the Territories

of

of the *Averni*, with Design to invest *Gergovia*. Part of the Cavalry followed the Route of *Labienus*; Part remained with *Cæsar*. *Vercingetorix* having Notice of this, broke down all the Bridges upon the *Allier*, and began his March on the other Side of the River.

XXXIII. As both Armies were continually in View, encamped almost over-against each other; and the Enemy's Scouts so stationed, that it was impossible for the *Romans* to make a Bridge for carrying over their Forces: *Cæsar* began to be uneasy, lest he should be hindered the greatest Part of the Summer by the River, because the *Allier* is seldom fordable till towards Autumn. To prevent this Inconvenience, he encamped in a Place full of Woods, over-against one of those Bridges which *Vercingetorix* had caused to be broken down: And remaining there privately next Day with a good Body of Troops, formed by draughting every fourth Cohort, that the Number of Legions might still appear complete; he sent forward the rest of the Army, with all the Baggage as usual, ordering them to march as far as they could. When by the Time of the Day he judged they might be arrived at the Place of their Encampment, he set about rebuilding the Bridge, making use of the old Piles, whose lower Part the Enemy had left standing. Having soon completed the Work, marched over the Troops he had with him, and chosen a proper Place for his Camp; he recalled the rest of the Forces. *Vercingetorix*, upon Intelligence of this, advanced before by long Marches, that he might not be obliged to fight against his Will.

XXXIV. CÆSAR after five Days March came before *Gergovia*, where he had a slight Engagement with the Enemy's Horse: And having taken a View of the Place, which he found situated upon a very high Mountain, all whose Approaches were extremely difficult; he not only despaired of reducing it by Storm, but resolved even to forbear investing it, until he had secured the necessary Supplies for his Army. *Vercingetorix* mean-while was encamped near the Town upon the Hill, where he had disposed the Forces of the several States around him, in different Divisions, separated from one another by moderate Intervals. As his Army possessed all the Summits of the Mountain, whence there was any Prospect into

into the Plains below, they made a very formidable Appearance. Every Morning by Day-break, the Chiefs of each State, who compoſed his Council, aſſembled in his Tent, to adviſe with him, or receive his Orders: Nor did he ſuffer a ſingle Day to paſs without detaching ſome Cavalry, intermixed with Archers, to ſkirmiſh with the *Romans*, that he might make Trial of the Spirit and Courage of his Men. There was a riſing Ground, that joined to the Foot of the Mountain on which the Town ſtood, excellently well fortified by Nature, as being very ſteep on all Sides, and of extreme difficult Acceſs. This Hill, though of ſuch Importance to the Enemy, that by our getting poſſeſſion of it, we could in a great meaſure deprive them of Water and Forage, was yet but very indifferently guarded. *Cæſar* therefore leaving his Camp about Midnight; before any Aſſiſtance could arrive from the Town, diſlodged the Enemy, ſeized the Hill, and having placed two Legions upon it to defend it, drew a double Ditch twelve Feet deep from the greater to the leſſer Camp, that the Soldiers might paſs and repaſs in Safety, even ſingle and without a Guard.

XXXV. WHILE Things were in this Poſture before *Gergovia*, *Convictolitanis* the *Æduan*, to whom, as we have related above, *Cæſar* had adjudged the ſupreme Magiſtracy; being ſtrongly ſolicited by the *Averni*, and at length gained over by their Money, addreſſed himſelf to ſome young Noblemen, the chief of whom were *Litavicus* and his Brothers, of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Family of the Province. With theſe he ſhared the Reward he had received, and exhorted them to conſider: "That they were Subjects of a free State, and born to "command: That Liberty and Victory were retarded "by the *Æduans* alone, whoſe Authority reſtrained the "other States, and whoſe Concurrence in the common "Cauſe would take from the *Romans* all Poſſibility of "ſupporting themſelves in *Gaul*: That though he was "himſelf under ſome Obligation to *Cæſar*, at leaſt ſo "far as a juſt and equitable Deciſion deſerved that "Name, he thought he owed ſtill more to his Country, "and could ſee no Reaſon why the *Æduans* ſhould rather have Recourſe to the *Roman* General, in what "regarded their Laws and Cuſtoms, than the *Romans* "in the like Caſe to the *Æduans*." The Repreſenta-

tions

tions of the Magiſtrate, and the Rewards he beſtowed, ſoon prevailed: They even offered to become the chief Conductors of the Enterpriſe; and nothing was wanting but to conſult of proper Means for accompliſhing the Deſign, as it was eaſily foreſeen, that the State would not be induced without great Difficulty to engage in ſo dangerous a War. At laſt it was agreed, that *Litavicus* ſhould have the Command of the ten thouſand Foot appointed to join *Cæſar*; that he ſhould begin his March; that his Brothers ſhould be ſent before to the *Roman* Camp; and that the reſt of the Project ſhould be then executed, according to a Plan previouſly concerted among them.

XXXVI. Litavicus having received the Command of the Army; when he was within about thirty Miles of *Gergovia*, ſuddenly called the Troops together, and addreſſing them with Tears: "Whither, Fellow-ſoldiers, "ſaid he, are we going? All our Cavalry, all our No-"bility are ſlain. *Eporedorix* and *Virdumarus*, Men of "the firſt Quality in the State, being accuſed by the "*Romans* of Treaſon, are put to Death without Trial. "Learn theſe Things of thoſe who have eſcaped this "this general Maſſacre: For as to me, overwhelmed as "I am with Grief for the Loſs of my Brothers and "Kinſmen, I have neither Strength nor Voice to utter "our Calamities." He then produced ſome whom he had beforehand inſtructed for that Purpoſe, and who joining in the ſame Story, told the Multitude, "That "the greateſt Part of the *Æduan* Cavalry had been put "to the Sword, under Pretence of holding Intelligence "with the *Averni*; and that themſelves had eſcaped "only in the Crowd, by withdrawing during the ge-"neral Slaughter." Upon this the whole Army called aloud to *Litavicus*, intreating him to provide for their Safety. "As if, ſaid he, there was room for Counſel; "or any Choice left, but that of marching directly to "*Gergovia*, and joining the *Averni*. Can we doubt, "after ſo black an Inſtance of *Roman* Perfidy, but that "they are already on their Way to complete the Maſ-"ſacre? Let us therefore, if aught of Spirit or Cou-"rage remains in our Breaſts, revenge the Death of "our Countrymen ſo undeſervedly ſlain, and put theſe "inhuman Spoilers to the Sword." He then preſented

ſome

ſome *Roman* Citizens, who had taken the Opportunity of their March, for conducting a large Convoy of Corn and Proviſions to the Camp. Inſtantly the Convoy was plundered, the *Romans* themſelves put to Death with the moſt cruel Torments, and Meſſengers diſpatched through all the Territories of the *Æduans*, to ſpread the ſame Forgery of the Maſſacre of their Cavalry and Princes, and thereby rouſe them to a like Vengeance.

XXXVII. EPOREDORIX the *Æduan*, a young Nobleman of diſtinguiſhed Birth, and great Intereſt in the State; as likewiſe *Virdumarus*, of equal Age and Authority, though not ſo well deſcended; whom *Cæſar*, upon the Recommendation of *Divitiacus*, had raiſed from a low Condition to the higheſt Dignities; were both at this Time in the *Roman* Camp, having come along with the Cavalry at *Cæſar*'s expreſs Deſire. Between theſe two was a Competition for Greatneſs; and in the late Diſpute about the Magiſtracy, the one had declared warmly for *Convictolitanis*, the other for *Cotus*. *Eporedorix* getting Notice of *Litavicus*'s Deſign, came about Midnight to *Cæſar*'s Tent, diſcovered the whole Plot, and intreated him to obviate the miſchievous Counſels of a few young Noblemen, and not ſuffer the State to fall off from the Alliance of the *Romans*, which he foreſaw muſt happen, ſhould ſo many thouſand Men once join the Enemy. For it was by no Means probable, that either their own Relations would neglect their Safety, or the State itſelf make light of ſo great a Part of its Forces.

XXXVIII. THIS Piece of Intelligence gave *Cæſar* extreme Concern, becauſe he had always manifeſted a particular Regard to the *Æduans*. He therefore drew out immediately four Legions without Baggage, together with all the Cavalry: And becauſe the Affair ſeemed to depend wholly upon Diſpatch, would not even take Time to contract his Camp, but left *C. Fabius* his Lieutenant, with two Legions, to defend it againſt the Enemy. Finding that *Litavicus*'s Brothers, whom he ordered to be ſeized, had ſome Time before gone over to *Vercingetorix*, he began his March, exhorting the Soldiers to bear the Fatigue cheerfully in ſo preſſing a Conjuncture. They followed with great Alacrity, and advancing

vancing about five-and-twenty Miles from *Gergovia*, came at laſt within ſight of the *Æduans*. *Cæſar* immediately detached the Cavalry againſt them, to retard and ſtop their March; but with ſtrict Charge to abſtain from Bloodſhed. He ordered *Eporedorix* and *Virdumarus*, whom they believed ſlain, to ride up and down among the Squadrons, and call to their Countrymen. As they were ſoon known, and *Litavicus*'s Forgery thereby diſcovered; the *Æduans* ſtretched out their Hands, made Signs of Submiſſion, and throwing down their Arms, began to beg their Lives. *Litavicus*, with his Clients, who by the Cuſtoms of the *Gauls*, cannot without Infamy abandon their Patrons, even in the greateſt Extremities of Fortune, eſcaped ſafe to *Gergovia*.

XXXIX. Cæsar having diſpatched Meſſengers to the *Æduans*, to inform them, that his Lenity and Regard for their State had prevailed with him to ſpare Troops, whom by the right of War he might have put to the Sword; after allowing the Army three Hours Reſt during the Night, marched back to *Gergovia*. About half way he was met by a Party of Horſe, ſent by *Fabius*, to give him notice of the Danger that threatened his Camp. They told him, "That the "Enemy had attacked it with all their Forces, and by "ſending continual Supplies of freſh Men, were like in "the End to overpower the *Romans*, whoſe Fatigue "admitted of no Relaxation, becauſe the vaſt Extent "of Ground they had to defend, obliged them to be "perpetually upon the Rampart: That the Multitude "of Arrows and Darts diſcharged by the *Gauls*, had "wounded many of the Soldiers, notwithſtanding the "Protection received from the Engines, which yet had "been of good Service in beating off the Aſſailants: "That *Fabius*, upon the Retreat of the Enemy, had "cloſed up all the Gates of the Camp but two, carried "a Breaſtwork quite round the Rampart, and made "Preparation for ſuſtaining a like Aſſault the next "Day." *Cæſar* informed of theſe Things, haſtened his March with all Diligence, and ſeconded by the unuſual Ardor of the Troops, arrived in the Camp before Sun-riſe.

XL. While

XL. WHILE theſe Things paſſed at *Gergovia*, the *Æduans*, upon receipt of the firſt Diſpatches from *Litavicus*, ſtaid not for Confirmation of the Report; but prompted partly by Avarice, partly by Revenge, and many by a native Raſhneſs, to which the *Gauls* in general are extremely addicted, being ready to catch up every flying Rumor as a certain Truth: flew immediately to Arms, plundered the *Roman* Citizens of their Effects, ſlaughtered their Perſons, or dragged them into Servitude. *Convictolitanis* fomented to the utmoſt this Fury, which had already taken but too faſt hold of the Multitude; that by plunging them into ſome deſperate Act of Violence, he might render a Retreat the more difficult and ſhameful. At his Inſtigation, they obliged *M. Ariſtius*, a military Tribune, who was upon his Way to join the Army, to quit *Cabillonum*, promiſing not to moleſt him in his Journey: The ſame they did by ſeveral *Roman* Merchants, who had ſtopt there on account of Traffick; and attacking them treacherouſly on the Road, ſtripped them of their Baggage, inveſted Day and Night thoſe that made Reſiſtance; and many being killed on both Sides, drew together a greater Number of Men to effect their Deſign. Mean-while coming to underſtand, that all their Troops were in *Cæſar*'s Power; they ran to *Ariſtius*, aſſured him that nothing had been done by publick Authority, ordered Informations to be brought againſt thoſe who had been concerned in pillaging the *Romans*, confiſcated the Eſtates of *Litavicus* and his Brothers, and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* to excuſe what had happened. All this they did with a View to the Recovery of their Troops: but conſcious of Guilt; loth to part with the Plunder, in which great Numbers had ſhared; and dreading the Puniſhment ſo groſs an Outrage deſerved; they began privately to concert Meaſures of War, and by their Ambaſſadors ſolicited other States to join them. Though *Cæſar* was not ignorant of theſe Practices, he ſpoke with the greateſt Mildneſs to the *Æduan* Deputies, aſſuring them of the Continuance of his Favour, and that he would not conſider as the Crime of the whole Nation, what was owing only to the Imprudence and Levity of the Multitude. Apprehending however an univerſal Revolt of *Gaul*, and that he might be ſurrounded by the Forces of all the States at once, he began

began to think of retiring from *Gergovia*, and drawing his whole Army again into a Body; yet in ſuch Manner, that a Retreat occaſioned by the Fear of an Inſurrection, might not carry with it the Appearance of a Flight.

XLI. WHILE he was full of theſe Thoughts, an Opportunity ſeemed to offer of acting againſt the Enemy with Succeſs. For coming into the leſſer Camp, to take a View of the Works, he obſerved a Hill, that for ſome Days before was ſcarce to be ſeen for the Multitudes that covered it, now quite naked and deſtitute of Troops. Wondering what might be the Cauſe, he enquired of the Deſerters, who flocked daily in great Numbers to the *Roman* Camp. They all agreed with our Scouts; that the Back of the Hill was almoſt an even Ground, but narrow and woody in that Part, where the Paſſage lay to the other Side of the Town: That the Enemy were mightily afraid of loſing this Poſt, becauſe the *Romans*, who had already poſſeſſed themſelves of one Hill, by ſeizing the other likewiſe, would in a Manner quite ſurround them; and being Maſters of all the Outlets, might entirely cut off their Forage: That *Vercingetorix* had therefore drawn all his Forces on that Side, with deſign to fortify the Paſſage.

XLII. CÆSAR, upon this Intelligence, diſpatched ſome Squadrons of 'Cavalry thither about Midnight, ordering them to ride up and down the Place, with as much Noiſe as poſſible. At Day-break he drew a great Number of Mules and Carriage-horſes out of the Camp, ſent away their uſual Harneſs, and furniſhing the Grooms and Waggoners with Helmets, that they might reſemble Horſemen, commanded them to march quite round the Hill. With theſe he joined a few Cavalry, who, for the greater Shew, were to expatiate a little more freely; and the whole Detachment had Orders to move towards the ſame Parts, taking a very large Circuit. All theſe Diſpoſitions were ſeen from the Town, which commanded a full View of the *Roman* Camp, though the Diſtance was too great to diſtinguiſh Objects with Certainty. At the ſame Time *Cæſar*, the more effectually to deceive the Enemy, detached a Legion

gion towards the ſame Eminence, and when it was advanced a little Way, ſtationed it at the Foot of the Hill, affecting to conceal it in the Woods. This increaſed the Jealouſy of the *Gauls* to ſuch a Degree, that they immediately carried all their Forces thither to defend the Poſt. *Cæſar* ſeeing their Intrenchments abandoned, made his Soldiers cover the military Enſigns and Standards, and file off in ſmall Parties from the greater to the leſſer Camp, that they might not be perceived from the Town. He then opened his Deſign to his Lieutenants, whom he had appointed to command the ſeveral Legions, counſelling them above all Things to moderate the Ardour of the Soldiers, that the Hope of Plunder, or Deſire of fighting, might not carry them too far. He repreſented particularly the Diſadvantage of the Ground, againſt which there was no Security but in Diſpatch; and told them, that it was not a regular Attack, but a ſudden Onſet, to be purſued no farther than Opportunity ſerved. Theſe Precautions taken, he gave the Signal to engage, and at the ſame Time detached the *Æduâns* by another Aſcent, to charge the Enemy on the right.

XLIII. THE Wall of the Town, had no Breaks or Hollows intervened, was about twelve hundred Paces diſtant from the Plain below, meaſuring in a direct Line from the Foot of the Mountain. The Circuit the Troops were obliged to take, to moderate the Steepneſs of the Aſcent, added ſtill to this Space upon the March. Half way up the Hill, as near as the Nature of the Ground would allow, the *Gauls* had run a Wall of large Stones, ſix Foot high, the better to defend themſelves againſt our Attacks. All between this and the Plain was left quite void of Troops by the Enemy; but the upper Part of the Hill, to the very Walls of the Town, was crowded with the Camps of their ſeveral States. The Signal being given, the *Romans* immediately mounted the Hill, ſcaled the outward Wall, and poſſeſſed themſelves of three of the Enemy's Camps. Such too was the Expedition wherewith they carried them, that coming ſuddenly upon *Theutomatus*, King of the *Nitobrigians*, as he was repoſing himſelf in his Tent about Noon, he very narrowly eſcaped being taken; for he

he was obliged to fly away half naked, and had his Horse wounded under him.

XLIV. Cæsar having succeeded as far as his Design required, ordered a Retreat to be sounded; and the tenth Legion, which fought near his Person, obeyed. The other Legions, not hearing the Signal, because separated from the General by a large Valley, were yet commanded to halt by the Lieutenants and military Tribunes, according to the Instructions given by *Cæsar* in the Beginning. But elated with the Hopes of a speedy Victory, the Flight of the Enemy, and the Remembrance of former Successes, they thought nothing impracticable to their Valour, nor desisted from the Pursuit, till they had reached the very Walls and Gates of the Town. Upon this a great Cry arising from all Parts, those that were fartheſt from the Place of Assault, terrified by the Noise and Tumult, and imagining the Enemy already within the Gates, quitted the Town with Precipitation. The Women throwing their Money and Clothes from the Walls, with naked Breasts, and extended Arms, conjured the *Romans* to spare their Lives, and not, as at *Avaricum*, sacrifice all to their Resentment, without Distinction of Age or Sex. Some being let down by their Hands from the Wall, delivered themselves up to our Soldiers. *L. Fabius*, a Centurion of the eighth Legion, was that Day heard to say; that he had not yet forgot the Plunder of *Avaricum*, and was resolved no Man should enter the Place before him. Accordingly, having with the Assistance of three of his Company got upon the Town-wall, he helped them one after another to do the like.

XLV. Mean-while the Troops, who, as we have related above, were gone to defend the Post on the other Side of the Town; incited by the Cries of the Combatants, and the continual Accounts brought that the Enemy had entered the Place; sending all the Cavalry before to stop the Progress of the *Romans*, advanced in mighty Crowds to the Attack. In proportion as they arrived, they drew up under the Wall, and augmented the Number of those who fought on their Side. As they soon became formidable by their Multitude; the Women, who a little before had implored the Com-

paſſion of the *Romans*, now began to encourage their own Troops, ſhewing their diſhevelled Hair, and producing their Children, according to the Cuſtom of the *Gauls*. The Conteſt was by no means equal, either in reſpect of Number, or of the Ground; and the *Romans*, already fatigued with the March and Length of the Combat, were little able to ſuſtain the Attack of freſh and vigorous Troops.

XLVI. CÆSAR obſerving the Diſadvantage of the Ground, and the continual Increaſe of the Enemy's Troops, began to be apprehenſive about the Event; and ſending *T. Sextius* his Lieutenant, whom he had left to guard the leſſer Camp, ordered him to bring forth the Cohorts with all Expedition, and poſt them at the Foot of the Hill upon the Enemy's Right; that if our Men ſhould give way, he might deter the *Gauls* from purſuing them. He himſelf advancing a little with the tenth Legion, waited the Iſſue of the Combat.

XLVII. WHILE the Conflict was maintained with the utmoſt Vigour on both Sides; the Enemy truſting to their Poſt and Numbers, the *Romans* to their Courage; ſuddenly the *Æduans*, whom *Cæſar* had ſent by another Aſcent on the Right, to make a Diverſion, appeared on the Flank of our Men. As they were armed after the Manner of the *Gauls*, this Sight greatly terrified the *Romans*; and though they extended their right Arms in token of Peace, yet ſtill our Men fancied it a Stratagem to deceive them. At the ſame Time *L. Fabius* the Centurion, and thoſe who had got upon the Wall with him, being ſurrounded and ſlain, were thrown down by the Enemy from the Battlements. *M. Petreius*, a Centurion of the ſame Legion, who had endeavoured to force the Gates; finding himſelf overpowered by the Enemy, and deſpairing of Safety, becauſe he was already covered with Wounds, turning to his Soldiers that had followed him, ſaid: "As I find it impoſſible to preſerve both myſelf and you, I will at leaſt "do my beſt to further your Eſcape, whom I have brought "into this Danger through too eager a Deſire of Glory. "Take advantage therefore of the preſent Opportunity." Then throwing himſelf upon the Enemy, he killed two, drove

drove the reſt from the Gate, and ſeeing his Men run to his Aſſiſtance; "In vain, ſays he, do you endeavour to "preſerve my Life. My Blood and Strength forſake "me. Go therefore, while you may, and rejoin your "Legion." Continuing ſtill to fight, he expired ſoon after, preſerving his Followers with the Loſs of his own Life.

XLVIII. Our Men thus preſſed on all Sides, were at length driven from the Place, with the Loſs of forty-ſix Centurions: but the tenth Legion, which had been poſted a little more advantageouſly to cover their Retreat, checked the impetuous Purſuit of the *Gauls*; being ſuſtained by the Cohorts of the thirteenth Legion, who had quitted the leſſer Camp under *Sextius*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of an Eminence. The Legions having gained the Plain, immediately halted, and faced about towards the Enemy: but *Vercingetorix* drawing off his Troops from the Foot of the Hill, retired within his Intrenchments. The *Romans* loſt that Day about ſeven hundred Men.

XLIX. Cæsar aſſembling the Army next Day, ſeverely blamed the Temerity and Avarice of the Soldiers: "That they had taken upon themſelves to "judge how far they were to proceed, and what they "were to undertake; regarding neither the Signal to "retreat, nor the Orders of their Officers. He ex-"plained the Diſadvantage of the Ground, and re-"minded them of his own Conduct at the Siege of "*Avaricum*, when having ſurpriſed the Enemy with-"out a General, and without Cavalry, he had rather "choſen to give up a certain Victory, than by attacking "them in a difficult Poſt, hazard an inconſiderable "Loſs: That as much as he admired the aſtoniſhing "Courage of Men, whom neither the Intrenchments "of ſeveral Camps, nor the Height of the Mountain, "nor the Walls of the Town could check; ſo much "did he blame the Licentiouſneſs and Arrogance of "Soldiers, who thought they knew more than their "General, and could ſee better than him the Way to "Conqueſt: That he looked upon Obedience and "Moderation in the Purſuit of Booty, as Virtues no

" leſs eſſential to a good Soldier, than Valour and " Magnanimity."

L. HAVING made this Speech, and in the End exhorted his Soldiers, not to be diſcouraged by their late Misfortune, nor aſcribe that to the Bravery of the Enemy, which was entirely owing to the Diſadvantage of the Ground: as he ſtill perſiſted in his Deſign of retiring, he drew out his Legions and formed them in order of Battle upon the Plain. But *Vercingetorix* not thinking proper to deſcend; after a ſmall and ſucceſsful Skirmiſh between the Cavalry, *Cæſar* returned again to his Camp. The like he did the following Day: when thinking he had done enough to confirm the Courage of his own Men, and abate the Pride of the *Gauls*, he decamped towards the Territories of the *Æduans*. As the Enemy made no Attempt to purſue him, he arrived the third Day on the Banks of the *Allier*, and having repaired the Bridge, paſſed over with his whole Army.

LI. HERE he was informed by *Eporedorix* and *Virdumarus*, that *Litavicus* was gone with all the Cavalry to ſolicit the *Æduans*; and it would be therefore neceſſary for themſelves to ſet out, in order to prevent his Deſigns, and confirm the State in their Attachment to the *Romans*. Though *Cæſar* was by this Time abundantly convinced of the Perfidy of the *Æduans*, and plainly foreſaw, that their Departure would only haſten the Revolt; he yet did not think proper to detain them, that he might give no Ground of Offence, nor betray any Suſpicion of Diſtruſt. At parting, he briefly enumerated the Services he had done the *Æduans*: " How " low and depreſſed he had found them, ſhut up in " their Towns, deprived of their Lands, without " Troops, Tributaries to their Enemies, and obliged " to ſubmit to the ignominious Demand of Hoſtages: " To what Power and Greatneſs they were now raiſed " by his Favour, ſo as not only to have recovered their " former Conſideration in *Gaul*, but even to exceed in " Dignity and Luſtre all that appeared moſt flouriſhing " in the ancient Annals of their State." With this Charge he diſmiſſed them.

LII. Novi-

LII. NOVIODUNUM was a Town belonging to the *Æduans*, advantageouſly ſituated upon the Banks of the *Loire*. Here *Cæſar* had lodged all the Hoſtages of *Gaul*, his Proviſions, his military Cheſt, and great Part of his own and his Army's Baggage. Hither alſo he had ſent many Horſes, brought up in *Italy* and *Spain* for the Service of the War. When *Eporedorix* and *Virdumarus* arrived at this Place, and were informed of the Diſpoſition of the State: "That *Litavicus* had "been received with great Marks of Favour at *Bibracte*, "the capital City of the Province: That *Convictolitanis* "the chief Magiſtrate, and almoſt all the Senate, were "gone thither to meet him: That Ambaſſadors had been "publickly ſent to *Vercingetorix*, to conclude a Treaty "of Peace and Alliance:" They thought the preſent favourable Opportunity was by no Means to be neglected. Having therefore put the Garriſon of *Noviodunum*, with all the *Romans* found in the Place to the Sword; they divided the Money and Horſes between them, ordered the Hoſtages to be conducted to *Bibracte*; and not thinking themſelves ſtrong enough to defend the Town, ſet it on fire, that it might not be of any Service to the *Romans*. All the Corn they could in ſo ſhort a Time, they carried away in Barks; and burnt the reſt, or threw it into the River. Then drawing together the Forces of the neighbouring Parts, they lined the Banks of the *Loire* with Troops; and to ſtrike the greater Terror, began to ſcour the Country with their Cavalry; hoping to cut off *Cæſar*'s Convoys, and oblige him through want of Proviſions, to return into the *Roman* Province. This appeared the eaſier, as the *Loire* was conſiderably ſwelled by the Melting of the Snow, and gave little Room to think that it could be any where forded.

LIII. UPON Advice of theſe Proceedings, *Cæſar* thought it neceſſary to uſe Diſpatch; and if he muſt build a Bridge, endeavour to come to an Action with the Enemy, before they had drawn more Forces together. For he did not even then think it neceſſary to return to the *Roman* Province; not only as the Retreat itſelf would be inglorious, and the Mountains of the *Sevennes*, and the Badneſs of the Ways, were almoſt inſuperable Obſtacles; but chiefly, becauſe he was

extremely desirous to rejoin *Labienus*, and the Legions under his Command. Wherefore marching Day and Night with the utmost Diligence, contrary to all Mens Expectation, he arrived upon the Banks of the *Loire*; and his Cavalry very opportunely finding a Ford, which however took the Soldiers up to the Shoulders, he placed the Horse higher up to break the Force of the Stream, and carried over his Army without Loss; the Enemy being so terrified by his Boldness, that they forsook the Banks. As he found a great deal of Corn and Cattle in the Fields, the Army was plentifully supplied, and he directed his March towards the Country of the *Senones*.

LIV. WHILST *Cæsar* was thus employed, *Labienus* leaving the Levies which had lately arrived from *Italy*, at *Agendicum*, to guard the Baggage; marched with four Legions to *Lutetia*, a City of the *Parisians*, situated in an Island of the *Seine*. Upon Notice of his Approach, the Enemy drew a great Army together from the neighbouring States. The chief Command was given to *Camulogenus* an *Aulercian*, who though in a very advanced Age, was yet urged to accept of that Honour, on account of his singular Knowledge in the Art of War. This General observing there was a large Morass, whose Waters ran into the *Seine*, and obstructed all the Passages round about, encamped there, to hinder the *Romans* from passing the River. *Labienus* at first endeavoured to force a Passage, filling up the Morass with Hurdles and Mould, to give firm Footing to the Army. But finding the Attempt too difficult, he privately quitted his Camp about Midnight, and returned towards *Melodunum*. This City belongs to the *Senones*, and is also situated in an Island of the *Seine*, as we before said of *Lutetia*. He found there about fifty Boats, which he speedily drew together, and manned them with his Soldiers. The Inhabitants, terrified at this new Manner of Attack, and being too few to defend the Place, because the greater Part of them had joined the Army of *Camulogenus*, yielded upon the first Summons. Having repaired the Bridge which the Enemy had cut down some Days before, he crossed the *Seine* there; and following the Course of the River, marched back towards *Lutetia*. The Enemy having Intelligence

Intelligence of this by thoſe who eſcaped from *Melodunum*, ſet fire to *Lutetia*, broke down its Bridges, and covering themſelves with the Moraſs, encamped on the oppoſite Bank of the *Seine*, over-againſt *Labienus*.

LV. IT was now known that *Cæſar* had departed from *Gergovia*. The Revolt of the *Æduans*, and the univerſal Inſurrection of *Gaul*, were every where ſpread abroad by the Voice of Fame. The *Gauls* on all Occaſions gave out, that *Cæſar*, finding his March obſtructed by the *Loire*, and being reduced to great Straits for want of Corn, had been forced to take the Route of the *Roman* Province. At the ſame Time the *Bellovaci*, naturally prone to throw off the Yoke, upon hearing of the Defection of the *Æduans*, began to raiſe Forces, and openly prepare for War. *Labienus* perceiving ſo great a Change in the Poſture of Affairs, ſoon ſaw the Neceſſity of purſuing other Meaſures; and that it was not now his Buſineſs to make Conqueſts, or give the Enemy Battle, but to ſecure his Retreat to *Agendicum*. On the one Side he was preſſed by the *Bellovaci*, reputed the moſt warlike People of all *Gaul*; on the other by *Camulogenus*, with a numerous and well-appointed Army. Add to all this, that the Baggage of the Troops, and the Detachment appointed to guard it, were ſeparated from the Legions by a great River. So many Difficulties ſurrounding him at once, he ſaw no Way to extricate himſelf but by his Valour and Preſence of Mind.

LVI. ACCORDINGLY in the Evening he called a Council of War; and having exhorted the Officers to execute his Orders with Vigour and Diſpatch, diſtributed the fifty Boats he had brought from *Melodunum* to as many *Roman* Knights, commanding them to fall down the River about nine at Night without Noiſe, four Miles below *Lutetia*, and there wait his coming. Five Cohorts, ſuch as appeared leaſt fit for Service, were left to guard the Camp. The other five of the ſame Legion, with all the Baggage, had Orders to march up the River at Midnight, with much Tumult and Buſtle, which was farther increaſed by Means of ſome ſmall Barks ſent the ſame Way, that made a

mighty Noiſe with their Oars. He himſelf ſetting out ſoon after with three Legions, advanced ſilently to the Boats that waited for him. There he ſurpriſed the Enemy's Scouts, who were ſtationed along the River, and had been prevented by a ſudden Storm from diſcerning his Approach. The whole Army was quickly carried over, by the Care and Diligence of the *Roman* Knights, to whom that Affair had been given in charge. Almoſt at the ſame Inſtant the Enemy had notice, that an unſual Tumult was heard in the *Roman* Camp; that a ſtrong Detachment had marched up the River, on which Side likewiſe a great Noiſe of Oars was heard; and that a little below they were paſſing the River in Boats. This Intelligence made the *Gauls* conclude, that the Legions, alarmed at the Revolt of the *Æduans*, were endeavouring to croſs the *Seine* in three different Places; for which Reaſon they likewiſe divided their Army into three Bodies. For leaving one Party to guard the Paſſage over-againſt our Camp, and detaching another towards *Metioſedum*, with Orders to advance to the Place where the Boats had ſtopped, they marched with the reſt of their Forces againſt *Labienus*. By Day-break our Troops had paſſed the River, and the Enemy's Army appeared in View. *Labienus* exhorting his Men to remember their wonted Bravery, the many Victories they had gained, and even to fancy themſelves in the immediate Preſence of *Cæſar*, under whoſe Conduct they had ſo often been ſucceſsful, gave the Signal of Battle. At the very firſt Charge, the ſeventh Legion, which formed the right Wing of the *Roman* Army, broke the Enemy's left, and put it to rout. But the right Wing of the *Gauls*, which was engaged with the twelfth Legion, and where *Camulogenus* was preſent in perſon to encourage his Men; though the firſt Ranks were deſtroyed by the *Roman* Javelins, ſtill maintained its Ground with the utmoſt Bravery, and ſeemed determined to conquer. The Diſpute was long and dubious; when the Tribunes of the ſeventh Legion having notice how matters went, faced about, and attacked the Enemy's Rear. Even then not a Man offered to fly; but at laſt, being ſurrounded on all Sides, they were cut to Pieces with their General. The Party left behind to watch our Camp, hearing the Noiſe of the Battle, flew to the Aſſiſtance of their Countrymen, and

and poſted themſelves on a Hill: but not being able to ſuſtain the Aſſault of the victorious *Romans*, they ſoon mingled with the reſt of the Fugitives, and were cut to Pieces by the Cavalry, thoſe only excepted who ſheltered themſelves in the Woods and Mountains. After this Victory, *Labienus* retreated to *Agendicum*, where he had left the Baggage of the whole Army; and from thence, with all his Forces, went and joined *Cæſar*.

LVII. The Revolt of the *Æduans* gave new Strength to the Confederacy. Deputies were immediately diſpatched into all Parts. Intereſt, Money, and Authority were employed in their Turns, to procure the Concurrence of the States that ſtill continued quiet. The Hoſtages ſeized at *Noviodunum*, enabled the *Æduans* to compel ſuch as were refractory. They ſent to require of *Vercingetorix*, that he would come and concert with them Meaſures for carrying on the War; and in particular inſiſted on being at the Head of the League. But this Demand meeting with Oppoſition, a general Aſſembly of *Gaul* was held at *Bibracte*, whither the Deputies of all the confederated Nations repaired, and after taking the Affair into conſideration, confirmed *Vercingetorix* in the Title of Generaliſſimo. The *Rhemi*, *Lingones*, and *Treviri* were not preſent at this Aſſembly: the two Firſt, becauſe they had reſolved to continue faithful to the *Romans*; and the *Treviri* on account of their great Diſtance, and the Employment found them by the *Germans*; which was the Reaſon that they took no Part at all in this War, nor lent their Aſſiſtance to either Side. The *Æduans* were greatly mortified at ſeeing themſelves excluded from the chief Command: they complained of this Change in their Fortune, and began to regret the Loſs of *Cæſar*'s Favour. But as they were already too far engaged in the Revolt, they durſt not think of detaching themſelves from the Confederacy. It was not however without Reluctance, that *Eporedorix* and *Virdumarus*, two young Noblemen of the greateſt Hopes, conſented to take Orders from *Vercingetorix*.

LVIII. As he was now inveſted with the ſupreme Command, he enjoined the ſeveral States to ſend Hoſtages,

tages, appointed a Day for that Purpoſe, and ordered all the Cavalry, to the Number of fifteen Thouſand, to aſſemble with the utmoſt Expedition. He ſaid "He "was ſufficiently provided with Infantry, as he had "no Mind to refer the Deciſion of the War to Fortune, "or hazard an uncertain Engagement; but abounding "in Horſe, judged it the eaſier and ſafer Way, to in- "tercept the *Roman* Convoys and Foragers: That in "the Mean-time they muſt reſolve to deſtroy their "Corn, ſet fire to their Houſes, and patiently ſubmit "to a preſent and private Loſs, which was to be re- "warded with Liberty and perpetual Empire." Having thus ſettled the Plan of the War, he commanded the *Æduans* and *Seguſians*, who border upon the *Roman* Province, to raiſe ten thouſand Foot: to theſe he joined eight hundred Horſe, and put them under the Conduct of *Eporedorix*'s Brother, with Orders to attack the *Allobrogians*. At the ſame Time he commiſſioned the *Gabali*, and the neareſt Cantons of *Auvergne*, to make an Irruption into the Territories of the *Helvians*: and the *Rutheni* and *Cadurci*, into thoſe of the *Volcæ Arecomici*. He neglected not however, by Meſſengers and private Emiſſaries, to ſound the Diſpoſition of the *Allobrogians*, whoſe Minds he hoped were not yet thoroughly reconciled to the *Roman* Yoke; endeavouring to gain the leading Men by Preſents, and the State by an Offer of the Sovereignty of the *Roman* Province.

LIX. To oppoſe all theſe Attacks, two-and-twenty Cohorts were drawn together, while *L. Cæſar*, Lieutenant-General, levied in the Province; and with them prepared to make head on all Sides. The *Helvians* venturing to come to an Engagement with the Enemy, were defeated, and forced to ſhelter themſelves in their walled Towns, after having loſt *C. Valerius Donaturus*, the Son of *Caburus*, a Man of principal Rank in their State, and ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction. The *Allobrogians* placing Detachments at proper Diſtances along the Banks of the *Rhone*, guarded all the Acceſſes to their Country with great Diligence and Care. *Cæſar*, as he found the Enemy ſuperior in Cavalry, and that his Communication with *Italy* and the Province was cut off, ſo as to deprive him of all Hopes of Succour from

from that Quarter, had recourſe to the *German* Nations beyond the *Rhine*, which he had ſubdued in the preceding Campaigns, and obtained from them a Supply of Horſe, with ſome light-armed Foot accuſtomed to fight amongſt them. Upon their Arrival, perceiving they were but indifferently mounted, he took the Horſes from the military Tribunes, Centurions, *Roman* Knights, and Volunteers, and diſtributed them among the *Germans*.

LX. Whilst theſe Things paſſed, the Enemy's Forces from *Auvergne*, and the Cavalry of all the confederate States of *Gaul*, met at the general Rendezvous, and formed a very numerous Army. *Cæſar* marching through the Frontiers of the *Lingones*, into the Country of the *Sequani*, to be the nearer at hand to ſuccour the *Roman* Province; *Vercingetorix* lodged himſelf at about ten Miles Diſtance, in three ſeveral Camps; and having aſſembled the Officers of the Cavalry, told them, "That the Seaſon of Victory was at length arrived, "when they ſaw the *Romans* obliged to abandon *Gaul*, "and ſeek a Retreat in the Province: That this "indeed ſerved to ſecure Liberty for the Preſent, but "was inſufficient to future Eaſe and Tranquillity, as "they would doubtleſs return with greater Forces than "before, and perſiſt in the Deſign of making War. "It was therefore beſt to attack them now, while they "marched incumbered with their Baggage. If the "Infantry faced about in order to aſſiſt the Horſe, "they would thereby be unable to advance; but if, as "was more likely, they abandoned the Baggage, to "provide for their own Safety, they would be deprived "of every Convenience, and return covered with "Ignominy and Reproach: for as to the Enemy's "Cavalry, it was not once to be imagined, that any "of them would ſo much as ſtir from the Body of the "Army. That to encourage them the more, and "ſtrike the greater Terror into the Enemy, he was "reſolved to have the whole Army under Arms before "the Camp." Theſe Words were followed by the Acclamations of all the Cavalry, who propoſed taking an Oath never to return to their Homes, nor viſit their Parents, Wives, and Children, if they did not twice pierce through the *Roman* Army from one End to the other.

LXI. The

LXI. THE Propoſal being approved, and the Oath adminiſtered to all; *Vercingetorix* next Day divided his Cavalry into three Bodies, two of which appeared upon the Flanks of the *Roman* Army, while the third began to charge and haraſs it in Front. Notice of this being given to *Cæſar*, he alſo formed his Horſe in three Diviſions, ordering them to advance againſt the Enemy. They made Head on all Sides at once, the Infantry mean-while continuing quietly under Arms, with the Baggage placed in the Center. Wherever the *Romans* gave way, or appeared hard preſſed by the Enemy, thither *Cæſar* ſent Detachments from the Legions; which both checked the Progreſs of the *Gauls*, and confirmed the Courage of our Men, as they thus ſaw themſelves ſure of being ſupported. At laſt the *Germans* on the Right, having ſeized an Eminence, drove the Enemy before them, and purſued them with great Slaughter as far as the River, where *Vercingetorix* was poſted with the Infantry. The reſt of the *Gauls* perceiving the Defeat of their Countrymen, and apprehenſive of being ſurrounded, betook themſelves likewiſe to flight. A dreadful Slaughter enſued on all Sides. Three *Æduan* Noblemen of the firſt Diſtinction were brought Priſoners to *Cæſar*: *Cotus*, General of the Cavalry, who the Year before had been Competitor with *Convictolitanus* for the ſupreme Magiſtracy; *Cavarillus*, who after *Litavicus*'s Revolt, had been appointed to command the Infantry; and *Eporedorix*, who was Generaliſſimo of the *Æduan* Troops in the War againſt the *Sequani*, before *Cæſar*'s Arrival in *Gaul*.

LXII. VERCINGETORIX, upon this total Rout of the *Gauliſh* Cavalry, drew off his Troops, whom he had formed in order of Battle before the Camp, and immediately retreated towards *Aleſia*, a Town belonging to the *Mandubii*; ordering the Baggage to follow him with all Expedition. *Cæſar* leaving his on a neigbouring Hill, under a Guard of two Legions, purſued the Enemy as far as Day would permit, cut three thouſand of their Rear to Pieces, and arrived on the Morrow before *Aleſia*. After examining the Situation of the Town; as he ſaw the Enemy much daunted by the Defeat of their Cavalry, which was the Part of their Strength in which they chiefly confided, he exhorted

his Soldiers not to be diſcouraged at the Labour they muſt undergo, and reſolved to inveſt the Place.

LXIII. THE City of *Aleſia* was ſituated on the Top of a very high Hill, ſo as not to be taken without a formal Siege. The Bottom of the Hill was waſhed on the two Sides by two Rivers. Before the Town was a Plain, extending about three Miles in Length; but every where elſe, a Ridge of Hills, whoſe Summits were nearly upon a Level, ran round the Place at a moderate Diſtance. Under the Walls, on the Side facing the Eaſt, lay all the Forces of the *Gauls* encamped; who filled that whole Space, and were defended by a Ditch, and a Rampart ſix Foot high. The Line of Contravallation begun by the *Romans*, took in a Circuit of eleven Miles. The Camp was conveniently ſituated, and ſtrengthened with three-and-twenty Redoubts, in which Sentinels were placed by Day, to give Notice of any ſudden Irruption, and a ſtrong Guard, by Night, to defend them in caſe of Aſſault.

LXIV. WHILST the *Romans* were employed in theſe Works, *Vercingetorix* ventured on another Engagement of the Horſe, in the Plain between the Hills, which, we have ſaid, extended about three Miles in Length. The Conteſt was ſharply maintained on both Sides; but our Men at length beginning to give Ground, *Cæſar* detached the *Germans* to their Aſſiſtance, and drew up the Legions in Order of Battle before the Camp, that he might be ready to oppoſe any ſudden Irruption of the Enemy's Infantry. The Sight of the Legions revived the Courage of our Men: the Enemy were put to flight; and crowding upon one another in their Retreat, ſo obſtructed the Gates of the Camp, that it became in a Manner impoſſible to enter. The *Germans* purſued them to their Intrenchments, where a very great Slaughter enſued. Some quitting their Horſes, endeavoured to paſs the Ditch, and get over the Rampart. *Cæſar* perceiving their Diſorder, ordered the Legions, whom he had drawn out before the Camp, to advance a little. This Motion no leſs alarmed the *Gauls* within the Rampart; who believing the whole Body of the *Roman* Army was coming to attack them, ſounded to Arms. Some in their Fright

fled

fled into the Town; upon which *Vercingetorix*, fearing the Camp would be abandoned, ordered the Gates to be ſhut. At length the *Germans*, having ſlain great Numbers of the Enemy, and taken a Multitude of Horſes, returned from the Purſuit.

LXV. VERCINGETORIX, before our Line was completed, reſolved to diſmiſs his Cavalry by Night. At parting he enjoined them, "To repair ſeverally to their "reſpective States, and aſſemble all the Men capable "of bearing Arms. He ſet forth the many Services "he had done them, and conjured them not to neglect "his Safety, or abandon to the Cruelty of the Enemy, "one who had deſerved ſo well of the common Liberty. "He told them, that if they were remiſs in the Exe-"cution of his Orders, no leſs than eighty thouſand "choſen Men muſt periſh with him: That by Com-"putation, he had ſcarce Corn for thirty Days: and "that even with the utmoſt Oeconomy it could be "made to hold out but a very little longer." After giving theſe Inſtructions, he diſmiſſed them quietly about nine at Night, on the Side where the *Roman* Line was not yet finiſhed. He then ordered the People of the Town to bring in all their Corn, threatening them with Death in caſe of Diſobedience. As there was a great Number of Cattle in the Place, which had been driven thither by the *Mandubians*, he diſtributed them to the Soldiers, Man by Man, reſolving to deliver out the Corn ſparingly and by Meaſure. At the ſame Time he made all his Forces enter the Town; and having thus ſettled the Plan of his Defence, waited for the expected Succours.

LXVI. CÆSAR having Notice of theſe Things from the Priſoners and Deſerters, conſtructed his Lines in the following Manner. He made a Ditch twenty Foot wide, with perpendicular Sides, giving it the ſame Breadth at Bottom as at Top. All the other Works were four hundred Feet further off the Town than this Ditch. As his Lines included ſo great a Space, and therefore could not be alike guarded in all Parts, he judged this Precaution neceſſary, to ſecure them againſt ſudden Sallies by Night, and ſcreen the Workmen from the Enemy's Darts by Day. Obſerving this Diſtance, he

he made two other Ditches, fifteen Feet broad, and as many deep; and filled the innermoſt, which lay in a low and level Ground, with Water from the River. Behind theſe was a Rampart of twelve Feet high, ſtrengthened with a Parapet and Battlements; and to prevent the Enemy from getting over, a Fraiſe ran along the Foot of the Parapet, made of long Stakes, with their Branches cut in Points, and burnt at the End like a Stag's Horns. The whole Work was flanked with Redoubts, eighty Foot diſtant one from another.

LXVII. But as the Soldiers were employed at the ſame Time to fetch Wood and Proviſions, and to work at the Fortifications; which conſiderably leſſened the Number of Troops left to defend the Camp, many of them being at a Diſtance on theſe Services: And as the *Gauls*, beſides, often ſallied at ſeveral Gates, with deſign to interrupt the Works: For all theſe Reaſons, *Cæſar* judged it neceſſary to make ſome Addition to his Lines, that they might not require ſo many Men to guard them. He therefore took Trees of no great Height, or large Branches, which he cauſed to be made ſharp at the Ends: and running a Trench of five Feet deep before the Lines, he ordered them to be put into it, and made faſt at Bottom, ſo that they could not be pulled up. This Trench was again filled up in ſuch a Manner, that nothing but the Branches of the Head appeared, of which the Points muſt have run into thoſe who ſhould have endeavoured to paſs them. As there were five Rows of them, interwoven in a Manner with each other, they were unavoidable. The Soldiers called them Cippi. In the Front of theſe he cauſed Pits of three Feet deep to be dug in Form of the Quincunx, and ſomething narrower at Bottom than at Top. In theſe Pits he fixed ſtrong Stakes, about the Thickneſs of a Man's Thigh, burnt and ſharpened at the Top, which roſe only four Inches above the Level of the Ground, into which they were planted three Feet deeper than the Pits, for the Sake of Firmneſs. The Pits were covered over with Buſhes to deceive the Enemy. There were eight Rows of them at the Diſtance of three Feet from each other. They were called Lillies from the Reſemblance they bore to that Flower. In the Front of all,

he

he ſowed the whole Space between the Pits and the advanced Ditch with Crows-feet of an extraordinary Size, which the Soldiers called Spurs.

LXVIII. THESE Works completed, he drew another Line of fourteen Miles in Compaſs, conſtructed in the ſame Manner as the former, and carried through the moſt even Places he could find, to ſerve as a Barrier againſt the Enemy without; that if the *Gauls* ſhould attack the Camp in his Abſence, they might not be able to ſurround it with the Multitude of their Troops, or charge with equal Vigour in all Parts. At the ſame Time, to prevent the Danger his Men might be expoſed to, by being ſent in queſt of Proviſions and Forage, he took care to lay in a ſufficient Stock of both for thirty Days.

LXIX. WHILST theſe Things paſſed before *Aleſia*, a general Council being held of the principal Noblemen of *Gaul*, it was not thought proper to aſſemble all that were able to bear Arms, as *Vercingetorix* deſired, but to order each Nation to furniſh a Contingent; leſt the Confuſion inſeparable from ſo great a Multitude, ſhould bring on a Scarcity of Proviſions, or render the Obſervance of military Diſcipline impracticable. The *Æduans*, with their Vaſſals the *Seguſians*, *Ambivareti*, *Aulerci*, *Brannovices*, and *Brannovii*, were rated at thirty-five Thouſand. A like Number was demanded from the *Averni*, in conjunction with their Dependents the *Cadurci*, *Gabali*, and *Velauni*. The *Senones*, *Sequani*, and *Biturigians*, *Xantones*, *Rutheni*, and *Carnutes*, were ordered each to furniſh twelve Thouſand: The *Bellovaci*, ten Thouſand: The *Lemovices*, the ſame Number: The *Pictones*, *Turoni*, *Pariſians*, and *Sueſſiones*, each eight Thouſand: The *Ambiani*, *Mediomatrici*, *Petrocorians*, *Nervians*, *Morini*, *Nitobrigians*, and *Aulerci Cenomani*, each five Thouſand: The *Atrebatians*, four Thouſand: The *Bellocaſians*, *Lexovians*, and *Aulerci Eburovices*, each three Thouſand: The *Rauraci* and *Boii*, thirty Thouſand: The maritime and *Armorican* States, of which Number are the *Curioſolites*, *Rhedones*, *Caletes*, *Oſiſmians*, *Lemovices*, *Venetians*, and *Unellians*, each ſix Thouſand. The *Bellovaci* alone refuſed to furniſh the Troops required, pretending it was their Deſign to wage an independent

pendent War with the *Romans*, without being ſubject to the Controul of any one: However, at the Requeſt of *Comius*, for whom they had a great Reſpect, they ſent a Body of two thouſand Men.

LXX. This *Comius*, as we have related above, had been ſingularly faithful and ſerviceable to *Cæſar* in his *Britannick* Expedition; in conſideration of which, his State had been exempted from all Tribute, reſtored to the full Enjoyment of its Laws and Privileges, and even enlarged, by having the Country of the *Morini* added to its Territories. But ſuch was the preſent Unanimity of the *Gauls*, in the Deſign of vindicating their Liberty, and recovering their wonted Reputation in War, that neither Benefits received, nor the ſtricteſt Ties of Friendſhip, could make any Impreſſion upon their Minds; but all with one Conſent flew to Arms, and contributed largely to the Support of the War. The Country of the *Æduans* was the general Rendezvous of the Army, which amounted to eight thouſand Horſe, and two hundred and forty thouſand Foot. Four Commanders in chief were appointed; *Comius* of *Arras*, *Virdumarus* and *Eporedorix* the *Æduans*, and *Vergaſillaunus* of *Auvergne*, Couſin-german to *Vercingetorix*. To theſe were added a ſelect Number of Officers, choſen from among the ſeveral States, to ſerve by way of a Council of War. The whole Army advanced towards *Aleſia*, full of Courage and Confidence, and ſatisfied that the *Romans* would not ſuſtain the very Sight of ſo prodigious a Multitude; eſpecially in an Encounter attended with ſo much Hazard, where they muſt be expoſed to a vigorous Sally from the Town, at the ſame Time that they ſaw themſelves ſurrounded with ſuch Numbers of Horſe and Foot.

LXXI. Mean-while the Troops ſhut up in *Aleſia*, having conſumed all their Proviſions, finding the Day appointed for the Arrival of Succours expired, and knowing nothing of what was tranſacted among the *Æduans*, ſummoned a Council of War, to debate upon what was requiſite in the preſent Exigence. Various Opinions were propoſed: Some adviſed a Surrender: Others were for ſallying while yet their Strength would permit: Amongſt the reſt *Critognatus*, a Man of the firſt

Rank and Authority in *Auvergne*, addreſſed the Aſſembly in a Speech, which for its ſingular and deteſtable Inhumanity, deſerves a particular Mention in this Place. "I ſhall not, ſays he, take notice of the Opinion of "thoſe, who endeavour to ſhelter an ignominious Ser-"vitude, under the plauſible Name of a Surrender; "ſuch ſhould neither be reckoned *Gauls*, nor ſuffered to "come to this Council. Let me rather apply myſelf "to them who propoſe a general Sally: For here, as "all of you ſeem to think, we meet with ſomething "worthy of our ancient Virtue. And yet I am not "afraid to ſay, that it is at the Bottom Weakneſs, and "not Courage, that inſpires ſuch Thoughts, and renders "us unable to ſupport Want a few Days. It is eaſier "to find thoſe who will voluntarily ruſh on Death, than "ſuch as can patiently endure Pain. I ſhall not how-"ever be againſt this Propoſal, which I confeſs has "ſomething generous in it, if only our own Lives were "at Stake. But in this Deliberation, we muſt keep all "*Gaul* in View, whom we have called to our Aſſiſtance. "How would it diſpirit our Relations and Friends, to "ſee eighty thouſand of their Countrymen ſlaughtered "in one Place, and be obliged to fight in the Midſt of "their dead Bodies! Deprive not then of your Aſſiſt-"ance thoſe, who, to ſave you, have expoſed them-"ſelves to the greateſt Dangers; nor through an incon-"ſiderate Temerity, and miſtaken Valour, deſtroy at "once all the Expectations of *Gaul*, and plunge her "into perpetual Servitude. If the expected Succours "are not arrived exactly at the appointed Time, ought "you therefore to ſuſpect the Fidelity and Conſtancy "of your Countrymen? And can you think that it is "for Amuſement only, that the *Romans* labour on thoſe "Lines towards the Country? Though you hear not "from your Friends, becauſe all Communication is "hindered; yet you may learn the Approach of the "Succours from your Enemies themſelves; who, "through Fear of them, work Day and Night without "ceaſing on thoſe Fortifications. What then ſhould I "propoſe? What but to do as our Anceſtors did in the "War with the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*, much leſs intereſt-"ing than that we are now engaged in. Compelled to "ſhut themſelves up in their Towns, and reduced to a "Diſtreſs equal to that we now experience, rather than

"ſurrender

"surrender to their Enemies, they chose to sacrifice to "their Subsistence the Bodies of those whom Age incapacitated for War. Had we no such Precedent to "follow, yet still I should esteem it glorious, in so noble "a Cause as that of Liberty, to institute and give one "to Posterity. For where had we ever a War upon "our Hands like that we are now engaged in? The "*Cimbri*, after laying waste *Gaul*, and spreading Desolation through the whole Country, withdrew however "their Forces at length, and repaired to other Regions, "leaving us the full Enjoyment of our Laws, Customs, "Lands, and Liberties. But the *Romans*, instigated by "Envy, and, jealous of a People so renowned and "powerful in War, aim and intend nothing less than "to establish themselves in our Cities and Territories, "and reduce us to perpetual Servitude. This has ever "been the Object of all their Wars. If you are unacquainted with what passes in distant Countries, cast "your Eyes upon the adjoining *Gaul*, which, reduced "into the Form of a Province, stript of its Laws and "Privileges, and subjected to the arbitrary Sway of the "Conqueror, groans under an endless Yoke of Slavery." When all had delivered their Opinions, a Resolution was taken, that such as by Age or Sickness were unfit for War, should be obliged to quit the Town, and every Expedient be tried, rather than give into the Proposal of *Critognatus*: But if Necessity urged, and Relief was long deferred, they determined upon submitting to his Advice, preferably to Peace or a Surrender. The *Mandubii*, to whom the City belonged, were driven thence with their Wives and Children. When they came to the *Roman* Lines, they with Tears petitioned to be received as Slaves, and saved from perishing miserably by Famine. But *Cæsar* having planted Guards along the Rampart, refused to admit them into his Camp.

LXXII. MEAN-WHILE *Comius*, and the other general Officers, on whom the chief Command had been conferred, arrived before *Alesia* with all their Forces, and encamped on a Hill without the Town, not above five hundred Paces from the *Roman* Lines. The next Day they drew out their Cavalry, and covered the whole Plain under the Hill, which, as we have already said, extended three Miles in Length. The Infantry were stationed at

ſome Diſtance on the Heights, yet ſo as to lie concealed from the View of the *Romans*. As *Aleſia* commanded a full Proſpect of the Plain below, the Succours were ſoon diſcovered by the Beſieged, who aſſembling in Crowds, congratulated each other; and teſtified an univerſal Joy. Immediately they came forth with all their Forces, poſted themſelves before the Town, and having filled up the neareſt Ditch with Earth and Faſcines, prepared for a vigorous Sally, and every Thing elſe that might happen.

LXXIII. CÆSAR having diſpoſed his whole Army on both Sides the Works, that in caſe of Need, every Soldier might know his Poſt, and be ready to maintain it, ordered the Cavalry to ſally out upon the Enemy, and begin the Charge. The Camp running along a Ridge of a riſing Ground, commanded a View of the Plain on all Sides; and the Soldiers to a Man, with deep Attention, waited the Iſſue of the Combat. The *Gauls* had interſperſed among their Cavalry ſome Archers and light-armed Troops, to ſuſtain them in caſe of Need, and check the Impetuoſity of our Horſe. Several of the *Romans* being wounded by theſe at the firſt Charge, were obliged to quit the Battle. The *Gauls* now believing they had the Advantage, and ſeeing our Men overpowered by Numbers, ſet up an univerſal Shout, as well within as without the Place, to give new Life to their Troops. As the Action paſſed in the View of both Armies, who were of courſe Witneſſes to the Valour or Cowardice of the Combatants, the Deſire of Applauſe, or Fear of Ignominy, ſpurred on each Side to exert their utmoſt Bravery. After a Conflict that laſted from Noon till near Sun-ſet, Victory all the while continuing doubtful, the *Germans* in cloſe Order charged furiouſly the Enemy on one Side, and forced them to give Ground. Their Flight leaving the Archers expoſed, they were all ſurrounded and cut to pieces. The Succeſs was equal in other Parts of the Field, where our Men purſuing the Runaways to their Camp, gave them no Time to rally. The Troops who had quitted *Aleſia*, deſpairing now almoſt of Victory, returned diſconſolate to the Town.

LXXIV. AFTER the Interval of a Day, which was wholly ſpent in providing a great Number of Faſcines, Scaling-Ladders, and Iron Hooks, the *Gauls* iſſuing from

from their Camp at Midnight in great Silence, attacked the *Roman* Lines on the Side of the Plain. They began with ſetting up a ſudden Shout, to advertiſe the Beſieged of their Arrival; threw their Faſcines into the Ditch; endeavoured by a Diſcharge of Stones, Darts, and Arrows, to drive our Men from the Rampart; and practiſed every Thing neceſſary to render the Storm ſucceſsful. At the ſame Time *Vercingetorix*, hearing their Cries, ſounded to Arms, and led forth his Men to the Attack. The *Romans*, whoſe Poſts had been allotted them ſome Days before, flew to the Works, and with Slings, Darts, Bullets, and Engines, prepared on purpoſe, ſtruck a Terror into the Aſſailants. As the Parties could not ſee one another by Reaſon of the Darkneſs, many Wounds were received on both Sides, and a great Number of Darts diſcharged from the Engines. But *M. Antonius* and *C. Trebonius*, who commanded on the Side that was moſt preſſed by the Enemy, took care to draw out Parties from the more diſtant Redoubts, and ſend them where their Aſſiſtance was chiefly wanted.

LXXV. While the *Gauls* kept at a Diſtance from our Lines, they did great Execution by the Multitude of their Darts: But in proportion as they approached, they either intangled themſelves unawares among the Caltrops, or tumbling into the Wells, were wounded by the pointed Stakes, or were pierced by the Darts diſcharged from the Towers and Rampart. After many Wounds given and received; finding, when Day appeared, that they had not forced any Part of the Lines; and fearing to be taken in Flank by ſome Troops that were ſallying from the Redoubts on the Eminence, they retreated to their Camp. Mean-while the Beſieged, after much Time ſpent in preparing for a Sally, and filling up the advanced Ditch, finding that their Countrymen were retired, before they could ſo much as approach the Works, returned into the Town without effecting any Thing.

LXXVI. The *Gauls* thus twice repulſed with great Loſs, conſult what new Meaſures they are to purſue; and adviſing with thoſe who knew the Ground, learnt from them the Strength and Situation of the upper Camp. North of the Town was a Hill of too great a Compaſs to be taken into the Circumvallation; inſo-

much that the *Romans* had been obliged to poſt themſelves on its Aſcent, in a very diſadvantageous Situation, becauſe their Camp was commanded by its Summit. *C. Antiſtius Reginus*, and *C. Caninius Rebilus*, Lieutenant-generals, guarded this Quarter with two Legions. The Enemy's Generals, after informing themſelves of the Nature of the Country by their Scouts, ſelected five and fifty thouſand of their beſt Troops, concerted privately among themſelves the Plan and Manner of acting, appointed the Time for the Aſſault about Noon, and aſſigned the Command of the Detachment to *Vergaſillaunus* of *Auvergne*, one of the four principal Leaders, and a near Relation of *Vercingetorix*. *Vergaſillaunus* leaving his Camp in the Evening, finiſhed his March by Day-break; and concealing his Troops behind a Hill, ordered his Soldiers to refreſh themſelves after their Fatigue. As ſoon as it was Noon, he approached the Quarters of the two Legions. At the ſame Time the Cavalry advanced into the Plain, and the whole Army drew out before the Camp.

LXXVII. VERCINGETORIX obſerving theſe Motions from the Citadel of *Aleſia*, led forth his Troops; carrying along with him the Faſcines, long Poles, covered Galleries, Hooks, and other Inſtruments he had prepared for the Aſſault. The Fight was maintained on all Sides at once; nor did the *Gauls* leave any Thing unattempted, but flocked continually to thoſe Parts of the Works which appeared to be the weakeſt. The *Roman* Forces having ſo many Works to guard, were diſperſed in different Places, and ſcarce ſufficed for the Defence of them all. What moſtly contributed to diſturb them was, the Cries of the Combatants behind, which informed them that their Safety depended on the Valour of others. For ſuch is the Conſtitution of the human Mind, as always to aggrandize abſent Objects, and magnify the Danger that is out of Sight.

LXXVIII. CÆSAR choſe a Poſt from whence he could ſee every Thing, and then ſent Reinforcements where neceſſary. Both Parties called to mind, that now was the Time for making the greateſt Effort. The *Gauls* had no Hope of Safety, but in forcing the *Roman* Lines. Our Men again were ſenſible, that if they came

came off victorious on this Occaſion, all their Labours would be at an End. The chief Streſs of the Battle lay at the higher Fortifications, where *Vergaſillaunus* charged with his Detachment; becauſe the ſmall Eminence, which commanded the Declivity of the Hill, gave the Enemy great Advantage. Some were employed in throwing Darts; others advanced to the Attack under Cover of their Shields, freſh Men ſtill ſucceeding in the Room of thoſe that were fatigued. The Earth they threw up againſt our Lines, not only enabled them to aſcend the Rampart, but entirely fruſtrated the Deſign of the Works the *Romans* had made in the Ground. In fine, our Men had neither Strength nor Weapons left to make Reſiſtance.

LXXIX. Cæsar obſerving the Danger they were in, ſent *Labienus* with ſix Cohorts to their Aſſiſtance; ordering him, if he found himſelf unable to defend the Works, to ſally out upon the Enemy; yet this only in caſe of Extremity. He himſelf went in perſon to the reſt of the Troops, exhorting them to bear up courageouſly under their preſent Fatigue, and repreſenting, that the Fruit of all their former Victories depended upon the Iſſue of that critical Day and Hour. The Troops within the Place, deſpairing to force the Intrenchments on the Side of the Plain, becauſe of the great Strength of the Works, attacked them in the more ſteep and difficult Places, whither they brought all the Inſtruments prepared for the Aſſault. They ſoon drove our Men from the Towers by a Diſcharge of Darts, levelled the Way with Earth and Faſcines, and began to cut down the Rampart and Breaſt-work with their Hooks.

LXXX. Cæsar firſt ſent young *Brutus*, with ſix Cohorts; after him, *C. Fabius*, Lieutenant-general, with ſeven more; and laſt of all, as the Diſpute grew very warm, marched himſelf in perſon at the Head of the whole Detachment. Having by this Means reſtored the Battle, and forced the Enemy to retire, he haſtened to the Side where *Labienus* was engaged. He drew four Cohorts from the neareſt Fort, ordered Part of the Cavalry to follow him, and charged the reſt to take a Circuit round the outward Works, and fall upon the Enemy's Rear. *Labienus*, finding that neither the Rampart

nor Ditch were ſufficient to ſtop the Progreſs of the Enemy, drew together about thirty-nine Cohorts from the neareſt Forts, and ſent to inform *Cæſar* of his Deſign. *Cæſar* immediately quickened his March, that he might be preſent at the Action.

LXXXI. HIS Arrival being known from the Colour of his Garments, by which he uſed to diſtinguiſh himſelf in a Day of Battle; and the Troops and Cohorts he had ordered to follow him, appearing; all which were eaſily diſcerned from the higher Ground: The Enemy began the Charge. A mighty Shout was raiſed on both Sides, which being catched by thoſe on the Rampart, was carried quite round the Lines. Our Men, having caſt their Darts, fell upon the *Gauls* Sword-in-hand. At the ſame Time the Cavalry appeared unexpectedly in their Rear; Freſh Cohorts flocked continually to our Aſſiſtance: The Enemy took to Flight, and in their Retreat were encountered by our Horſe: A dreadful Slaughter enſued. *Sedulius*, Chief and General of the *Lemovices*, was ſlain on the Spot; *Vergaſillaunus* of *Auvergne*, was made Priſoner in the Purſuit; ſeventy-four Colours were taken, and brought to *Cæſar*; and out of ſo great a Multitude, very few regained the *Gauliſh* Camp. The Rout and Slaughter being obſerved from the Town, the Beſieged, deſpairing of Succeſs, drew off their Troops from the Attack. Inſtantly, upon the Report of this Diſaſter, the *Gauls* abandoned their Camp; and had not our Troops been wearied out by the continual Fatigue of the Day, and the frequent Reinforcements they were obliged to furniſh, the Enemy's whole Army might have been exterminated. At Midnight *Cæſar* detached the Cavalry to purſue them, who falling in with their Rear, ſlew ſome, and took a great Number of Priſoners. The reſt eſcaped to their ſeveral Habitations.

LXXXII. NEXT Day *Vercingetorix* aſſembling a Council, repreſented to the Beſieged: "That he had "undertaken that War, not from a Motive of private "Intereſt, but to recover the common Liberty of *Gaul*: "And that, ſince there was a Neceſſity of yielding to "Fortune, he was willing to become a Victim for their "Safety, whether they ſhould think proper to appeaſe "the

" the Anger of the Conqueror by his Death, or to de-
" liver him up alive." A Deputation immediately waited on *Cæsar* to receive his Orders. He insisted on the Surrender of their Arms, and the delivering up of all their Chiefs. Having accordingly seated himself at the Head of his Lines before the Camp; their Leaders were brought; *Vercingetorix* delivered up; and their Arms thrown into the Ditch. Reserving the *Æduans* and *Averni*, as a Means to recover those two potent Nations, he divided the rest of the Prisoners among his Soldiers, giving to each one.

LXXXIII. THESE Affairs dispatched, he marched into the Territories of the *Æduans*, where he received the Submission of their State. There he was addressed by the Ambassadors of the *Averni*, who promised an entire Obedience to his Commands. He exacted a great Number of Hostages; sent his Legions into Winter-quarters; and restored about twenty thousand Captives to the *Æduans* and *Averni*. *T. Labienus*, with two Legions and the Cavalry, was quartered among the *Sequani*, jointly with *M. Sempronius Rutilus*. *C. Fabius*, and *L. Minutius Basilus*, were ordered with two Legions into the Country of the *Rhemi*, to defend it against the Attempts of the *Bellovaci* their Neighbours. *C. Antistius Reginus* had his Station assigned him among the *Ambivareti*; *T. Sextius*, among the *Biturigians*; and *C. Canius Rebilus*, among the *Rutheni*; each with one Legion. *Q. Tullius Cicero*, and *P. Sulpicius*, were placed at *Cabillo* and *Matisco* upon the *Arar*, in the Country of the *Æduans*, to have the Care of Provisions. He himself resolved to winter at *Bibracte*. The Senate being informed of these Things by *Cæsar*'s Letters, a Procession of twenty Days was decreed.

A CON-

A CONTINUATION OF

CÆSAR's COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in *GAUL*.

By *A. HIRTIUS PANSA*.

BOOK VIII.

THE ARGUMENT.

Panſa's *Preface.* I. *The* Gauls *form a Reſolution to renew the War.* II. Cæſar *falls unexpectedly upon the* Biturigians, *and compels them to ſubmit.* IV. *He afterwards diſperſes the* Carnutes *by the Terror of his Arms.* V. *The* Bellovaci *prepare for War.* VI. *Their Deſigns.* VII. Cæſar *endeavours to draw them to an Engagement, by inſpiring them with a Contempt of his ſmall Numbers.* VIII. *But as they carefully avoid a Battle, he reſolves to fortify his Camp.* XI. *The* Bellovaci *intercept the* Roman *Foragers.* XII. *Daily Skirmiſhes within View of the two Camps.* XIII. *The* Bellovaci *artfully counterfeit a Retreat.* XVI. *And falling upon the* Romans *from an Ambuſcade, after an obſtinate Fight, are entirely diſperſed.* XVII. *The* Bellovaci *and other States ſubmit.* XX. Cæſar *divides his Army.* XXI. Caninius *and* Fabius *relieve* Duracius, *beſieged by* Dumnacus *in* Limo. XXIV. Caninius *purſues* Drapes *and* Luterius. XXV. Fabius *obliges the* Carnutes *and other States to ſubmit.* XXVI. Drapes *and* Luterius *poſſeſs themſelves of* Uxellodunum. XXVII. Caninius *inveſts the Town.* XXVIII. *Intercepts a Convoy eſcorted by* Luterius. XXIX. *Attacks and carries the Camp of* Drapes. XXX. *And joining the Forces under* Fabius, *returns to the Siege of* Uxellodunum. XXXI. Cæſar *repairs to the Camp of* Caninius. XXXIII. *And depriving the Beſieged of Water, compels the Town to ſurrender.* XXXVII. *He then ſends his Army into Winter-quarters.* XXXVIII. Comius, *defeated in an Engagement of Horſe, ſurrenders to* Antony. XLI. *The Year following* Gaul *being in perfect Quiet,* Cæſar *goes into* Italy. XLII. *Where he is received with the higheſt Demonſtrations of Reſpect.* XLIII. *He returns to the Army, where he learns the Deſigns formed againſt him at* Rome. XLVI. *And thereupon ſets out again for* Italy.

A CONTINUATION OF *CÆSAR*'s COMMENTARIES OF HIS WARS in *GAUL*.

By *A. HIRTIUS PANSA*.

BOOK VIII.

IN conſequence of your repeated Importunities, *Balbus*, I have at laſt been prevailed with to engage in a very delicate Work; fearing leſt my daily Refuſals ſhould be conſtrued rather to flow from Idleneſs, than any Senſe of the Difficulty of the Undertaking. I therefore here preſent you with a Continuation of *Cæſar's Commentaries of his Wars in Gaul*, though not in any reſpect to be compared with what he himſelf wrote on the ſame Subject, nor with the *Memoirs of the Civil War*, which he likewiſe left behind him imperfect, and which I have in the ſame Manner carried down from the Tranſactions at *Alexandria*, to the End, I will not ſay of our civil Diſſenſions, which are like to have no End, but of *Cæſar*'s Life. I would have all who read theſe Pieces know, with how much Reluctance I engaged in this Deſign; that I may be the more eaſily acquitted of the Charge of Arrogance and Folly, for preſuming to inſert my Writings amongſt thoſe of *Cæſar*. It is univerſally agreed, that the moſt elaborate Compoſitions of others, fall far ſhort of the Elegance of theſe Commentaries. He indeed intended them only as Memoirs

for

for future Hiſtorians; but they are every where in ſuch high Eſteem, as ſerves rather to diſcourage other Writers, than furniſh them for the Attempt. This Circumſtance the more commands our Admiration, becauſe while the reſt of the World can judge only of the Beauty and Correctneſs of the Work, we beſides know with what Eaſe and Diſpatch it was compoſed. *Cæſar* not only poſſeſſed the Talent of Writing in the higheſt Perfection, but was likewiſe beſt able to unfold the Reaſons of thoſe military Operations, of which he was himſelf the Contriver and Director. On the contrary, it was my Misfortune to be preſent neither in the *Alexandrian* nor *African* Wars: and though I had many of the Particulars relating to both from his own Mouth, yet we give a very different Attention to Things, when we hear them only through an Admiration of their Novelty and Greatneſs, and when with a View of tranſmitting them to Poſterity. But I forbear any farther Apologies, leſt in enumerating the Reaſons why my Work ought not to be compared with that of *Cæſar*, I fall under the Suſpicion of flattering myſelf, that in the Judgment of ſome, it may not ſeem altogether unworthy of that Honour. Adieu.

I. GAUL being wholly reduced, *Cæſar* was deſirous that his Troops might enjoy ſome Repoſe during the Winter, eſpecially after ſo long and fatiguing a Campaign, in which there had been no Intermiſſion from the Toils of War: but he ſoon underſtood, that ſeveral States were meditating a Revolt, and contriving all at once to take up Arms. The Cauſe aſſigned for this Conduct was not improbable: for though the *Gauls* were by this Time fully ſenſible, that it was impoſſible for them to reſiſt the *Roman* Army entire, by any Forces they could bring into the Field; yet ſtill they thought, that if many States revolted together, and ſet on foot as many different Wars, the *Romans* would have neither Time nor Troops to ſubdue them all; and that though ſome among them muſt be Sufferers, their Lot would be the more ſupportable, as the Delay occaſioned by that Diverſion, might procure the Liberty of the whole Nation.

II. CÆSAR,

II. CÆSAR, to ſtifle this Opinion in its Birth, left *M. Antony* the Queſtor to command in his Winter-quarters; and ſetting out the laſt of *December* from *Bibracte*, with a Guard of Cavalry, went to the Camp of the thirteenth Legion, which he had placed among the *Biturigians*, not far from the Territories of the *Æduans*. To this he joined the eleventh Legion, whoſe Quarters lay neareſt; and leaving two Cohorts to guard the Baggage, marched with the reſt of the Army into the moſt fertile Parts of the Country of the *Biturigians*; who having large Territories, and abounding in Towns, had not been awed by the Preſence of a ſingle Legion, from forming Confederacies, and preparing for War.

III. CÆSAR by his ſudden and unexpected Arrival, as was natural to ſuppoſe, found them unprepared and diſperſed up and down the Fields; *inſomuch* that they were eaſily ſurpriſed by the Horſe, before they could retreat into their Towns. For he had expreſsly forbid ſetting fire to the Houſes, the uſual Sign of an Invaſion, that he might neither alarm the Enemy by the Conflagration, nor expoſe himſelf to the Want of Corn and Forage, if he ſhould advance far into the Country. Having made many thouſands of the *Biturigians* Priſoners; ſuch as could eſcape the firſt Coming of the *Romans*, fled in great Terror to the neighbouring States, relying either upon private Friendſhip, or the Ties of a mutual Confederacy. But all was to no purpoſe: for *Cæſar* by great Marches ſoon reached their Places of Retreat, and making every Province anxious for its own Safety, left them no Time to think of giving Shelter to others. This Diligence confirmed the Well-affected in their Duty, and obliged the Wavering to hearken to Conditions of Peace. The like Offers were made to the *Biturigians*; who ſeeing that *Cæſar*'s Clemency left the Way ſtill open to his Friendſhip; and that the neighbouring States, upon delivery of Hoſtages, had been pardoned and received into Protection; reſolved to follow the Example. *Cæſar*, to recompenſe the Fatigue and Labour of his Soldiers, who in the Winter-ſeaſon, through difficult Ways, and during the moſt intenſe Colds, had followed him with incredible Patience and Conſtancy; promiſed a Reward of two hundred Seſterces to every private Man,

and

and two thouſand to every Centurion: and having ſent back the Legions to their Winter-quarters, returned again to *Bibracte*, after an Abſence of forty Days.

IV. WHILST he was there employed in the Diſtribution of Juſtice, Ambaſſadors arrived from the *Biturigians*, to implore his Aſſiſtance againſt the *Carnutes*, who were laying waſte their Country. Upon this Intelligence, though he had not reſted above eighteen Days, he immediately ſent for the ſixth and fourteenth Legions, which he had quartered along the *Arar* for the convenience of Proviſions, as has been related in the foregoing Book. With theſe two Legions he marched againſt the *Carnutes*; who hearing of his Approach, and dreading the ſame Calamities which others had been made to ſuffer, abandoned their Towns and Villages, conſiſting moſtly of little Cottages run up in haſte, to defend them from the Cold, (for moſt of their Cities had been deſtroyed in the late War,) and fled different Ways. *Cæſar*, unwilling to expoſe his Soldiers to the Severity of the Storms, which commonly rage with the greateſt Violence at that Seaſon, fixed his Camp at *Genabum*; and lodged his Men, partly in the Huts lately built by the *Gauls*, partly in the old Houſes, whoſe Walls were ſtill ſtanding, and which he ordered to be thatched with Straw, that they might afford the better Shelter to the Troops. But he ſent the Cavalry and the auxiliary Foot into all Parts where he underſtood the Enemy were retired: nor without Succeſs; for they commonly returned loaden with Spoil. The *Carnutes*, diſtreſſed by the Difficulty of the Seaſon, the Senſe of their Danger, (becauſe being driven from their Habitations, they durſt not continue long in any Place for fear of our Parties,) and finding no Protection in the Woods againſt the extreme Severity of the Weather; were at length diſperſed on all Sides with great Loſs, and ſcattered among the neighbouring States.

V. CÆSAR thinking it ſufficient in that difficult Seaſon, to have diſperſed the Troops that began to aſſemble, and prevented their rekindling the War; and being likewiſe well aſſured, as far as human Prudence could determine, that it would be impoſſible for them, during the enſuing Summer, to raiſe up any very dangerous War; left

left *C. Trebonius*, with the two Legions he had brought along with him, to winter at *Genabum*. Mean-while underſtanding by frequent Embaſſies from the *Rhemi*, that the *Bellovaci*, the moſt diſtinguiſhed for Bravery of all the *Belgian* and *Gallick* Nations, with ſome of the neighbouring States, under the Conduct of *Correus*, General of the *Bellovaci*, and *Comius* the *Atrebatian*, were raiſing an Army, and drawing their Forces to a general Rendezvous, with deſign to invade the Territories of the *Sueſſiones*, a People ſubject to the Juriſdiction of the *Rhemi*; he thought that both Honour and Intereſt required him to undertake the Defence of Allies, who had deſerved ſo well of the Commonwealth. He therefore drew the eleventh Legion again out of its Winter-quarters; wrote to *C. Fabius*, to march the two Legions under his command into the Country of the *Sueſſiones*; and ordered *Labienus* to ſend one of thoſe he was charged with. Thus, as far as the Convenience of Winter-quarters, and the Nature of the War would allow, he employed the Legions alternately in Expeditions, giving himſelf, Mean-while, no Intermiſſion from Fatigue.

VI. WITH theſe Forces he marched againſt the *Bellovaci*, and encamping within their Territories, diſperſed his Cavalry on all Sides to make Priſoners, from whom he might learn the Enemy's Deſigns. The Horſe, in conſequence of this Commiſſion, brought him back word, that the Lands and Houſes were in a Manner quite abandoned, and that the few Priſoners they had found, after a moſt diligent Search, were not left to cultivate the Ground, but to ſerve as Spies. *Cæſar* enquiring of theſe, whither the *Bellovaci* were retired, and what might be their Deſigns, found: "That all "of them capable of bearing Arms had aſſembled in one "Place, and been joined by the *Ambiani*, *Aulerci*, *Ca-* "*letes*, *Vellocaſians*, and *Atrebatians*: That they had "choſen for their Camp a riſing Ground, ſurrounded "with a difficult Moraſs, and diſpoſed of their Bag-"gage in remote Woods: That a great many of their "Chiefs were concerned in the War, but the principal "Authority reſted in *Correus*, becauſe he was known "to bear an implacable Hatred to the *Roman* Name: "That a few Days before, *Comius* had left the Camp

" to ſolicit Aid of the *Germans*, who were their neareſt " Neighbours, and abounded in Troops: That it " had been reſolved among the *Bellovaci*, with Con- " ſent of all the Generals, and at the earneſt Deſire " of the People; if *Cæſar* came at the Head of only " three Legions, as was reported, to offer him Battle; " leſt they ſhould be afterwards obliged to fight upon " harder and more unequal Terms, when he had got his " whole Army together: but if he brought greater " Forces along with him; to continue within their " Camp, intercept his Corn and Convoys, and cut " off his Forage, which in that Seaſon of the Year was " extremely ſcarce, and very much diſperſed."

VII. THESE Things being confirmed by the Teſtimony of all the Priſoners; *Cæſar*, who found their Deſigns full of Prudence, and remote from the uſual Teſtimony of Barbarians, reſolved by all Manner of Ways to draw them into a Contempt of his Numbers, that he might the more eaſily bring them to an Engagement. He had with him the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth Legions, all Veterans of approved Valour; and though the eleventh was not of equal ſtanding, nor had attained the ſame Reputation of Bravery, they were yet a choſen Youth of great Hopes, who had ſerved under him eight Campaigns. Calling therefore the Army together, he laid before them the Advices he had received, and exhorted the Soldiers to preſerve their wonted Courage. At the ſame Time, to draw the Enemy to an Engagement, by an Appearance of only three Legions, he ſo contrived the Order of his March, that diſpoſing the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth Legions in Front; the Baggage, which, as in a haſty Expedition, was but moderate, behind them; and the eleventh Legion in the rear of all; no more Troops were in View, than what the *Gauls* themſelves had determined to hazard an Action againſt. The Army thus drawn up, formed a Kind of Square, and arrived before the Enemy's Camp much ſooner than expected.

VIII. WHEN the *Gauls* perceived the Legions advancing ſuddenly againſt them in Order of Battle with a ſteady Pace, they altered the Reſolution which had been reported to *Cæſar*; and either fearing the Succeſs

of

of the Battle, ſurpriſed at ſo ſudden an Approach, or willing to know our further Deſigns, drew up before their Camp, without deſcending from the higher Ground. *Cæſar*, though deſirous to come to an Engagement; yet ſurpriſed at the Multitude of the Enemy, and reflecting on the Advantage of their Situation; as being ſeparated from him by a Valley, ſtill more conſiderable for its Depth than Breadth; contented himſelf for the preſent to encamp directly over-againſt them. He threw up a Rampart twelve Feet high, ſtrengthened by a proportionable Breaſt-work; and ſecured it by two Ditches, each fifteen Feet deep, with perpendicular Sides. He likewiſe raiſed ſeveral Turrets of three Stories, and joined them to each other by Galleries, having little Parapets of Oſier before, that the Works might be defended by a double Range of Soldiers; one of which fighting from the Galleries, and ſecured by their Height, would with more Boldneſs and Advantage launch their Darts againſt the Enemy; the other, though nearer Danger, and planted upon the Rampart itſelf, were yet ſcreened by the Galleries from the impending Darts. All the Entrances to the Camp were ſecured by ſtrong Gates, over which he placed very high Towers.

IX. He had a twofold Deſign in theſe Fortifications: one, by the Greatneſs of the Works, to make the Enemy believe him afraid, and thereby increaſe their Preſumption and Confidence: the other, to enable him to defend his Camp with a few Troops, when it was neceſſary to go far in queſt of Corn and Forage. Mean time there happened frequent Skirmiſhes between the two Camps, carried on for the moſt part with Arrows at a Diſtance, by reaſon of a Moraſs that ſeparated the Combatants: ſometimes indeed the auxiliary *Gauls* and *Germans* croſſed the Moraſs and purſued the Enemy: ſometimes again the Enemy having the Advantage, paſſed in their Turn, and drove back our Men. And as we daily ſent out Parties to forage, who were obliged to diſperſe, and ſcatter themſelves from Houſe to Houſe over the whole Country; it now and then fell out, as was unavoidable in theſe Circumſtances, that our Foragers were ſurpriſed and cut to Pieces by their Detachments. Theſe Loſſes, though very inconſiderable to us, as being moſtly confined to ſome Carriages

and Servants, yet ſtrangely ſwelled the Hopes of the *Barbarians*; and the more, as *Comius*, who had gone to fetch the *German* Auxiliaries, was now returned with a Body of Horſe. And though the Number was not great, they not making in all above five Hundred, the Enemy were nevertheleſs mightily encouraged by this Supply.

X. CÆSAR, after a Stay of many Days, finding that the Enemy ſtill kept within their Camp, which was advantageouſly ſituated with a Moraſs in Front: and conſidering at the ſame Time, that he could neither force their Intrenchments without great Loſs, nor incloſe them with Works with ſo ſmall an Army; wrote to *Trebonius*, to ſend with all Diligence for the thirteenth Legion, which was quartered among the *Biturigians* under the Care of *T. Sextius*; and with that, and the two Legions under his own Command, make what Haſte he could to join him. Mean-while he detached the Cavalry of *Rheims*, of the *Lingones*, and the other Provinces of *Gaul*, of which he had great Numbers in his Camp, to guard by Turns the Foragers, and protect them from the ſudden Incurſions of the Enemy.

XI. THIS was done every Day: but Cuſtom by Degrees relaxing their Diligence, as frequently happens in Things of long Continuance; the *Bellovaci*, who had obſerved the daily Stations of our Horſe, placed a choſen Body of Foot in Ambuſh in a Wood, and ſent their Cavalry thither next Day, to draw our Men into the Snare, and then attack them ſurrounded on every Side. This ill Fortune fell upon the Cavalry of *Rheims*, whoſe Turn it was that Day to guard the Foragers: for theſe, ſuddenly diſcovering the Enemy's Cavalry, and deſpiſing their ſmall Numbers, purſued with ſuch Eagerneſs, that they were at length ſurpriſed and ſurrounded by the Foot. This threw them into Confuſion, and obliged them to retreat haſtily, with the Loſs of *Vertiſcus* their General, and the chief Man of their State; who though ſo far advanced in Years, that he could hardly ſit on horſeback, yet according to the Cuſtom of the *Gauls*, would neither decline the Command on account of his Age, nor ſuffer them to fight without him. The Enemy were animated and encouraged

couraged by this Succeſs, and the Death of the Chief and General of the *Rhemi*: our Men, on the other Hand, were cautioned by their Loſs, carefully to examine the Ground before they took their Poſts, and purſue a retreating Enemy with more Reſerve.

XII. MEAN-WHILE the daily Skirmiſhes between the two Camps, at the Fords and Paſſes of the Moraſs, ſtill continued. In one of theſe, the *Germans*, whom *Cæſar* had brought from beyond the *Rhine*, that they might fight intermingled with the Cavalry; boldly paſſing the Moraſs in a Body, put all that made Reſiſtance to the Sword, and purſued the reſt with great Vigour. Fear not only ſeized thoſe who fought Hand to Hand, or were wounded at a Diſtance; but even the more remote Parties, who were poſted to ſuſtain the others, ſhamefully betook themſelves to flight; and being driven from Height to Height, ceaſed not to continue the Rout, until they had reached their very Camp: nay ſome, quite confounded by their Fear, fled a great Way beyond it. Their Danger ſpread ſo univerſal a Terror among the Troops, that it appeared hard to ſay, whether they were more apt to be elated by a trifling Advantage, or depreſſed by an inconſiderable Loſs.

XIII. AFTER a Stay of many Days in this Camp: upon Information that *C. Trebonius* was approaching with the Legions; the Generals of the *Bellovaci*, fearing a Siege like that of *Aleſia*, ſent away by Night all whom Age or Infirmities rendered unfit for Service; and along with them the Baggage of the whole Army. But before this confuſed and numerous Train could be put in Order, (for the *Gauls*, even in their ſudden Expeditions, are always attended with a vaſt Number of Carriages,) Day-light appeared; and the Enemy were obliged to draw up before their Camp, to hinder the *Romans* from diſturbing the March of their Baggage. *Cæſar* did not think proper to attack them in ſo advantageous a Poſt, nor was willing to remove his Legions to ſuch a Diſtance, as might give them an Opportunity of retreating without Danger. Obſerving therefore that the two Camps were divided by a very dangerous Moraſs,

the Difficulty of paſſing which might greatly retard the Purſuit; and that beyond the Moraſs there was an Eminence, which in a Manner commanded the Enemy's Camp, and was ſeparated from it only by a ſmall Valley; he laid Bridges over the Moraſs, paſſed his Legions, and quickly gained the Summit of the Hill, which was ſecured on each Side by the Steepneſs of the Aſcent. Thence he marched his Legions in Order of Battle to the extremeſt Ridge, and poſted them in a Place, where his Engines could play upon the Enemy's Battalions.

XIV. THE *Gauls* confiding in the Strength of their Poſt, reſolved not to decline a Battle, if the *Romans* ſhould attack them on the Hill; and not daring to make their Troops file off, for fear of being charged when ſeparated and in Diſorder, continued in the ſame Poſture. *Cæſar* perceiving their Obſtinacy, kept twenty Cohorts already drawn up; and marking out a Camp in the Place where he then ſtood, ordered it to be fortified immediately. The Works being finiſhed, he drew up his Legions before the Rampart, and aſſigned the Cavalry their ſeveral Poſts, where they were to wait with their Horſes ready bridled. The *Bellovaci* ſeeing the *Romans* prepared for the Purſuit; and finding it impoſſible to paſs the Night, or continue longer in that Place without Proviſions, fell upon the following Stratagem to ſecure their Retreat. They collected and placed at the Head of their Line all the Faſcines in the Camp, of which the Number was very great, (for, as has been already obſerved, the *Gauls* commonly fit upon theſe, when drawn up in Order of Battle,) and towards Night, upon a Signal given, ſet fire to them all at once. The Flame blazing out on a Sudden, with great Violence, covered their Forces from the View of the *Romans*; and the *Gauls* laying hold of that Opportunity, retreated with the utmoſt Diligence.

XV. THOUGH *Cæſar* could not perceive the Enemy's Departure, becauſe of the Flames; yet ſuſpecting that this was only a Contrivance to cover their Flight, he made the Legions advance, and detached the Cavalry to purſue them. Mean-while apprehending an Ambuſcade, and that the Enemy might perhaps continue in the

the ſame Poſt, to draw our Men into a Place of Diſadvantage, he took care to follow ſlowly with the Foot. The Cavalry not daring to enter that thick Column of Flame and Smoke; or if any had the Courage to adventure it, being unable to diſcern the very Heads of their Horſes, thought proper to retire for Fear of a Surpriſe, and left the *Bellovaci* at full liberty to eſcape. Thus by a Flight, which equally ſpoke their Fear and Addreſs, they retreated ten Miles without Loſs, and encamped in a Place of great Advantage. Thence, by frequent Ambuſcades of Horſe and Foot, they often attacked and cut to Pieces the *Roman* Foragers.

XVI. CÆSAR having received many Loſſes of this Kind, underſtood at laſt by a certain Priſoner, that *Correus*, General of the *Bellovaci*, had choſen ſix thouſand of his beſt Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, to form an Ambuſcade in a Place abounding in Corn and Graſs, and where it was therefore preſumed the *Romans* would come to forage. Upon this Intelligence, he drew out a greater Number of Legionaries than uſual; ſent the Cavalry, who formed the ordinary Guard of the Foragers before; intermixed them with Platoons of light-armed Foot; and advanced himſelf as near as poſſible with the Legions. The Enemy, who lay in Ambuſh, having choſen for the Place of Action a Plain of about a Mile every Way, and environed on all Sides with thick Woods, or a very deep River, which incloſed it as in a Toil, diſpoſed their Forces all around. Our Men, who knew their Deſign, and advanced armed and reſolved for Battle, becauſe the Legions were behind to ſuſtain them, entered the Plain Troop by Troop. Upon their Arrival, *Correus* thinking that now was the proper Time for Action, appeared firſt with a few of his Men, and fell upon the neareſt Squadrons. Our Men reſolutely ſuſtained the Attack, nor flocked together in Crowds, as frequently happens among the Cavalry on Occaſions of ſudden Surpriſe, when the very Number of Combatants throws all into Confuſion. The Squadrons fighting thus in good Order, and preſerving a proper Diſtance, to prevent their being taken in Flank; ſuddenly the reſt of the *Gauls* broke from the Woods, and advanced to the Aid of thoſe who fought under *Correus*. The Conteſt was

carried on with great Heat, and continued for a long Time with equal Advantage on both Sides: when at laſt the Foot advancing ſlowly in Order of Battle from the Woods, obliged our Men to give Way. Upon this the light-armed Infantry, who, as we have obſerved, had been ſent before the Legions, marched up ſpeedily to their Aſſiſtance; and placing themſelves in the Intervals of the Squadrons, continued the Fight. The Conteſt again became equal. At length, as was natural in an Encounter of that Kind, thoſe who had ſuſtained the firſt Charge of the Ambuſcade, began for this very Reaſon to have the Superiority, becauſe the Enemy had gained no Advantage over them. Mean-while the Legions approached, and both Sides had Notice at the ſame Time that *Cæſar* was advancing with his Forces in Order of Battle. Our Troops, animated by this Hope, redoubled their Efforts; leſt by puſhing the Enemy too ſlowly, the Legions ſhould have Time to come in for a Share of the Victory. The Enemy, on the contrary, loſt Courage, and fled different Ways: But in vain: for the very Difficulties of the Ground, by which they hoped to have enſnared the *Romans*, ſerved now to entangle themſelves. Being at laſt vanquiſhed and repulſed, with the Loſs of the beſt Part of their Men, they fled in great Terror whither Chance directed; ſome towards the Woods, ſome towards the River. The *Romans* urged the Purſuit with great Keenneſs, and put many to the Sword. Mean-while *Correus*, whoſe Reſolution no Misfortune could abate, would neither quit the Fight, and retire to the Woods; nor accept of any Offers of Quarter from our Men; but fighting on to the laſt with invincible Courage, and wounding many of the victorious Troops, conſtrained them at length to tranſix him with their Javelins.

XVII. AFTER this Action; *Cæſar* coming up juſt as the Battle was ended; and naturally ſuppoſing, that the Enemy, upon Intelligence of ſo conſiderable a Defeat, would immediately abandon their Camp, which was not above eight Miles diſtant from the Place of Slaughter: though he ſaw his March obſtructed by the River, he paſſed it notwithſtanding, and advanced with his Forces againſt them. But the *Bellovaci*, and the other States in their Alliance, hearing of their Diſaſter

by

by ſome of the Runaways, who though wounded, found Means to eſcape under cover of the Woods; and finding that every Thing was againſt them, their General ſlain, their Cavalry and the Flower of their Infantry deſtroyed, and the *Romans* doubtleſs upon the March to attack them: ſpeedily aſſembling a Council by Sound of Trumpet, demanded with great Cries, that Ambaſſadors and Hoſtages might be ſent to *Cæſar*.

XVIII. THIS Propoſal being approved by all, *Comius* the *Atrebatian* fled to the *Germans*, whoſe Aſſiſtance he had obtained in the War. The reſt immediately diſpatched Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, and requeſted: "That "he would regard their preſent Sufferings, as a ſuffi- "cient Puniſhment for their Revolt, ſince they were "ſuch, as his Humanity and Clemency would never have "ſuffered him to inflict upon them, had he compelled "them to ſubmit entire and without fighting: That "their Power was utterly broken by the late Defeat of "their Cavalry: That ſeveral thouſands of their beſt "Infantry were deſtroyed, ſcarce enough being left to "bring them News of the Diſaſter: That yet in ſo "great a Calamity, it was no ſmall Advantage to the "*Bellovaci*, that *Correus*, the Author of the War, "who had ſtirred up the Multitude to revolt, was "killed; becauſe while he lived, the headſtrong "Populace would always have had more Authority "in the State than the Senate." The Ambaſſadors having ended their Speech, *Cæſar* put them in mind: "That the Year before, the *Bellovaci* had, in con- "junction with the other States of *Gaul*, taken up "Arms againſt the *Romans*: That of all the Confe- "derates they had perſiſted with the greateſt Obſtinacy "in their Revolt, nor been induced by the Submiſſion "of the reſt to hearken to Reaſon: That nothing was "eaſier than to lay the Blame of their Miſconduct upon "the Dead; but they would find it difficult to make "him believe that a ſingle Man could have ſo much "Influence, as in ſpite of the Oppoſition of the Nobi- "lity and Senate, and the Efforts of all good Men, to "ſtir up and ſupport a War, by the mere Authority "of the Multitude: That however, he would be "ſatisfied for the preſent with the Puniſhment they had "brought upon themſelves."

XIX. NEXT

XIX. NEXT Night the Deputies returned with *Cæſar*'s Anſwer, and Hoſtages were immediately ſent to the *Roman* Camp. The Deputies of the other States, who only waited the Event of this Treaty, immediately flocked to *Cæſar*, gave Hoſtages, and ſubmitted to his Commands. *Comius* alone would not hear of treating, from a particular Diſtruſt of the *Romans*. For the Year before, while *Cæſar* was employed in the Affairs of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, *Labienus* underſtanding that *Comius* was ſoliciting ſeveral States to rebel, and join in a Confederacy againſt the *Romans*; thought it might be allowed him to uſe Perfidy towards the Perfidious. And becauſe he expected to be refuſed, ſhould he ſend for him to the Camp; that he might not by an unſucceſsful Attempt put him upon his Guard, he employed *C. Voluſenus Quadratus*, to kill him under pretence of an Interview; furniſhing him with ſome choſen Centurions for that Purpoſe. When the Interview began; and *Voluſenus*, by way of Signal, had taken *Comius* by the Hand; one of the Centurions, as if ſurpriſed at a Step ſo unuſual, attempted to kill him; but *Comius*'s Friends haſtily interpoſing, he was prevented: However, the firſt Blow wounded him ſeverely on the Head. Both Sides immediately drew, not ſo much with a Deſign to engage, as to retire: Our Men, becauſe they believed *Comius* mortally wounded; the *Gauls*, becauſe diſcovering the intended Treachery, they apprehended the Danger to be greater than as yet appeared. From that Time *Comius* determined never to be in the ſame Place with any *Roman*.

XX. CÆSAR having thus ſubdued the moſt warlike Nations of *Gaul*, and finding no State diſpoſed to take up Arms, or make Reſiſtance; but that only ſome few had left their Towns and Poſſeſſions, to avoid preſent Subjection; reſolved to divide his Army into ſeveral Bodies. *M. Antony* the Queſtor, with the eleventh Legion, had Orders to continue with him. *C. Fabius* was ſent at the Head of twenty-five Cohorts, into the remoteſt Parts of *Gaul*; becauſe he underſtood ſome States were in Arms on that Side, whom *C. Caninius Rebilus*, his Lieutenant, who commanded in thoſe Provinces, was ſcarcely ſtrong enough to oppoſe with only two Legions. He then ſent for *T. Labienus*, and ordered the twelfth Legion,

Legion, which he commanded, into *Gallia Togata*, to protect the *Roman* Colonies there, that they might not ſuffer by the Incurſions of the Barbarians, as had happened the Year before to the *Tergeſtini*, whoſe Territories had been plundered by a ſudden and unexpected Invaſion. He himſelf marched to ravage and lay waſte the Territories of *Ambiorix*: For finding it impoſſible to lay hold on that perfidious *Gaul*, whoſe Fear prompted him to fly continually before him; he thought it behoved him, in regard to his own Dignity, ſo effectually to ruin the Country, by deſtroying his Towns, Cattle, and Subjects, as might render him odious to his Followers, if any ſtill remained, and deprive him of all Hope of being reſtored to his Poſſeſſions. Having ſpread his Legions and Auxiliaries over the whole Country of *Ambiorix*, deſtroyed all with Fire and Sword, and either killed or made Priſoners an infinite Number of People; he diſpatched *Labienus*, with two Legions, againſt the *Treviri*; whoſe Country bordering upon *Germany*, and exerciſed in continual Wars, differed little from the Temper and Fierceneſs of that Nation; nor ever ſubmitted to his Commands, unleſs enforced by the Preſence of an Army.

XXI. MEAN-TIME *C. Caninius*, Lieutenant-general, underſtanding by Letters and Meſſengers from *Duracius*, who had always continued faithful to the *Romans*, even in the Defection of many of his own State; that great Numbers of the Enemy were aſſembled in the Territories of the *Pictones*; marched towards the Town of *Limo*. Upon his Arrival there, having certain Information from ſome Priſoners, that *Duracius* was ſhut up and beſieged in *Limo*, by a great Army of *Gauls*, under the Conduct of *Dumnacus*, General of the *Andes*; as he was not ſtrong enough to attack the Enemy, he encamped in a Place of great Advantage. *Dumnacus* hearing of his Approach, turned all his Forces againſt the Legions, and reſolved to inveſt the *Roman* Camp. But after many Days ſpent in the Attack, and the Loſs of a great Number of Men, without any Impreſſion made upon the Intrenchments, he returned again to the Siege of *Limo*.

XXII. AT the ſame Time *C. Fabius*, having brought over many States to their Duty, and confirmed their Sub-

miſſion

miſſion by receiving Hoſtages; upon Intelligence ſent him by *Caninius*, of the Poſture of Affairs among the *Pictones*, marched immediately to the Aſſiſtance of *Duracius*. *Duinnacus* hearing of his Arrival, and concluding himſelf loſt, ſhould he at the ſame Time be obliged to make head againſt an Enemy without, and ſuſtain the Efforts of the Townſmen within; ſuddenly decamped with all his Forces, reſolving not to ſtop till he had got on the other Side of the *Loire*, which, by reaſon of its Largeneſs, could not be paſſed without a Bridge. *Fabius*, though he had neither as yet come within Sight of the Enemy, nor joined Forces with *Caninius*; yet inſtructed by thoſe who were well acquainted with the Country, eaſily conjectured the Route the *Gauls* would take. Wherefore directing his March towards the ſame Bridge, he ordered the Cavalry to keep before the Legions; yet ſo, that without too much fatiguing their Horſes, they might return and encamp with them again at Night. The Cavalry followed the Enemy as directed; came up with their Rear; and attacking them flying, diſmayed, and incumbered with their Baggage; killed great Numbers, gained a conſiderable Booty, and returned in triumph to the Camp.

XXIII. THE Night following *Fabius* ſent the Cavalry before, with Orders to engage the Enemy, and keep their whole Army employed, till he himſelf ſhould come up with the Legions. *Q. Atius Varus*, a prudent and experienced Officer, who had the Charge of the Detachment, deſirous to execute the Commands of his General with Succeſs, exhorted his Men; and coming up with the Enemy, diſpoſed ſome Squadrons in the moſt convenient Places, and engaged the *Gauls* with the reſt. The Enemy's Cavalry made a reſolute Stand, being ſupported by their Foot, who halting in a Body, advanced to the Aſſiſtance of their own Men. The Conflict was ſharp on both Sides. For the *Romans*, deſpiſing Enemies whom they had overcome the Day before, and remembering that the Legions were coming up to join them; partly aſhamed to give way, partly eager to bring the Battle to a ſpeedy Iſſue by their own Valour alone, fought with great Bravery againſt the Enemy's Foot. And the *Gauls*, who had no Apprehenſion of the Approach of more Forces, becauſe none other had appeared

the

the Day before, fancied they had now a favourable Opportunity of cutting off our Cavalry. As the Fight continued with great Obſtinacy for a conſiderable Time, *Dumnacus* advanced with the Foot in Battle-array, to ſuſtain the Horſe: When ſuddenly the Legions, marching in cloſe Order, appeared within view of the Enemy. This Sight diſcompoſed the *Gallick* Squadrons, and producing an univerſal Confuſion through their whole Army, which ſpread even to the Baggage and Carriages; they with great Uproar and Tumult betook themſelves to a precipitate Flight. But our Horſe, who a little before had fought againſt an Enemy that vigorouſly oppoſed them; now elated with the Joy of Victory, ſurrounded them with great Cries, and urged the Slaughter as far as the Strength of their Horſes to purſue, and the Vigour of their right Hands to deſtroy, were able to bear them out. Upwards of twelve Thouſand periſhed on this Occaſion, partly in the Battle, partly in the Purſuit; and the whole Baggage was taken.

XXIV. AFTER this Rout, *Drapes*, of the Nation of the *Senones* (who upon the firſt Revolt of *Gaul* had drawn together a Band of deſperate Men, invited Slaves to join him by the Hopes of Liberty, aſſembled all the Fugitives he could find, received even publick Robbers into his Service, and with that profligate Crew intercepted the *Roman* Convoys and Baggage) having rallied about five thouſand of the Runaways, directed his March towards the Province; being joined by *Luterius* of *Quercy*, who, as we have ſeen in the foregoing Book, had attempted an Invaſion on that Side at the firſt Breaking out of the War. *Caninius* having Notice of this Deſign, marched in Purſuit of them with two Legions, to prevent any Alarm in thoſe Parts, and hinder the Province from falling a Prey to the Ravages of a deſperate and needy Crew.

XXV. FABIUS, with the reſt of his Army, marched againſt the *Carnutes*, and other States, whoſe Forces had ſerved under *Dumnacus* in the late Action: For he made no doubt of finding them humbled by ſo great a Blow; and was unwilling, by any Delay, to give *Dumnacus* an Opportunity of rouſing them to a Continuance of the War. In this Expedition *Fabius* had all the Succeſs he could

could desire, the several States submitting immediately upon his Approach. For the *Carnutes*, who though often harassed, had never yet made mention of Peace, now surrendered and gave Hostages: And the other States, inhabiting the more remote Parts of *Gaul*, bordering upon the Ocean, and known by the Name of *Armorica*, influenced by their Authority, and the Arrival of *Fabius* and his Legions, readily accepted the Terms he offered them. *Dumnacus*, expelled his Territories, and forced to wander and hide himself in lurking Holes, at length escaped into the farthest Parts of *Gaul*.

XXVI. BUT *Drapes* and *Luterius*, understanding that *Caninius* was in Pursuit of them with the Legions; and sensible, that having an Army at their Heels, they could not without certain Destruction make an Irruption into the Province, nor safely indulge themselves in the Liberty of plundering and ravaging the Country; halted in the Territories of the *Cadurci*. As *Luterius*, during his Prosperity, had bore a considerable Sway in the State, and been always in great Reputation with the Multitude, as the Author of new and enterprising Counsels; he seized upon *Uxellodunum*, a Town strongly fortified by Nature, which had formerly been under his Patronage; and prevailed with the Inhabitants to join his and *Drapes*'s Forces.

XXVII. CANINIUS soon arrived before the Place, which he found surrounded on every Side with steep Rocks, so very difficult of Access, that it was hardly possible for armed Troops to ascend them, even where there were no Opposers. But knowing that there was a vast Quantity of Baggage in the Town, which could not be conveyed away so privately as to escape the Legions, much less the Cavalry, he divided his Army into three Bodies; and encamping on three remarkable Eminences, resolved gradually, and as the Number of his Troops would allow, to carry a Line of Circumvallation quite round the Town. Which the Garrison perceiving, began to dread the Fate of their Countrymen at *Alesia*, especially *Luterius*, who had been present at that formidable Siege, and therefore advised them to lay in Store of Corn. Accordingly, they resolved, with unanimous Consent, to leave Part of the Forces to defend

fend the Town, and march out with the reſt to fetch Proviſions. This Reſolution being taken, the following Night *Luterius* and *Drapes*, leaving two thouſand Men in the Place, marched at the Head of all the reſt. Theſe, in a few Days, drew together a vaſt Quantity of Corn, in the Territories of the *Cadurci*, who partly ſtood inclined to aſſiſt them in their preſent Exigence, partly were unable to hinder their carrying it off. Sometimes they attacked our Poſts by Night, which made *Caninius* delay the Circumvallation of the Town, fearing he would not be able to defend the Line, or man it ſufficiently in all Parts.

XXVIII. LUTERIUS and *Drapes* having got a great Quantity of Corn, took up their Quarters about ten Miles from the Town, that they might convey it thither by Degrees. Each choſe his particular Part: *Drapes* ſtayed behind with Part of the Army to guard the Camp: *Luterius* ſet forward with the Convoy. Having diſpoſed Parties along the Road for the greater Security, he began his March towards the Town about four in the Morning, by narrow Ways through the Woods. But our Sentinels hearing a Noiſe, and Intelligence being brought by the Scouts of what was a-doing, *Caninius* ſpeedily drew ſome Cohorts together from the neareſt Poſts, and fell upon the Convoy about Day-break; who ſurpriſed at ſo unexpected an Attack, retreated towards their Guard. Our Men perceiving this, fell with redoubled Fury upon the Eſcort, giving Quarter to none. *Luterius* eſcaped with a few Followers, but returned not to the Camp.

XXIX. CANINIUS having ſucceeded in this Action, underſtood from the Priſoners that *Drapes* was encamped about ten Miles off with the reſt of the Army. This being confirmed from many Hands; as he ſuppoſed it would be eaſy to overwhelm them, after the Terror occaſioned by the Defeat of one of their Leaders, he thought it very fortunate, that none of the Fugitives had retreated towards the Camp, to inform *Drapes* of the Diſaſter. As there was therefore no Hazard in the Attempt, he ordered all the Cavalry, with the *German* Infantry, who were of remarkable Swiftneſs, to advance before; and having diſtributed one Legion into his three Camps,

Camps, followed them with the other without Baggage. As he drew near the Enemy, he was informed by his Scouts, whom he had ſent before, that the *Gauls*, according to Cuſtom, had pitched their Camp at the Foot of a Mountain by a River-ſide, and that the *German* Foot, and Cavalry, coming ſuddenly and unexpectedly upon them, had begun the Fight. Upon this Intelligence, he brought forward the Legion in Order of Battle, and giving the Signal of Onſet, ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of the higher Ground. The *Germans*, and Cavalry, encouraged by the Enſigns of the Legions, redoubled their Efforts. The Cohorts threw themſelves in Crowds upon the Enemy, and having either ſlain or made them all Priſoners, obtained a conſiderable Booty. *Drapes* himſelf was taken in the Battle.

XXX. CANINIUS, after ſo fortunate an Action, in which ſcarce any of his Soldiers had been wounded, returned to the Siege of *Uxellodunum*. Having got rid of the Enemy without, who had obliged him to augment his Garriſons, and poſtpone the Works about the Place, he now reſumed them with great Diligence, and was the next Day joined by *Fabius* and his Forces, who undertook one Side of the Town.

XXXI. MEAN-TIME *Cæſar*, leaving *M. Antony* the Queſtor, with fifteen Cohorts in the Country of the *Bellovaci*, to prevent any new Inſurrections among the *Belgians*; marched himſelf into other States, to enjoin Hoſtages, and allay their Fears. When he arrived among the *Carnutes*, by whom the War was firſt begun, as *Cæſar* has mentioned in the preceding Book; obſerving that they in a particular Manner dreaded his Reſentment, from a Conſciouſneſs of their Guilt; that he might the ſooner free them from their Fears, he deſired them to deliver up to Juſtice *Guturvatus*, the prime Mover and Incendiary of that War; who, though he hid himſelf even from his own Countrymen, yet being diligently ſought after by a whole People, was ſoon brought to *Cæſar*'s Camp. *Cæſar*, contrary to his natural Clemency, was conſtrained to give him up to Puniſhment by his Soldiers, who imputed to *Guturvatus* all the Loſſes they had ſuſtained, and all the Dangers they had been

been expoſed to during the War. Accordingly he was ſcourged and beheaded.

XXXII. HERE he was informed by frequent Advices from *Caninius*, of the Defeat of *Drapes* and *Luterius*, and the Reſolution taken by the Garriſon of *Uxellodunum*. Though he deſpiſed them on account of the Smallneſs of their Number, he yet thought their Obſtinacy deſerved the ſevereſt Chaſtiſement; that *Gaul* might not run into a Perſuaſion, that not Strength but Conſtancy had been wanting, to enable them to reſiſt the *Romans*; which might perhaps induce other States, who had the Advantage of ſtrong Towns, to aſſert their Liberty; it being univerſally known in *Gaul*, that only one Year of his Government remained; during which, if they could but hold out, they had no farther Danger to apprehend. Leaving therefore the two Legions he had then with him to the Care of *Q. Calenus* his Lieutenant, with Orders to follow him by eaſy Marches; he himſelf, at the Head of all the Cavalry, haſtened to *Uxellodunum*, to forward the Siege begun by *Caninius*.

XXXIII. HE arrived before the Town, unexpected either by his own Troops, or thoſe of the Enemy; ſaw the Circumvallation completed; and that there was no quitting the Siege without Diſhonour: but underſtanding from the Deſerters, that the Place was well ſtored with Proviſions, he reſolved, if poſſible, to cut off their Water. *Uxellodunum* ſtood upon a ſteep Rock, ſurrounded almoſt on every Side by a very deep Valley, through which ran a River. There was no poſſible Way of turning the Courſe of this Stream; becauſe it flowed by the Foot of the Rock in ſo low a Channel, that Ditches could not be ſunk deep enough to receive it. But the Deſcent was ſo difficult and ſteep, that the Townſmen in coming to and returning from it, lay greatly expoſed to our Troops, who might wound and kill them at Pleaſure. This being known to *Cæſar*, he poſted his Archers and Slingers, with ſome Engines, over-againſt the Places of eaſieſt Acceſs, and thereby hindered their Approach to the River. This obliged the whole Multitude to water at one Place, cloſe under the Walls of the Town, whence iſſued a very

plentiful Fountain, on the Side where the River intermitted its Circuit, and left an Opening of about three hundred Foot. The whole Army were desirous to deprive the Besieged of this Resource; but *Cæsar* alone discovered the Means of effecting it. He brought forward his Galleries, and began a Terrass over-against the Mountain, with much Danger to the Soldiers, incredible Fatigue, and a continued Series of Fighting. For the Garrison rushing furiously upon us from the higher Ground, charged without Danger, and wounded great Numbers of our Men, as they advanced obstinately to the Combat; yet without deterring them from bringing forward their Machines, and by their Works and Assiduity surmounting the Difficulties of the Ground. At the same Time they carried on their Mines, from the Terrass and Galleries, quite to the Fountain; a Kind of Work in which they proceeded without Danger or Suspicion. A Terrass was raised sixty Foot high, and a Tower of ten Stories placed upon it; not indeed to equal the Height of the Walls, for which no Works were sufficient; but to command the Top of the Spring. From this Tower we were continually playing our Engines upon all the Accesses to the Fountain, which made it extremely dangerous to water at the Place; insomuch that not only Cattle and Beasts of Carriage, but great Numbers of People perished by Thirst.

XXXIV. THE Enemy, terrified at this Disaster, filled several Barrels with Tallow, Pitch, and dry Wood; and having set them on Fire, rolled them down upon the Works. At the same Time they charged the *Romans* with great Fury, that the Anxiety and Danger of the Battle might hinder them from extinguishing the Flames. The Conflagration soon became general: for whatever was rolled down from above, being stopped by the Machines and Terrass, communicated the Flame to that Part. But our Soldiers, though engaged in a dangerous Kind of Fight, because of the Inequality of the Ground, yet bore all with great Firmness and Resolution. For the Action was in a conspicuous Place, within View of our Army, and great Shouts were raised on both Sides. Thus every one was the more ardent to signalize himself, and brave the Flames and Darts of the Enemy, as his Bravery would be better

better known, and have the Teſtimony of many Witneſſes.

XXXV. CÆSAR ſeeing many of his Soldiers wounded, ordered the Cohorts to aſcend the Mountain on all Sides, and as if preparing to ſcale the Walls, raiſe a mighty Shout. This alarmed the Inhabitants, who not knowing what paſſed in other Parts, recalled their Troops from the Attack, and diſpoſed them along the Walls. Thus our Men, being relieved from the Battle, ſoon found Means to extinguiſh or put a Stop to the Flames. But as the Beſieged ſtill continued to defend themſelves with great Obſtinacy, and notwithſtanding the Loſs of the greateſt Part of their Number by Thirſt, perſiſted in their firſt Reſolution; *Cæſar* at laſt contrived to drain or avert the Spring by Mines. Upon this the Fountain ſuddenly becoming dry, ſo effectually deprived the Beſieged of all Hopes of Safety, that they imagined it an Event brought about, not by human Council, but by the Will of the Gods; and therefore, compelled by Neceſſity, immediately ſurrendered themſelves.

XXXVI. CÆSAR conſcious that his Clemency was known to all, and no way fearing that his Severity on this Occaſion would be imputed to any Cruelty of Nature; as he perceived there would be no End of the War, if other States in different Parts of *Gaul*, ſhould in like Manner form the Deſign of a Revolt; reſolved, by a ſignal Example of Puniſhment, to deter them from all ſuch Projects. He therefore cut off the Hands of all whom he found in Arms; granting them their Lives, that their Puniſhment might be the more conſpicuous. *Drapes*, who, as we have ſaid, had been made Priſoner by *Caninius*; either out of Indignation at finding himſelf a Captive, or dreading a ſeverer Fate, put an End to his Life by abſtaining from Food. At the ſame Time *Luterius*, who had eſcaped out of the Battle, falling into the Hands of *Epaſnactus* of *Auvergne*, (for by continually removing from Place to Place, he was obliged to confide in many, becauſe he could ſtay no where long without Danger, and knew the little Reaſon he had to expect Favour from *Cæſar*;) was by

him, a great Favourer of the *Roman* People, delivered without Hesitation bound to *Cæsar*.

XXXVII. In the Mean-time *Labienus* engaged the Cavalry of the *Treviri* with Success: and having killed a considerable Number on the Spot, as likewise many *Germans*, who were always ready to join against the *Romans*; made the greatest Part of their Chiefs Prisoners; and among the rest *Surus* the *Æduan*, a Nobleman of distinguished Birth and Valour, and the only one of that Nation, who had continued until then in Arms. Upon Notice of this Victory, *Cæsar*, who saw his Affairs in a flourishing Condition in *Gaul*, and that his last Campaigns had completed the Subjection of the whole Country; resolved upon a Journey to *Aquitain*, where he had never yet been in person, though *P. Crassus* had in part reduced it to his Obedience. He therefore set out for that Country with two Legions, designing to spend there the rest of the Campaign. This Expedition was attended with the desired Success; for all the States of *Aquitain* sent Ambassadors to him, and delivered Hostages. He then went with a Guard of Cavalry to *Narbonne*, and distributed his Army into Winter-quarters under the Care of his Lieutenants. *M. Antony*, *C. Trebonius*, *P. Vatinius*, and *Q. Tullius*, were quartered in *Belgium* with four Legions. Two were sent into the Country of the *Æduans*, whom he knew to be the most powerful People in *Gaul*: two into that of the *Turones*, bordering upon the *Carnutes*, to hold the maritime States in awe: and the remaining two were stationed among the *Lemovices*, not far from *Auvergne*, that none of the Provinces of *Gaul* might be destitute of Troops. He remained some Days at *Narbonne*, held all the usual Assemblies of the Province, decided the Differences subsisting among the People, recompensed those who had distinguished themselves by their faithful Services; (for he had a wonderful Faculty of discerning how Men stood affected in the general Revolt of *Gaul*, which he had been able to sustain, merely by the Fidelity and Assistance of the Province;) and having dispatched all these Affairs, repaired to the Legions in *Belgium*, and took up his Winter-quarters at *Nemetocenna*.

XXXVIII. Here

XXXVIII. HERE he was informed that *Comius* of *Arras* had had an Engagement with his Cavalry. For after the Arrival of *Antony* in his Winter-quarters; as the *Atrabatians*, awed by his Preſence, continued in their Duty to *Cæſar*: *Comius*, who ever ſince the Wound above-mentioned had kept a watchful Eye upon all the Motions of his Countrymen, that in caſe of a War, he might be ready to offer them his Counſel and Aſſiſtance; finding that the State now ſubmitted quietly to the *Romans*, applied his Troops to ſupport himſelf and his Followers by Plunder; and often carried off the Convoys that were going to the *Roman* Winter Quarters.

XXXIX. AMONG thoſe who commanded under *Antony* in his Winter-quarters was *C. Voluſenus Quadratus*, an Officer of the firſt Rank among the Horſe. Him *Antony* ſent in purſuit of the Enemy's Cavalry. *Voluſenus*, to his natural Bravery, which he poſſeſſed in an eminent Degree, added a particular Hatred of *Comius*, which induced him the more readily to accept of this Commiſſion. Accordingly, having planted his Ambuſcades, he found Means frequently to engage the Enemy, and always came off victorious. At laſt, a very warm Diſpute enſuing: and *Voluſenus*, through an eager Deſire of making *Comius* Priſoner, urging the Chace with only a few Attendants; while *Comius* by a haſty Retreat, drew him a conſiderable Way from his Party: ſuddenly the latter, invoking the Aſſiſtance of his Followers, called upon them to revenge the Wound he had treacherouſly received from the *Romans*; and turning ſhort upon our Detachment, advanced without Precaution towards *Voluſenus*. All his Cavalry did the ſame, and ſoon put our ſmall Party to flight. *Comius* clapping Spurs to his Horſe, ran furiouſly againſt *Quadratus*, and drove his Lance through his Thigh. Our Men ſeeing their Commander wounded, inſtantly faced about, and forced the Enemy to give ground. In this laſt Attack, the *Gauls*, after a conſiderable Slaughter, were entirely routed by the vigorous Charge of our Cavalry. Some were trodden to Death in the Purſuit, others made Priſoners; but *Comius* eſcaped by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe. *Voluſenus* being dangerouſly wounded, almoſt beyond Hope of Recovery, was carried back to the Camp. *Comius*, either ſatisfied with the

Revenge he had taken, or apprehenſive he muſt at laſt be ruined, as he continually loſt ſome of his Men; ſent a Deputation to *Antony*, offering to retire wherever he ſhould order him, to ſubmit to whatever ſhould be impoſed on him, and to give Hoſtages for the Performance of theſe Conditions: he only requeſted, that ſo much Regard might be ſhewn to his juſt Fears, as not to have it inſiſted on that he ſhould appear before any *Roman*. *Antony*, conſcious that his Apprehenſions were but too well grounded, excuſed him, took Hoſtages, and granted him Peace.

CÆSAR, I know, aſſigns a diſtinct Book to each of his ſeveral Campaigns. But I have not judged it neceſſary to purſue this Method; becauſe the enſuing Year, under the Conſulſhip of *L. Paulus*, and *C. Marcellus*, furniſhes nothing memorable tranſacted in *Gaul*. However, that none may be ignorant where *Cæſar* and his Army were during this Time, I have ſubjoined a ſhort Account to the preſent Commentary.

XL. CÆSAR, during the Time of his Winter-quarters in *Belgium*, made it his whole Study to ingratiate himſelf with the *Gauls*, and deprive them of all Pretence or Colour for a Revolt. For there was nothing he more earneſtly deſired, than to leave *Gaul* peaceably diſpoſed at his Departure; leſt, when he was about to withdraw his Army, any Sparks of Rebellion ſhould remain, which would infallibly rekindle into a War, were the *Roman* Troops once removed. Wherefore, by treating the ſeveral States with Reſpect, liberally rewarding their Chiefs, and abſtaining from the Impoſition of new Burdens, he eaſily prevailed with the *Gauls*, wearied and exhauſted by long unſucceſsful Wars, to embrace the Eaſe and Quiet attendant on their preſent Submiſſion.

XLI. THE Winter being over, contrary to his Cuſtom, he poſted by great Journeys into *Italy*, to viſit the municipal Towns and Colonies of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and engage their Intereſt in favour of *M. Antony* his Queſtor, who was then a Candidate for the Prieſthood. He the more warmly intereſted himſelf in this Affair, not only as it was in behalf of a Man united to him

him by the ſtricteſt Ties of Friendſhip, but as it likewiſe gave him an Opportunity of oppoſing a ſmall Faction, who aimed to diminiſh *Cæſar*'s Credit, by repulſing *Antony*. Although he heard upon the Road, before he reached *Italy*, that *Antony* had been made Augur; he ſtill thought it incumbent upon him to viſit the municipal Towns and Colonies of the Province, in order to thank them for the Zeal they had ſhown in behalf of his Friend, and to recommend them his own Petition for the Conſulſhip of the enſuing Year. For his Enemies every where boaſted, that *L. Lentulus* and *C. Marcellus* had been choſen Conſuls, in the View of deſpoiling him of all his Honours and Dignities; and that *Sergius Galba* had been excluded, though much the ſtrongeſt in the Number of Votes, becauſe of his known Intimacy with *Cæſar*, and having ſerved under him as Lieutenant.

XLII. HE was received every where with incredible Honours, and the warmeſt Teſtimonies of the People's Affection. For this was the firſt Time he had appeared among them ſince the total Reduction of *Gaul*. Nothing was omitted that could contribute to the Ornament of the Gates, Ways, and Places through which he was to paſs. The People with their Children came out to meet him: Sacrifices were offered in all Parts: Tables richly ſpread were placed in the publick Squares and Temples: and ſo great was the Magnificence diſplayed by the Rich, ſuch the Eagerneſs of the Poor to expreſs their Satisfaction, that every Thing wore the Face of a moſt ſplendid Triumph.

XLIII. CÆSAR having viſited the ſeveral Provinces of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, returned in all Haſte to the Army at *Nemetocenna*; and ordering the Legions to quit their Winter-quarters, and rendezvous in the Territories of the *Treviri*, went thither and reviewed them in perſon. He gave the Government of *Ciſalpine Gaul* to *Labienus*, the better to reconcile him to his Demand of the Conſulſhip; and marched the Army from Place to Place, that by the Motion and Change of Air, he might prevent any Sickneſs getting among the Troops. Although he often heard, that *Labienus* was ſtrongly ſolicited by his Enemies; and was for certain informed, that ſome

were labouring, by Means of the Senate's Authority, to deprive him of Part of his Army; yet neither did he credit any Reports to *Labienus*'s Diſadvantage, nor ould be induced to ſet himſelf in oppoſition to the Authority of the Senate. For he made no Doubt of obtaining his Demand by the free Suffrages of the Fathers: and the rather, becauſe *C. Curio*, Tribune of the People, having undertaken the Defence of *Cæſar*'s Cauſe and Dignity, had often propoſed in the Senate: "That if *Cæſar*'s Army gave Umbrage to any, as "*Pompey* was no leſs formidable to the true Friends of "Liberty, both ſhould be ordered to diſmiſs their "Troops, and return to a private Condition, which "would entirely free the Commonwealth from all "Apprehenſions of Danger." Nor did he only propoſe this, but even began to put it to the Vote. But the Conſuls and *Pompey*'s Friends interpoſed, which hindered the Senate from coming to any Reſolution.

XLIV. THIS was an authentic Teſtimony from the whole Senate, and agreeable to what had paſſed on a former Occaſion. For when *Marcellus*, who ſtrove to render himſelf conſiderable by oppoſing *Cæſar*, had propoſed the Year before, contrary to the Law of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, to recall *Cæſar* before his Commiſſion was expired, the Overture was rejected by a very full Houſe. But this, inſtead of diſcouraging *Cæſar*'s Enemies only puſhed them on to new Attempts, that they might at length bring the Senate into their Meaſures.

XLV. A *Senatuſconſultum* ſoon after paſſed, that one Legion from *Pompey*, and another from *Cæſar*, ſhould be ſent to the *Parthian* War. But it was viſibly their Deſign to take both Legions from *Cæſar* alone. For *Pompey* offered the firſt Legion for that Service, which he had lent ſome Time before to *Cæſar*, having raiſed it in his Province. But *Cæſar*, though now fully ſatisfied of the ill Deſigns of his Enemies, readily ſent back *Pompey*'s Legion; and in compliance with the Decree of the Senate, ordered the fifteenth, one of his own Number, which was then in Hither *Gaul*, to be delivered to their Commiſſioners; and ſent the thirteenth into *Italy* to replace it, and ſupply the

Garriſons whence it had been drawn. He then put his Army into Winter-quarters. *C. Trebonius*, with four Legions, was ordered into the Country of the *Belgians*; and *C. Fabius*, with the like Number was placed among the *Æduans*. For thus he thought *Gaul* was moſt likely to be kept in Subjection; if the *Belgæ*, the moſt renowned for their Valour, and the *Æduans*, the moſt conſiderable for their Authority, were awed by the Preſence of two Armies.

XLVI. AFTER this he returned into *Italy*, where he underſtood, that the two Legions he had ſent, in conformity to the Decree of the Senate, to be employed in the *Parthian* War, had been delivered by the Conſul *Marcellus* to *Pompey*, and were by him ſtill detained in *Italy*. Although by this it was abundantly evident, that they were preparing to take up Arms againſt him; he yet reſolved to ſuffer every Thing, while any Hope remained of adjuſting their Differences by the Methods of Peace, rather than thoſe of Violence and War.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

CIVIL WAR.

BOOK I.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. *Different Opinions in the Senate in relation to* Cæſar's *Letter.* III. *The Origin and Cauſes of the Oppoſition formed againſt him.* IV. *The Senate's ſevere Decree, and Flight of* Cæſar's *Friends.* V. *War againſt* Cæſar *reſolved on.* VI. Cæſar *harangues his Troops.* VII. Pompey *ſends Propoſals of Peace.* VIII. Cæſar's *Anſwer.* IX. Pompey *ſends Propoſals a ſecond Time.* X. *Which not pleaſing* Cæſar, *he prepares for War.* XI. Cæſar *makes himſelf Maſter of* Iguvium *and* Auximum. XII. *Which ſo alarms his Enemies at* Rome, *that they haſtily quit the City, and retire to* Capua. XIII. Cæſar, *by his Expedition, obliges many of the Towns in* Italy *to ſubmit.* XXIII. Pompey, *after the Reduction of* Corfinium *by* Cæſar, *withdraws with his Troops to* Brunduſium. XXIV. Cæſar *beſieges him there.* XXVI. *He eſcapes by Sea, after which the Town ſurrenders.* XXVIII. Cæſar *cannot purſue him for Want of a Fleet.* XXIX. Valerius *and* Curio, *Partizans of* Cæſar, *drive* Cotta *from* Sardinia, *and* Cato *from* Sicily. Varus *compels* Tubero *to deſiſt from his Deſign upon* Africa. XXX. Cæſar's *Speech to the Senate.* XXXI. *Which producing no Effect, he ſets out for* Tranſalpine Gaul. XXXII. *The People of* Marſeilles *ſhut their Gates againſt* Cæſar. XXXIV. *Who commands* Brutus *and* Trebonius *to beſiege the Place.* XXXV. Fabius *ſent before into* Spain. XXXIX. Cæſar *follows, and comes up with* Afranius *and* Petreius *at* Lerida. XLI. *A Skirmiſh with almoſt equal Advantage on both Sides.* XLVI. *A ſudden Storm having broke down his Bridges,* Cæſar *is ſhut up between two Rivers.* XLVIII. *And reduced to great Straits for want of Proviſions.* LI. *He extricates himſelf at length, and ſurpriſes the Enemy's Foragers.* LII. Brutus *defeats the People of* Marſeilles *in a Sea-fight.* LIII. Cæſar *obtains the Superiority near* Lerida. LIV. *Many States declare for him.* LV. Afranius *and* Petreius *remove towards* Celtiberia. LVI. Cæſar *purſues them with his Cavalry.* LVII. *Then drawing out the Legions, continues to urge them in their Retreat.* LXIV. *He cuts off their Proviſions.* LXVI. Afranius *and* Petreius's *Men talk with* Cæſar's *about a Surrender.* LXVII. Petreius *interrupts the Conference.* LXVIII. *And*

obliges

obliges the Soldiers to take an Oath of Fidelity to their Generals. LXX. *Who finding both their Proviſions and Forage intercepted, reſolve to return to* Lerida. LXXI. Cæſar *follows and greatly moleſts them in their March.* LXXIII. *At length Water, Forage, and every Thing failing them, they are forced to ſue for Peace, and accept of* Cæſar's *Terms.*

THE SUPPLEMENT OF *DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS*, TO *CÆSAR*'s First Book of the CIVIL WAR.

I THINK it needleſs to ſay any Thing here, in oppoſition to thoſe who pretend, that the following Commentaries concerning the *Civil War*, were not penned by *Cæſar* himſelf. We have not only the expreſs Teſtimony of *Suetonius* to the contrary, but the very Stile ſufficiently declares, that *Cæſar* alone could be the Author of the Work. There is Room however to ſuſpect, from the abrupt Manner in which the Subject is introduced, that the Beginning of this firſt Book is wanting: For Hiſtory takes Notice of ſeveral previous Facts, of which no mention is made here. I have therefore collected out of *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Dion*, as much as was neceſſary to connect this and the former Commentary, and fancy it will not be diſagreeable to the Reader, to offer it here by way of Preface.

GAUL being wholly reduced, *Cæſar*, upon his Arrival in *Lombardy*, thought proper for many Reaſons to ſend Deputies to *Rome*, to demand the Conſulſhip, and a Prolongation of his Command. *Pompey*, who though averſe to *Cæſar*'s Intereſt, had not yet openly declared againſt him, neither furthered nor oppoſed this Requeſt.

But the Conſuls *Marcellus* and *Lentulus*, who had already joined the Party of his Enemies, reſolved by every Method in their Power to fruſtrate the Deſign. *Marcellus* ſcrupled not to add other Injuries to that of which we ſpeak. For *Cæſar* had lately planted a Colony at *Novocomum* in *Ciſalpine Gaul*; and *Marcellus*, not ſatisfied with ſtripping the Inhabitants of the Privilege of *Roman* Citizens, ſeized one of their chief Magiſtrates at *Rome*, ordered him to be ſcourged, and then diſmiſſed him to carry his Complaints to *Cæſar*: An Ignominy from which all free Citizens were expreſsly exempted by the Laws. While Affairs were in this Train, *C. Curio*, Tribune of the People, came to *Cæſar* in *Gaul*. This Nobleman, after many Attempts in behalf of the Commonwealth, and to promote *Cæſar*'s Intereſt; finding at length all his Endeavours without Effect, fled from *Rome* to avoid the Malice of his Enemies, and informed *Cæſar* of all that was tranſacting againſt him. *Cæſar* received him with great Marks of Reſpect, as well on account of his Rank in the Commonwealth, as the many Services he had done himſelf and the State; and thanked him for the ſignal Zeal he had ſhown in his Cauſe. But *Curio* adviſed him, ſince his Enemies were now openly preparing for War, to draw his Army together without Delay, and reſcue the Commonwealth from the Tyranny of an aſpiring Faction. *Cæſar*, though fully ſatisfied of the Truth of *Curio*'s Report, reſolved to ſacrifice all other Conſiderations to the publick Tranquillity, that no Man might juſtly charge him with being the Author of a Civil War. He therefore only petitioned by his Friends, that the Government of *Ciſalpine Gaul* and *Illyricum*, with the Command of two Legions, might be continued to him: In all which his principal Aim was, by the Equity of his Demands, to induce his Enemies to grant Peace to the Commonwealth. Theſe Offers appeared ſo reaſonable, that even *Pompey* himſelf knew not how to oppoſe them. But the Conſuls ſtill continuing inflexible, *Cæſar* wrote a Letter to the Senate; wherein, after briefly enumerating his Exploits and Services, he requeſted them not to deprive him of the Benefit of the People's Favour, who had permitted him to ſue for the Conſulſhip in his Abſence. He proteſted his Readineſs, if ſuch was the Reſolution of the Senate and People of *Rome*, to diſmiſs his Army, provided

vided *Pompey* did the ſame: But could by no means reſolve, ſo long as he continued in Command and Authority, to diveſt himſelf of Troops, and lay himſelf open to the Injuries of his Enemies. *Curio* was commiſſioned to carry this Letter; who travelling with incredible Diſpatch, reached *Rome* in three Days (a Diſtance of an hundred and ſixty Miles,) before the Beginning of *January*, and ere the Conſuls could get any Thing determined relating to *Cæſar*'s Command. *Curio*, upon his Arrival, refuſed to part with the Letter, reſolving not to deliver it but in full Senate, and when the Tribunes of the People were preſent: For he was apprehenſive, ſhould he do otherwiſe, that the Conſuls would ſuppreſs it.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

CIVIL WAR.

BOOK I.

I. *CÆSAR's* Letter being delivered to the Conſuls, the Tribunes with much Difficulty procured it a Reading in the Senate, but could by no means prevail to have his Demands brought under Deliberation. The Conſuls propoſed to debate upon the State of the Republick. "*Lentulus* promiſed to ſtand by the Senate "and People, if they would deliver their Sentiments "with Freedom and Courage: But if they regarded "*Cæſar*, and affected to court his Friendſhip, as had "been the Practice for ſome Time paſt, he knew, he "told them, what he had to do, and was determined "to diſclaim their Authority; not doubting but he "would find a ready Admittance to the Favour and "Protection of *Cæſar*." *Scipio* ſpoke much to the ſame Purpoſe: "That *Pompey* was firmly bent not to "abandon the Republick, if he found the Senators "ready to ſupport him: But if they cooled, or were "remiſs in their Reſolves, it would be in vain for them "to expect his Aid, if they ſaw cauſe afterwards to "apply for it." This Speech of *Scipio*, as the Senate was held in the City, and *Pompey* reſided in the Suburbs, was conſidered as coming from *Pompey*'s own Mouth. Some were for following milder Counſels, of which Number was *M. Marcellus*, who gave it as his Opinion:

"That it was not proper to enter upon the preſent "Deliberation, till Troops were raiſed over all *Italy*, "and an Army got ready, under whoſe Protection the "Senate might proceed with Freedom and Safety in "their Debates. *Callidius* was for ſending *Pompey* to "his Government, to take away all Occaſion of Diſ-"cord; becauſe *Cæſar* had reaſon to fear, as two of "his Legions had been taken from him, that *Pompey* "retained them in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, with a "view to employ them againſt him." *M. Rufus* nearly agreed in opinion with *Callidius*. But they were all ſeverely reprimanded by the Conſul *Lentulus*, who expreſsly refuſed to put *Callidius*'s Motion to the Vote. *Marcellus* awed by the Conſul's Reprimand, retracted what he had ſaid. Thus the Clamours of *Lentulus*, the Dread of an Army at the Gates of *Rome*, and the Menaces of *Pompey*'s Friends, forced the greater Part of the Senate, though with the utmoſt Reluctance and Diſlike, into a Compliance with *Scipio*'s Motion: "That *Cæſar* ſhould "be ordered to diſband his Army before a certain Day "then fixed; and that, in caſe of Diſobedience, he "ſhould be declared an Enemy to the Republick." *M. Antonius* and *Q. Caſſius*, Tribunes of the People, oppoſed their Negative to this Decree. Immediately a Debate aroſe upon the Validity of their Interpoſition. Many ſevere Speeches were made againſt them; and the more warm and paſſionate any one appeared, the more was he applauded by *Cæſar*'s Enemies.

II. In the Evening the Senate roſe; and *Pompey* ſending for all thoſe of his Party, commended the forward; confirmed them in their Reſolutions; reproved and animated the more moderate. Multitudes of Veterans, who had formerly ſerved under him, flocked to him from all Parts, allured by the Expectation of Rewards and Dignities. A great Number of Officers belonging to the two Legions lately returned by *Cæſar*, had likewiſe Orders to attend him. *Rome* was filled with Troops. *Curio* aſſembled the Tribunes to ſupport the Decree of the People. On the other hand, all the Friends of the Conſuls, all the Partizans of *Pompey*, and of ſuch as bore any ancient Grudge to *Cæſar*, repaired to the Senate: By whoſe Concourſe and Votes the weaker Sort were terrified, the Irreſolute confirmed, and the greater

greater Part deprived of the Liberty of ſpeaking their Mind freely. *L. Piſo* the Cenſor, and *L. Roſcius* the Prætor, offered to go and acquaint *Cæſar* with the State of Affairs, demanding only ſix Days for that Purpoſe. Some were for ſending Deputies to him, to inform him of the Senate's Diſpoſition.

III. BUT all theſe Propoſals were rejected, becauſe the Conſul, *Scipio*, and *Cato*, declared againſt them. *Cato* was incited by the Remembrance of an old Quarrel, and the Diſappointment he had ſuſtained in ſtanding Candidate for the Prætorſhip with *Cæſar*. *Lentulus* was oppreſſed with Debt, and flattered himſelf with the Command of Armies, the Government of Provinces, and the Largeſſes of the Kings for whom he ſhould procure the Title of Allies and Friends of the *Roman* People. He was beſides wont to boaſt among thoſe of his own Party, that he doubted not of becoming a ſecond *Sylla*, in whom the whole Authority of the Commonwealth ſhould center. *Scipio* entertained the ſame Hope of Commands and Governments, which he expected to ſhare with his Son-in-law *Pompey*: Add to this his Dread of a Proſecution; his Vanity and Self-conceit; and the Flatteries and Applauſes of his Friends, who at that Time bore a conſiderable Sway in the Commonwealth and Courts of Juſtice. *Pompey* himſelf, inſtigated by *Cæſar*'s Enemies, and not able to endure an Equal in Dignity, was now entirely alienated from him, and had joined with their common Adverſaries, moſt of whom *Cæſar* had contracted during his Affinity with *Pompey*. Beſide, the fraudulent Step he had taken, in detaining for the Purpoſes of his own Ambition, the two Legions deſtined to ſerve in *Aſia* and *Syria*, determined him to uſe all his Endeavours to bring on a Civil War.

IV. THUS nothing but Tumult and Violence was to be ſeen in the publick Debates. *Cæſar*'s Friends had no Time given them to inform him of what paſſed. Even the Tribunes themſelves were not exempt from Danger, nor durſt they have Recourſe to that Right of Interceſſion, which *Sylla* had left them as the laſt Bulwark of Liberty: Inſomuch that the ſeventh Day after entering upon their Office, they ſaw themſelves obliged to provide for their Safety: Whereas in former Times, the

moſt turbulent and ſeditious Tribunes never began to apprehend themſelves in Danger, till towards the eighth Month of their Adminiſtration. Recourſe was had to that rigid and ultimate Decree, which was never uſed but in the greateſt Extremities, when the City was threatened with Ruin and Conflagration: "That the "Conſuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes of the People, "and the Proconſuls that were near *Rome*, ſhould take "care that the Commonwealth received no Detri-"ment." This Decree paſſed the ſeventh of *January*; ſo that during the five firſt Days in which it was permitted the Senate to aſſemble, after *Lentulus*'s Entrance upon the Conſulſhip (for two Days are always appropriated to the holding of the Comitia) the moſt ſevere and rigorous Reſolutions were taken, both in relation to *Cæſar*'s Government, and the Tribunes of the People, Men of eminent Worth and Dignity. The Tribunes immediately quitted the City, and fled to *Cæſar*, who was then at *Ravenna*, waiting an Anſwer to his late Demands, whoſe Equity he hoped would diſpoſe all Parties to entertain Thoughts of Peace.

V. THE following Days the Senate aſſembled without the City, where *Pompey* confirmed every Thing he had before intimated by the Mouth of *Scipio*. He applauded the Reſolution and Courage of the Senators, acquainted them with the State of his Forces, that he had ten Legions already in Arms, and was beſides well informed, that *Cæſar*'s Troops were by no means ſatisfied with their General, nay, had even refuſed to ſupport and follow him. It was then propoſed in the Senate, that Troops ſhould be raiſed over all *Italy*; that *Fauſtus Sylla* ſhould be ſent Proprætor into *Mauritania*; that *Pompey* ſhould be ſupplied with Money out of the publick Treaſury; and that King *Juba* ſhould be declared Friend and Ally of the People of *Rome*: but *Marcellus* oppoſed the laſt of theſe; and *Philippus*, Tribune of the People, would not agree to the Proprætorſhip of *Sylla*. The other Motions were approved by the Senate. The Affair of the Provinces was next decided; two of which were Conſular, the reſt Prætorian. *Syria* fell to the Share of *Scipio*; and *Gaul* fell to *L. Domitius*. *Philippus* and *Marcellus* were ſet aſide, through the private Views of the prevailing Party. The reſt of the Provinces

ces were assigned to Men of Prætorian Rank; who waited not to have their Nomination confirmed by the People, as had been the Custom in former Years; but after taking the usual Oath, departed for their several Commands in a military Habit. The Consuls left the City, a Thing unheard of till that Time; and Lictors were seen walking before private Men in the Forum and Capitol, contrary to the express Practice of former Ages. Troops were levied over all *Italy*; Arms enjoined; Money demanded of the Colonies and free Towns, and even taken from the very Temples: in fine, neither divine nor human Rights were regarded.

VI. CÆSAR having Intelligence of these Proceedings, addressed himself to his Troops: "He took Notice of "the many Injuries he had received on all Occasions "from his Enemies, who had alienated *Pompey* from "him, by filling him with an Envy and Jealousy of "his Reputation, though he had done every Thing in "his Power to promote his Glory, and favour his Ad-"vancement to the highest Dignities. He complained "of the new Precedent introduced into the Common-"wealth, in checking and hindering by Arms the Op-"position of the Tribunes, which of late Years had "been restored to its wonted Force. That *Sylla*, who "had almost annihilated the Tribuneship, had yet left "it the Liberty of Opposition; whereas *Pompey*, who "valued himself upon the Re-establishment of that "Office, deprived it now of a Privilege it had always "enjoyed. That the Decree enjoining the Magistrates "to provide for the Safety of the Commonwealth, which "implied an Order to the *Roman* People to repair to "Arms, was never wont to be used but on occasion of "dangerous Laws, seditious Measures pursued by the "Tribunes, or a general Secession of the People, when "they possessed themselves of the Temples and Places of "Strength: Crimes, which in former Ages had been "expiated by the Fate of *Saturninus* and the *Gracchi*. "That at present nothing of this Kind had been at-"tempted, nor so much as thought of; no Law pro-"mulged, no Endeavours used to seduce the People, "no Appearance of Revolt or Disaffection. He there-"fore conjured them to defend against the Malice of "his Enemies, the Honour and Reputation of a Gene-

" ral, under whom they had ſerved nine Years with ſo " much Advantage to the Commonwealth, gained ſo " many Battles, and ſubdued all *Gaul* and *Germany*." The Soldiers of the thirteenth Legion, who were preſent, and whom he had ſent for in the Beginning of the Troubles, (the reſt not being yet arrived,) cried out, that they were determined to maintain the Honour of their General, and to revenge the Wrongs done to the Tribunes.

VII. BEING aſſured of the Good-will of the Soldiers, he marched with that Legion to *Rimini*, where he was met by the Tribunes of the People, who had fled to him for Protection. He ordered the other Legions to quit their Winter-quarters, and follow him with all Expedition. While he was at *Rimini*, young *L. Cæſar*, whoſe Father was one of his Lieutenants, came to him; and after acquainting him with the Occaſion of his Journey, added, that he had a private Meſſage to him from *Pompey*, " who was deſirous of clearing himſelf to " *Cæſar*, that he might not interpret thoſe Actions as " deſigned to affront him, which had no other Aim but " the Good of the Commonwealth: That it had been " his conſtant Maxim, to prefer the Intereſt of the Re- " publick to any private Engagement: That it was " worthy of *Cæſar*, to ſacrifice his Paſſion and Reſent- " ment to the ſame noble Motive; and not prejudice " the Commonwealth, by puſhing too far his Revenge " againſt his private Enemies." He added ſomething more to the ſame Purpoſe, mingled with Excuſes for *Pompey*. The Prætor *Roſcius* joined likewiſe in the Negotiation, declaring he was commiſſioned ſo to do.

VIII. THOUGH all this tended little to redreſs the Injuries of which *Cæſar* complained: yet conſidering theſe as proper Perſons by whom to tranſmit his Thoughts; he begged of them, that as they had not ſcrupled to bring *Pompey*'s Demands to him, they would likewiſe carry back his Propoſals to *Pompey*; that, if poſſible, ſo ſmall a Labour might put an End to mighty Differences, and deliver all *Italy* from the Fear of a Civil War. He told them: " That the Intereſt of the Common- " wealth had always been dearer to him than Life; " but he could not help grieving at the Malice of his " Enemies;

" Enemies; who had fruſtrated the good Intentions of " the *Roman* People in his Favour, by cutting off ſix " Months from his Command, and obliging him to " return to *Rome* to ſue for the Conſulſhip, though a " Law had been made diſpenſing with his perſonal At- " tendance: That he had yet, for the Sake of the Com- " monwealth, patiently ſubmitted to this Aſſault upon " his Honour: That even his Propoſal of diſbanding " the Armies on both Sides, which he had made by a " Letter to the Senate, had been rejected: That new " Levies were making over all *Italy*: That two Legions, " which had been taken from him under Pretence of the " *Parthian* War, were ſtill retained in the Service of " his Enemies: That the whole State was in Arms. " What could all this aim at but his Deſtruction? " That nevertheleſs he was ready to agree to any Pro- " poſal, and expoſe himſelf to any Danger for the Sake " of his Country. Let *Pompey* go to his Government: " let all the Armies be diſbanded: let every Body " throughout *Italy* lay down their Arms: let every " Thing that participates of Terror and Force be re- " moved: let the Elections of Magiſtrates be made " with perfect Freedom; and let the Republick be ad- " miniſtred by the Authority of the Senate and People. " And the better to ſettle all theſe Articles, and cor- " roborate them with the Sanction of an Oath, let either " *Pompey* himſelf draw nearer, or ſuffer *Cæſar* to " approach him; as all their Differences may be moſt " eaſily terminated by a Conference."

IX. ROSCIUS and *L. Cæſar*, having received this Anſwer, departed for *Capua*, where they found *Pompey* and the Conſuls, and laid before them *Cæſar*'s Propoſals. After deliberating upon the Affair, they ſent a Reply in Writing by the ſame Meſſengers, the Purport of which was: " That *Cæſar* ſhould quit *Rimini*, re- " turn to *Gaul*, and diſband his Army; which Condi- " tions performed, *Pompey* would go into *Spain*. In " the Mean-time, till *Cæſar* gave Security for the Per- " formance of what he had promiſed, neither *Pompey* " nor the Conſuls would diſcontinue the Levies."

X. IT was by no means a fair Propoſal, that *Cæſar* ſhould be obliged to quit *Rimini*, and return to *Gaul*; while

while *Pompey* held Provinces and Legions that were none of his: that he ſhould diſmiſs his Army; whilſt the other was levying Troops: and that only a general Promiſe of going into *Spain* ſhould be given, without fixing a Day for his Departure; by which Evaſion, was he to be found in *Italy*, even at the Expiration of *Cæſar*'s Conſulſhip, he could not yet be charged with Breach of Faith. His forbearing too to appoint a Time for a Conference, and declining to approach nearer, gave little Reaſon to hope for a Peace. He therefore ſent *Antony* to *Arretium* with five Cohorts; remained himſelf at *Rimini* with two, where he reſolved to levy Troops; and ſeizing *Piſaurum*, *Fanum*, and *Ancona*, left a Cohort in each for a Garriſon.

XI. MEAN-TIME being informed, that *Thermus* the Prætor had entered *Iguvium* with five Cohorts, and was endeavouring to fortify the Town; as he knew the Inhabitants to be well inclined to his Intereſt, he detached *Curio* thither with three Cohorts, drawn from *Piſaurum* and *Rimini*. Upon this *Thermus*, who could not confide in the Townſmen, retired with his Cohorts, and quitted the Place: but his Troops abandoning him in their March, returned ſeverally to their own Homes. *Curio* was received into the Place with great Demonſtrations of Joy: which being reported to *Cæſar*, as he found he had the Good-will of the Colonies and free Towns, he drew the Cohorts of the thirteenth Legion out of Garriſon, and marched to *Auximum*, which *Attius* held with a Body of Troops, and whence he had diſpatched Senators to levy Forces over all *Picenum*. *Cæſar*'s Arrival being known, the chief Citizens of *Auximum* went in a Body to *Attius Varus*, and told him: "That it did not "belong to them to determine on which ſide Juſtice lay; "but that neither they, nor the other municipal Towns "could endure to ſee their Gates ſhut againſt *Cæſar*, "who by his great Actions had deſerved ſo well of the "Commonwealth: That therefore he would do well "to conſult his own Safety and Reputation." *Attius*, moved by this Speech, drew off his Garriſon and fled. But ſome of *Cæſar*'s firſt Ranks purſuing him, obliged him to ſtop; and a Battle enſuing, he was deſerted by his Men. Some of the Troops returned Home; the reſt went over to *Cæſar*, and brought along with them *L. Pupius*,

Pupius, first Centurion of the Legion, who had formerly held the same Rank in *Pompey*'s Army. *Cæsar* commended *Attius*'s Soldiers; dismissed *Pupius*; returned Thanks to the Inhabitants of *Auximum*; and promised to retain always a grateful Remembrance of their Attachment.

XII. THESE Things being reported at *Rome*, the Consternation was so great over the whole City, that when the Consul *Lentulus* came to the Treasury to deliver out the Money to *Pompey*, in consequence of the Decree of the Senate, he scarce waited the opening of the inner Door, but precipitately left the Place, upon a false Rumour that *Cæsar* was approaching, and some of his Cavalry already in View. He was soon followed by his Colleague *Marcellus*, and the greater Part of the Magistrates. *Pompey* had left the Town the Day before, and was upon his Way to *Apulia*, where he had quartered the Legions he had received from *Cæsar*. The Levies were discontinued within the City, and no Place appeared secure on this side *Capua*. Here at last they took Courage and rallied, and began to renew their Levies in the Colonies round about, which had been sent thither by the *Julian* Law. *Lentulus* summoned into the Forum the Gladiators whom *Cæsar* had ordered to be trained up there, gave them their Liberty, furnished them with Horses, and commanded them to follow him. But being afterwards admonished by his Friends that this Step was universally condemned, he dispersed them into the neighbouring Towns of *Campania*, to keep garrison there.

XIII. CÆSAR Mean-while leaving *Auximum*, traversed the whole Country of *Picenum*; where he was joyfully received in all Parts by the Inhabitants, who furnished his Army with every thing necessary. Even *Cingulum* itself, a Town founded by *Labienus*, and built at his own Expence, sent Deputies to him with an Offer of their Submission and Services. He demanded a certain Number of Soldiers, which were sent immediately. Mean-time the twelfth Legion joined him; and with these two he marched to *Asculum*, a Town of *Picenum*. Here *Lentulus Spinther* commanded with ten Cohorts; who hearing of *Cæsar*'s Approach, quitted the Place with

with his Troops, who almoſt all deſerted him upon the March. Being left with only a few, he fell in with *Vibullius Rufus*, whom *Pompey* had ſent into *Picenum*, to encourage his Followers in thoſe Parts. *Vibullius* underſtanding from him the State of Affairs in *Picenum*, diſmiſſed *Lentulus*, and took the Soldiers under his Command. He likewiſe drew together from the neighbouring Provinces as many as he could meet with of *Pompey*'s Levies; among the reſt *Ulcilles Hirus*, who was flying with ſix Cohorts from *Camerinum*, where they had been quartered. Out of all theſe he formed thirteen Cohorts, with which he poſted by great Journeys to *Corfinium*, where *Domitius Ahenobarbus* commanded; whom he informed that *Cæſar* was approaching with two Legions. *Domitius* had already got together with great Expedition twenty Cohorts from *Alba*, the Country of the *Marſi*, *Peligni*, and the neighbouring Provinces.

XIV. CÆSAR having made himſelf Maſter of *Aſculum*, and obliged *Lentulus* to retire, ordered the Soldiers who had deſerted him to be ſought after, and new Levies to be made. He remained only one Day there, to ſettle what related to Proviſions, and then purſued his March to *Corfinium*. Upon his Arrival there, he found five Cohorts, whom *Domitius* had detached from the Garriſon, employed in breaking down a Bridge about three Miles diſtant from the Town. But *Cæſar*'s advanced Parties attacking them, they quickly abandoned the Bridge, and retired to *Corfinium*. *Cæſar* having paſſed with his Legions, halted before the Town, and encamped under the Walls.

XV. UPON this *Domitius* engaged by great Rewards Perſons well acquainted with the Country, to carry Letters into *Apulia* to *Pompey*, wherein he earneſtly requeſted him to come to his Aid. He told him, "That "it would be eaſy, in that cloſe Country, to ſhut up "*Cæſar* between two Armies, and cut off his Proviſions: That unleſs this Courſe was followed, he "himſelf, with above thirty Cohorts, and a great "Number of Senators and *Roman* Knights, would be "expoſed to imminent Danger." Mean-while having encouraged his Men, he diſpoſed Engines along the Walls,

Walls, appointed every one his particular Poſt, and the more to animate them, promiſed each Soldier four Acres of Land out of his own Eſtate, and in proportion to every Centurion and Volunteer.

XVI. MEAN-TIME *Cæſar* was informed that the People of *Sulmona*, a Town ſeven Miles diſtant from *Corfinium*, deſired to put themſelves under his Protection, but were reſtrained by *Q. Lucretius* a Senator, and *Attius* a *Pelignian*, who held them in Subjection with a Garriſon of ſeven Cohorts. He therefore diſpatched *M. Antony* thither, with five Cohorts of the ſeventh Legion, whoſe Enſigns were no ſooner deſcried from the Walls of *Sulmona*, than the Gates were thrown open, and the whole People in a Body, both Soldiers and Townſmen, came out to congratulate *Antony* on his Arrival. *Lucretius* and *Attius* endeavoured to eſcape over the Wall: but *Attius* being taken, and brought to *Antony*, requeſted that he might be ſent to *Cæſar*. *Antony* returned the ſame Day, bringing along with him the Cohorts and *Attius*. *Cæſar* joined theſe Cohorts to his Army, and ſet *Attius* at Liberty.

XVII. CÆSAR reſolved to employ the three firſt Days in ſtrongly fortifying his Camp, in procuring Corn from the neighbouring Towns, and waiting the Arrival of the reſt of his Forces. During this Space the eighth Legion joined him, with two-and-twenty Cohorts of new Levies from *Gaul*, and about three hundred Horſe from the King of *Noricum*. This obliged him to form a ſecond Camp on the other Side of the Town, under the Command of *Curio*. The remaining Days were ſpent in drawing a Line with Redoubts round the Place, which Work was nearly completed when the Meſſengers that had been ſent to *Pompey* returned.

XVIII. DOMITIUS peruſing the Diſpatches, thought proper to diſſemble the Contents, and declared in Council, that *Pompey* would ſpeedily come to their Aſſiſtance. Mean-time he exhorted them to behave with Courage, and provide every Thing neceſſary for a vigorous Defence. He conferred however privately with a few of his moſt intimate Friends, and in concert with them determined upon Flight. But as his Looks and Speech were

were found to disagree; as he behaved not with his usual Composure and Firmness; and was observed, contrary to Custom, to be much in secret Conference with his Friends; avoiding publick Appearances, and Councils of War: It was not possible for the Truth to remain any longer concealed. For *Pompey* had wrote back; "That he could not put all to hazard for his "Sake; that he had neither advised nor consented to his "shutting himself up in *Corfinium*; that he must therefore endeavour to extricate himself as well as he could, "and come and join him with all his Forces." But as *Cæsar* had invested and carried his Lines round the Place, this Retreat was now become impracticable.

XIX. DOMITIUS's Design being discovered, the Soldiers, who were at *Corfinium*, began to assemble in the Evening, and by Means of their Tribunes, Centurions, and other Officers, made known their Thoughts to one another: "That they were besieged by *Cæsar*, who had "already in a Manner completed his Works: That "their General *Domitius*, in whose Promises of Assist-"ance they had placed their chief Hope, abandoning "all Concern for their Safety, was contriving to escape "privately by Flight: That it was therefore incum-"bent upon them to look also to their own Preserva-"tion." The *Marsi* at first opposed this Resolution, and possessed themselves of the strongest Part of the Town; nay, the Dispute was so warm, that it almost came to be decided by the Sword. But shortly after, being made acquainted with *Domitius*'s intended Flight, of which before they had no Knowledge; they all in a Body surrounded *Domitius*, secured his Person, and sent Deputies to *Cæsar*: "That they were ready to open "their Gates, receive his Orders, and deliver up *Do-"mitius* alive."

XX. THOUGH *Cæsar* was fully sensible of how great Importance it was to get possession of the Town immediately, and join the Garrison to his own Army; left by Largesses, Promises of speedy Relief, or false Reports, any Change should be produced; as in War great Revolutions often arise from very trifling Causes; yet fearing that if he introduced his Soldiers in the Dark, they would take that Opportunity to plunder the Town, he

ſent back the Deputies with Thanks for their Proffer, reſolving to have the Walls and Gates watched with great Care. To that End he diſpoſed his Men along the Works, not at certain Diſtances as uſual, but in one continued Rank, ſo as to touch each other, and completely inveſt the Town. He ordered the Military Tribunes, and Officers of the Cavalry, to patrol about the Works, and not only be on their guard againſt Sallies, but even take care to prevent the Eſcape of particular Perſons. And indeed ſo alert and vigilant were the Soldiers, that not a Man cloſed his Eyes that Night; each expecting the Event with Impatience, and carrying his Thoughts from one Thing to another; what would be the Fate of the *Corfinians*, what of *Domitius*, what of *Lentulus* and the other illuſtrious Perſons in the Place: in fine, what was like to be the Iſſue of ſo complicated a Scene.

XXI. ABOUT the fourth Watch of the Night, *Lentulus Spinther* called from the Wall to the Guard, and deſired to be conducted to *Cæſar*. His Requeſt being granted, he came out of the Town, attended by ſome of *Domitius*'s Soldiers, who never left him till they had conducted him into *Cæſar*'s Preſence. "He begged him to ſpare his Life, and pardon the "Injuries he had done him, in conſideration of their "former Friendſhip. He owned the many Obliga- "tions he had laid him under, in procuring him an Ad- "miſſion into the College of Prieſts, obtaining for him "the Government of *Spain* after the Expiration of the "Prætorſhip, and ſupporting him in the Demand of "the Conſulſhip." *Cæſar* interrupted him by ſaying, "That he was not come out of the Bounds of his Pro- "vince with an Intent to injure any Body; but to re- pel the Injuries done him by his Enemies; to revenge "the Wrongs of the Tribunes; and to reſtore to the "*Roman* People, who were oppreſſed by a ſmall Faction "of the Nobles, their Liberty and Privileges." *Lentulus* encouraged by this Speech, aſked leave to return into the Town, "where he ſaid, the Aſſurances he "had obtained of his own Safety, would contribute "not a little to the Conſolation of others, ſome of "whom were ſo terrified, that they were ready to take

"deſperate

"desperate Resolutions." Leave being granted, he departed for the Town.

XXII. As soon as it was Light, *Cæsar* ordered before him all the Senators, Senators Sons, Military Tribunes, and *Roman* Knights. There were of Senatorian Rank, *L. Domitius*, *P. Lentulus Spinther*, *L. Vibullius Rufus*, *Sextus Quintilius Varus* Questor, *L. Rubrius*; also *Domitius*'s Son, and many young Men of Quality, with a great Number of *Roman* Knights, and some Decurions, or Senators of the neighbouring municipal Towns, who had been sent for by *Domitius*. As soon as they appeared, he gave Orders to secure them from the Insults of the Soldiery; and addressing them in a few Words, remonstrated: "That they had made a very ill Requital "for the many signal Services received at his Hands:" after which he set them at Liberty. He likewise restored to *Domitius* six Millions of Sesterces, which that General had brought with him to *Corfinium*, and deposited in the Hands of the two Treasurers of the Town, who surrendered it to *Cæsar*. As this was publick Money, assigned by *Pompey* to pay the Forces with, *Cæsar* might justly have seized it; but he was willing to shew himself generous, as well as merciful. He ordered *Domitius*'s Soldiers to take the usual Oath to him, decamped that very Day, made the ordinary March; and after staying in all seven Days before *Confinium*, arrived in *Apulia*, through the Territories of the *Marrucini*, *Frentani*, and *Larinates*.

XXIII. POMPEY having Intelligence of what passed at *Corfinium*, retreated from *Luceria* to *Canusium*, and thence to *Brundusium*. He ordered all the new Levies to join him, armed the Shepherds and Slaves, furnished them with Horses, and formed a Body of about three hundred Cavalry. Mean-while the Prætor *L. Manlius*, flying from *Alba* with six Cohorts; and the Prætor *Rutilus Lupus*, from *Tarracina* with three; saw *Cæsar*'s Cavalry at a Distance, commanded by *Bivius Curius*: upon which the Soldiers immediately abandoned the two Prætors, and joined the Troops under the Conduct of *Curius*. Several other Parties, flying different Ways, fell in, some with the Foot, others with the Horse.

Cn.

Cn. Magius of *Cremona*, *Pompey*'s chief Engineer, being taken on his Way to *Brundusium*, was brought to *Cæsar*, who sent him back to *Pompey* with this Message: "That "as he had not yet obtained an Interview, his Design "was to come to *Brundusium*, there to confer with "him in relation to the common Safety, because they "soon would be able to dispatch in a personal Treaty, "what, if managed by the Intervention of others could "not be hindered from running into a tedious Nego-"tiation."

XXIV. HAVING dismissed him with these Instructions, he arrived before *Brundusium* with six Legions, three of which were composed of veteran Soldiers, and the rest of new Levies drawn together upon his March: for as to *Domitius*'s Troops, he had sent them directly from *Corfinium* to *Sicily*. He found the Consuls were gone to *Dyrrhachium* with great Part of the Army, and that *Pompey* remained in *Brundusium* with twenty Cohorts. Nor was it certainly known, whether he continued there with Design to keep Possession of *Brundusium*, that he might be Master of the whole *Adriatick* Sea, the extreme Parts of *Italy*, and the Country of *Greece*, in order to make War on both Sides the Gulph; or for Want of Shipping to transport his Men. Fearing therefore that it was still his Intention to keep footing in *Italy*, he resolved to deprive him of the Advantages he might reap from the Port of *Brundusium*. The Works he contrived for this Purpose were as follows. He carried on a Mole on either Side the Mouth of the Haven where the Entrance was narrowest, and the Water shallow. But as this Work could not be carried quite across the Port, by reason of the great Depth of the Sea, he prepared double Floats of Timber, thirty Foot square, which were each secured by four Anchors from the four Corners, to enable them to resist the Fury of the Waves. These extending all the Way between the two Moles, were covered over with Earth and Fascines, that the Soldiers might pass and repass with Ease, and have firm Footing to defend them. The Front and Sides were armed with a Parapet of Hurdles; and every fourth Float had a Tower of two Stories, the better to guard the Work from Fire, and the Shocks of Vessels,

XXV. AGAINST theſe Preparations *Pompey* made uſe of ſeveral large Ships which he found in the Port of *Brunduſium*: and having fitted them with Towers of three Stories, which he filled with a great Number of Engines and Darts, let them looſe upon *Cæſar*'s Floats, to break through the Staccado, and interrupt the Works. Thus daily Skirmiſhes happened with Darts, Arrows, and Slings at a Diſtance. Amidſt theſe Hoſtilities, *Cæſar*'s Thoughts were ſtill bent upon Peace: and though he could not but wonder that *Magius*, whom he had ſent with Propoſals to *Pompey*, was not yet returned with an Anſwer; and even ſaw his Deſigns and Undertakings retarded by his frequent Offers of this Kind; he nevertheleſs ſtill perſevered in theſe peaceable Reſolutions. Accordingly he diſpatched *Caninius Rebilus*, one of his Lieutenants, a Relation and intimate Friend of *Scribonius Libo*, to confer with him on this Subject. He charged him, to exhort that Nobleman to think ſeriouſly of Peace, and if poſſible procure an Interview between him and *Pompey*. Could this be effected, he ſhewed there was the greateſt Ground to believe, that Peace would ſoon be concluded on reaſonable Terms; the Honour and Reputation of which would in a Manner wholly redound to *Libo*, if by his Mediation both Parties ſhould be prevailed with to lay down their Arms. *Libo*, after conferring with *Caninius*, waited on *Pompey*. Soon after he returned with this Anſwer; that the Conſuls were abſent, without whom *Pompey* had no Power to treat of an Accommodation. Thus *Cæſar* having often tried in vain to bring about a Peace, thought it now Time to drop that Deſign, and bend all his Thoughts to War.

XXVI. CÆSAR having ſpent nine Days about his Works, had now half finiſhed the Staccado, when the Ships employed in the firſt Embarkation, being ſent back by the Conſuls from *Dyrrhachium*, returned to *Brunduſium*. *Pompey*, either alarmed at *Cæſar*'s Works, or becauſe from the firſt he had determined to relinquiſh *Italy*, no ſooner ſaw the Tranſports arrive, than he prepared to carry over the reſt of his Forces. And the better to ſecure himſelf againſt *Cæſar*, and prevent his Troops from breaking into the Town during the Embarkation, he walled up the Gates; barricaded the Streets;

Streets; or cut Ditches acroſs them, filled with pointed Stakes, and covered with Hurdles and Earth. The two Streets which led to the Port, and which he left open for the Paſſage of his Men, were fortified with a double Paliſado of very ſtrong well ſharpened Stakes. Theſe Preparations being made, he ordered the Soldiers to embark with great Silence, having placed on the Walls and Towers ſome ſelect Archers and Slingers, who were to wait till all the Troops had got aboard, and then retire, upon a Signal given, to ſome ſmall Ships that waited them at a convenient Diſtance.

XXVII. THE People of *Brunduſium*, provoked by the Affronts they had received from *Pompey*, and the Inſults of his Soldiers, wiſhed well to *Cæſar*'s Cauſe: and having Notice of *Pompey*'s intended Departure; while the Soldiers were buſied with the Care of embarking, found Means to ſignify it from the Tops of their Houſes. *Cæſar*, upon this Intelligence, ordered ſcaling Ladders to be prepared, and the Soldiers to repair to their Arms, that he might not loſe any Opportunity of acting. *Pompey* weighed Anchor a little before Night, and gave the Signal for recalling the Soldiers that were upon the Walls, who repaired with all Expedition to the Ships prepared for them. Mean-time the ſcaling Ladders are applied to the Walls, and *Cæſar*'s Troops enter the Town. But being informed by the *Brunduſians* of the Snares and Ditches provided for them by the Enemy, they were obliged to take a great Circuit, which gave *Pompey* Time enough to put to Sea. Two Tranſports only, impeded by *Cæſar*'s Mole, were taken with the Troops on board.

XXVIII. THOUGH *Cæſar* was fully ſenſible, that to finiſh the War at a Blow, he muſt paſs the Sea immediately, and endeavour to come up with *Pompey*, before he could draw his tranſmarine Forces together; yet he dreaded the Delay and Length of Time that ſuch a Project might require: becauſe *Pompey* having carried with him all the Ships on that Coaſt, rendered the preſent Execution of the Deſign impracticable. He muſt therefore wait the Arrival of Ships from *Picenum*, *Sicily*, and the remoter Coaſts of *Gaul*; which was a tedious Buſineſs, and, at that Seaſon of the Year, ſubject to

great Uncertainty. It appeared likewiſe of dangerous Conſequence, to ſuffer a veteran Army, and the two *Spains*, one of which was wholly devoted to *Pompey*, to ſtrengthen themſelves in his Rival's Intereſt; to let them grow powerful by Levies of Horſe and Foot; and leave *Gaul* and *Italy* open to their Attacks in his Abſence. He determined, therefore, to lay aſide, for the preſent, the Deſign of purſuing *Pompey*, and turn all his Thoughts towards *Spain*. He ordered the Magiſtrates of the municipal Towns to aſſemble all the Veſſels they could, and ſent them to *Brunduſium*. He ſent *Valerius*, one of his Lieutenants, into *Sardinia*, with one Legion; and the Proprætor *Curio* into *Sicily* with three: ordering him, as ſoon as he had maſtered *Sicily*, to paſs over with his Army into *Africa*.

XXIX. M. COTTA commanded in *Sardinia*; *M. Cato* in *Sicily*; and *Africa* had fallen by Lot to *Tubero*. The Inhabitants of *Cagliari*, hearing of *Valerius*'s Commiſſion, of their own Accord, before he had left *Italy*, drove *Cotta* out of their City; who terrified by the unanimous Oppoſition he met with from the Province, fled into *Africa*. In *Sicily*, *Cato* applied himſelf with great Diligence to the refitting of old Ships, and building of new. He ſent his Lieutenants to raiſe Forces in *Lucania* and the Country of the *Brutians*, and ordered the States of *Sicily* to furniſh him with a certain Number of Horſe and Foot. When theſe Preparations were almoſt completed, being informed of *Curio*'s Arrival, he called his chief Officers together, and complained, "that he was betrayed and abandoned by "*Pompey*, who without any previous Preparation had "involved the Commonwealth in an unneceſſary War; "and upon being queſtioned by himſelf and others "in the Senate, had aſſured them, that he was abun-"dantly able to ſuſtain it." Having thus declared his Mind, he quitted the Province, which by this Means ſubmitted without Trouble to *Curio*, as *Sardinia* had before done to *Valerius*. *Tubero* arriving in *Africa*, found *Attius Varus* in poſſeſſion of that Province; who after the Loſs of his Cohorts at *Auximum*, as we have ſhewn above, had fled into thoſe Parts, and, with the Conſent of the Natives, taken upon him the Command. Here he had found Means to levy two Legions, by his Know-

ledge

ledge of the People and Country, where he had been Governor ſome Years before, after the Expiration of his Prætorſhip. *Tubero* coming before *Utica* with his Fleet, was forbid the Harbour and Town; nor could he even obtain Leave for his Son to land, though he had a Fit of Sickneſs upon him, but was obliged to weigh Anchor and be gone.

XXX. THESE Affairs diſpatched, *Cæſar*, that his Troops might enjoy ſome Repoſe, cantoned them in the neareſt Towns, and ſet out himſelf for *Rome*. There he aſſembled the Senate, and after complaining of the Injuries of his Enemies, told them, "That he "had never affected extraordinary Honours, but waited "patiently the Time preſcribed by the Laws, to ſolicit "for a ſecond Conſulſhip, to which every *Roman* Citizen "had a Right to aſpire: That the People, with the "Concurrence of their Tribunes, (in ſpite of the "Attempts of his Enemies, and the vigorous Oppoſi-"tion of *Cato*, who endeavoured, according to Cuſtom, "to ſpin out the Time in ſpeaking,) had permitted "him to ſtand Candidate though abſent, and that even in "the Conſulſhip of *Pompey*: who, if he diſapproved of "the Decree, why did he let it paſs? but if he allowed "it, why now oppoſe the Execution? He ſet before "them his Moderation, in voluntarily propoſing that "both Parties ſhould lay down their Arms, by which "he muſt have been himſelf diveſted of his Government "and Command. He diſplayed the Malice of his "Enemies, who ſought to impoſe Terms upon him, "to which they would not ſubmit themſelves; and "choſe rather to involve the State in a Civil War, than "part with their Armies and Provinces. He enlarged "upon the Injury they had done him, in taking away "two of his Legions, and their Cruelty and Inſolence, "in violating the Authority of the Tribunes. He "ſpoke of his many Offers of Peace, his frequent "Deſire of an Interview, and the continual Refuſals "he had received. For all theſe Reaſons, he requeſted "and conjured them to undertake the Adminiſtration "of the Republick, jointly with him. But if they "declined it through Fear, he had no Intention to "force ſo great a Burden upon them, and would take

" the whole Charge alone. That in the Mean-time " it would be proper to ſend a Deputation to *Pompey*, " to treat of an Accommodation: Nor was he frighted " at the Difficulty *Pompey* had ſtarted ſome Time before " in the Senate; that to ſend Deputies was to acknow- " ledge the Superiority of him to whom they were ſent, " and a Sign of Timidity in the Sender. That this " was a little low Way of thinking; and that, in the " ſame Manner as he had endeavoured at a Superiority in " Action, he would alſo ſtrive to be Superior in Juſtice " and Equity."

XXXI. THE Senate liked the Propoſal of a Deputation to *Pompey*: but the great Difficulty was, to find Deputies; every one, out of fear, refuſing to charge himſelf with that Commiſſion. For *Pompey*, at his Departure from *Rome*, had declared in the Senate: " That he would eſteem thoſe who ſtayed behind, as " no leſs guilty than thoſe in *Cæſar*'s Camp." Thus three Days were ſpent in Debates and Excuſes. The Tribune *L. Metellus* had likewiſe been ſuborned by *Cæſar*'s Enemies to traverſe this Deſign, and hinder whatever he ſhould propoſe. Which *Cæſar* coming to underſtand, and that he only waſted his Time to no Purpoſe; he ſet out from *Rome*, without effecting what he had intended, and arrived in Further *Gaul*.

XXXII. HERE he was informed, that *Pompey* had ſent into *Spain Vibullius Rufus*; the ſame who a few Days before had been made Priſoner at *Corfinium*, and ſet at liberty by *Cæſar*: that *Domitius* was gone to take poſſeſſion of *Marſeilles*, with ſeven Gallies, which he had fitted out at *Igilium* and *Coſanum*, and manned with his Slaves, Freedmen, and Labourers: that the Deputies of the above-mentioned State, young Men of the firſt Quality, (whom *Pompey*, at his Departure from *Rome*, had exhorted not to ſuffer the Memory of his paſt Services to their Country to be blotted out by thoſe lately received from *Cæſar*,) had been ſent before, to prepare the Way for his Reception. In conſequence of their Remonſtrances, the Inhabitants of *Marſeilles* ſhut their Gates againſt *Cæſar*, and ſummoned to their Aſſiſtance the *Albici*, a barbarous People, who had long been

been under their Protection, and inhabited the adjoining Mountains. They brought Provisions from the neighbouring Country and Castles, appointed Work-shops for the making of Arms, refitted their Navy, and repaired their Walls and Gates.

XXXIII. CÆSAR sending for fifteen of the principal Men of the City, exhorted them not to be the first to begin the War, but to be swayed rather by the Authority of all *Italy*, than the Will of one particular Person. He forgot not such other Considerations as seemed most likely to bring them to Reason. The Deputies returning into the Town, brought back this Answer from their Senate: "That they saw the *Romans* "divided into two Parties, and it did not belong to "them to decide such a Quarrel: That at the Head "of these Parties were *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, both Patrons "of their City; the one having added to it the Country "of the *Volcæ Arecomici* and *Helvians*; the other, after "the Reduction of *Gaul*, considerably augmented its "Territories and Revenues: That as they were there-"fore equally indebted to both, it became them not to "aid the one against the other; but to remain neuter, "and grant neither an Admittance into their City or "Port."

XXXIV. WHILST these Things were in agitation, *Domitius* arrived at *Marseilles* with his Fleet; and being received into the Town, was appointed Governor, and charged with the whole Administration of the War. By his Order, they sent out their Fleet to cruise round the Coasts; seized and brought in all the Merchant Vessels they could find; and made use of the Nails, Rigging, and Timber of such as were unfit for Service, to repair the rest. They deposited in publick Granaries all the Corn that was to be found in the City, and secured whatever else they thought might be serviceable to them in case of a Siege. *Cæsar* provoked at these Preparations, brought three Legions before the Town; began to erect Towers and Galleries; and gave Orders for building twelve Gallies at *Arles*: which being finished, launched, and brought to *Marseilles*, within thirty Days from the cutting of the Wood they were composed of, he put them under the Command of *D. Brutus*;

Brutus; and having directed the Manner of the Siege, left the Care of it to *C. Trebonius* his Lieutenant.

XXXV. DURING theſe Orders and Preparations, he ſent *C. Fabius* before him into *Spain*, with three Legions that had wintered about *Narbonne*; charging him to ſecure with all Diligence the Paſſage of the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, which was at that Time guarded by a Party of *Afranius*'s Army. His other Legions, whoſe Quarters were more remote, had Orders to follow as faſt as they could. *Fabius*, according to his Inſtructions, having made great Diſpatch, forced the Paſſes of the *Pyrenees*; and by long Marches came up with *Afranius*'s Army.

XXXVI. POMPEY had then three Lieutenants in *Spain*; *Afranius*, *Petreius*, and *Varro*. The firſt of theſe was at the Head of three Legions, and governed the nearer *Spain*. The other two had each two Legions, and commanded, the one from the *Caſtilian* Foreſt to the *Anas*; the other from the *Anas*, quite through *Luſitania*, and the Territories of the *Vettones*. Theſe three Lieutenants, upon the Arrival of *Vibullius Rufus*, whom *Pompey* had ſent into *Spain*, as we have ſeen above, conſulted together, and agreed; that *Petreius* ſhould join *Afranius* with his two Legions; and that *Varro* ſhould ſtay and ſecure Further *Spain*. Theſe Reſolutions being taken, *Petreius* levied Horſe and Foot in *Luſitania*; and *Afranius* in *Celtiberia*, *Cantabria*, and the barbarous Nations bordering upon the Ocean. When the Levies were completed, *Petreius* ſpeedily joined *Afranius* through the Territories of the *Vettones*; and both reſolved to make *Lerida* the Seat of the War, becauſe the Country lay convenient for their Purpoſe.

XXXVII. WE have already obſerved that *Afranius* had three Legions, and *Petreius* two. Beſides theſe, there were about eighty Cohorts, ſome light, ſome heavy-armed; and five thouſand Horſe, raiſed in both Provinces. *Cæſar* had ſent his Legions before him into *Spain*, with ſix thouſand auxiliary Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, who had ſerved under him in all his former Wars; and he was furniſhed with the like Number from *Gaul*, all choſen Troops. For hearing that

that *Pompey* was coming with his whole Force through *Mauritania* into *Spain*, he ſent circular Letters to all the *Gallick* States, inviting by Name thoſe of the moſt known and approved Valour, and in particular a ſelect Body of Mountaineers from *Aquitain*, where it borders upon the *Roman* Province. At the ſame Time he borrowed Money from the military Tribunes and Centurions, which he diſtributed among the Soldiers. This Policy was attended with two great Advantages; it bound the Officers to him by the Obligation of Intereſt, and the Soldiers by the Tie of Gratitude.

XXXVIII. FABIUS, by Letters and Meſſengers, endeavoured to ſound the Diſpoſition of the neighbouring States. He had laid two Bridges over the *Sicoris*, four Miles diſtant from each other, for the Convenience of foraging, having conſumed all the Paſture on this Side the River. *Pompey*'s Generals did the ſame, with much the like View, which occaſioned frequent Skirmiſhes between the Horſe. Two of *Fabius*'s Legions, which was the ordinary Guard of the Foragers, paſſing one Day according to Cuſtom, and the Cavalry and Carriages following; the Bridge broke down on a Sudden, by the Violence of the Winds and Floods, and ſeparated them from the reſt of the Army. *Afranius* and *Petreius* perceiving it, by the Faſcines and Hurdles that came down with the Stream; detached immediately four Legions, with all their Cavalry, over the Bridge that lay between the Town and their Camp; and marched to attack *Fabius*'s Legions. Upon this, *L. Plancus*, who commanded the Eſcort, finding himſelf hard preſſed, ſeized a Riſing-ground; and forming his Men in two Diviſions, poſted them Back to Back, that he might not be ſurrounded by the Enemy's Horſe. By this Diſpoſition, though inferior in Number, he was enabled to ſuſtain the furious Charge of their Legions and Cavalry. During the Courſe of the Battle, the Enſigns of two Legions were perceived at a Diſtance, which *Fabius* had ſent by the further Bridge to ſuſtain his Party, ſuſpecting what might happen, and that *Pompey*'s Generals would ſeize the Opportunity offered them by Fortune, to fall upon our Men. Their Arrival put an End to the Engagement, and both Parties returned to their reſpective Camps.

XXXIX. Two

XXXIX. Two Days after, *Cæsar* arrived in the Camp with nine hundred Horse, which he had kept for a Body-guard. He began by re-establishing in the Night the Bridge which had been broken down, and was not yet quite repaired. Next Day he took a View of the Country, and leaving six Cohorts to guard the Bridge, the Camp, and the Baggage, marched with all his Forces in three Lines to *Lerida*, and stopped near *Afranius*'s Camp, where he remained some Time under Arms, and offered him Battle on an even Ground. *Afranius* drew out his Troops, and formed them before his Camp half way down the Hill. *Cæsar* finding that he declined an Engagement, resolved to encamp within four hundred Paces of the Foot of the Mountain; and to hinder his Troops from being alarmed or interrupted in their Works, by sudden Incursions from the Enemy; ordered them not to throw up a Rampart, which must have appeared and betrayed them at a Distance; but to cut a Ditch in Front, fifteen Foot broad. The first and second Lines continued in Order of Battle, as had been resolved from the Beginning; and the Third carried on the Work behind them unperceived. Thus the Whole was completed before *Afranius* had the least Suspicion of his Design to encamp there.

XL. In the Evening *Cæsar* retreated with his Legions behind the Ditch, and passed the whole Night under Arms. Next Day he carried the Intrenchment quite round his Camp: And because Materials for a Rampart must have been fetched from a great Distance, he contented himself for the present with a naked Ditch, as the Day before; allotting a Legion to each Side of the Camp; and keeping the rest of the Troops under Arms, to cover those that worked. *Afranius* and *Petreius*, to alarm our Men, and disturb the Works, advanced with their Troops to the Foot of the Mountain, and threatened to give Battle. But *Cæsar* trusting to the three Legions under Arms, and the Defence of his Ditch, still persisted in his Design. At last, after a short Stay, and without daring to come forward into the Plain, they retreated again to their Camp. The third Day, *Cæsar* added a Rampart to his Camp, and brought into it the six Cohorts, with the Baggage which he had left in his former Camp.

XLI. Between

XLI. BETWEEN the City of *Lerida*, and the Hill where *Petreius* and *Afranius* were encamped, was a Plain of about three hundred Paces; in the Midſt of which was a Riſing-ground, which *Cæſar* wanted to take poſſeſſion of; becauſe, by that Means, he could cut off the Enemy's Communication with the Town and Bridge, and render the Magazines they had in the Town uſeleſs. In this Hope, he drew out three Legions; and having formed them in Order of Battle, commanded the firſt Ranks of one of them to run before, and gain the Place. *Afranius* perceiving his Deſign, diſpatched the Cohorts that were upon guard before the Camp, a nearer Way to the ſame Eminence. The Conteſt was ſharply maintained on both Sides: But *Afranius*'s Party, who firſt got poſſeſſion of the Poſt, obliged our Men to give ground; and being reinforced by freſh Supplies, put them at laſt to rout, and forced them to fly for Shelter to the Legions.

XLII. THE Manner of fighting of *Afranius*'s Soldiers was, to come forward briſkly againſt an Enemy, and boldly take poſſeſſion of ſome Poſt; neither taking care to keep their Ranks, nor holding it neceſſary to fight in a cloſe compact Body. If they found themſelves hard puſhed, they thought it no Diſhonour to retire and quit their Poſt; following in this the Cuſtom of the *Luſitanians*, and other barbarous Nations; as it almoſt always happens, that Soldiers give into the Manners of the Country where they have long been uſed to make War. This Manner of fighting however, as it was new and unexpected, diſordered our Men, who ſeeing the Enemy come forward, without regard to their Ranks, were apprehenſive of being ſurrounded; and yet did not think themſelves at liberty to break their Ranks, or abandon their Enſigns, or quit their Poſt, without ſome very urgent Cauſe. The firſt Ranks therefore being put into Diſorder, the Legion in that Wing gave ground, and retired to a neighbouring Hill.

XLIII. CÆSAR, contrary to his Expectation, finding the Conſternation like to ſpread through the whole Army, encouraged his Men, and led the ninth Legion to their Aſſiſtance. He ſoon put a Stop to the vigorous and inſulting Purſuit of the Enemy, obliged them to turn

turn their Backs, and puſhed them to the very Walls of *Lerida*. But the Soldiers of the ninth Legion, elated with Succeſs, and eager to repair the Loſs we had ſuſtained, followed the Runaways with ſo much Heat, that they were drawn into a Place of Diſadvantage, and found themſelves directly under the Hill where the Town ſtood: Whence when they endeavoured to retire, the Enemy again facing about, charged vigorouſly from the higher Ground. The Hill was rough, and ſteep on each Side, extending only ſo far in Breadth, as was ſufficient for drawing up three Cohorts: But they could neither be reinforced in Flank, nor ſuſtained by the Cavalry. The Deſcent from the Town was indeed ſomething eaſier, for about four hundred Paces; which furniſhed our Men with the Means of extricating themſelves from the Danger into which their Raſhneſs had brought them. Here they bravely maintained the Fight, though with great Diſadvantage to themſelves, as well on account of the Narrowneſs of the Place, as becauſe being poſted at the Foot of the Hill, none of the Enemy's Darts fell in vain. Still however they ſupported themſelves by their Courage and Patience, and were not diſheartened by the many Wounds they received. The Enemy's Forces increaſed every Moment, freſh Cohorts being ſent from the Camp through the Town, who ſucceeded in the Place of thoſe that were fatigued. *Cæſar* was likewiſe obliged to detach ſmall Parties to maintain the Battle, and bring off ſuch as were wounded.

XLIV. THE Fight had now laſted five Hours without Intermiſſion, when our Men, oppreſſed by the Multitude of the Enemy, and having ſpent all their Darts, attacked the Mountain Sword-in-hand; and overthrowing ſuch as oppoſed them, obliged the reſt to betake themſelves to Flight. The Purſuit was continued to the very Walls of *Lerida*, and ſome out of Fear took ſhelter in the Town; which gave our Men an Opportunity of making good their Retreat. At the ſame Time the Cavalry, though poſted diſadvantageouſly in a Bottom, found Means by their Valour to gain the Summit of the Mountain; and riding between both Armies, hindered the Enemy from haraſſing our Rear. Thus the Engagement was attended with various Turns of Fortune. *Cæſar* loſt about ſeventy Men in the firſt Encounter;

counter; among whom was *Q. Fulginius*, firſt Centurion of the *Haſtati* of the fourteenth Legion, who had raiſed himſelf by his Valour to that Rank, through all the inferior Orders. Upwards of ſix hundred were wounded. On *Afranius*'s Side was ſlain *T. Cæcilius*, firſt Centurion of a Legion; alſo four Centurions of inferior Degree, and above two hundred private Men.

XLV. YET ſuch were the Circumſtances of this Day's Action, that both Sides laid claim to the Victory: The *Afranians*, becauſe though allowed to be inferior in Number, they had long ſuſtained our Attack, kept poſſeſſion of the Eminence which occaſioned the Diſpute, and obliged our Men at firſt to give ground: *Cæſar*'s Troops, becauſe they had maintained a Fight of five Hours, with a Handful of Men, and in a very diſadvantageous Poſt; becauſe they had attacked the Mountain Sword-in-hand; becauſe they had driven their Adverſaries from the higher Ground, and compelled them to take ſhelter in the Town. Mean-time *Afranius* fortified the Hillock which had been the Subject of Diſpute, with a great Number of Works, and poſted there a large Body of Troops.

XLVI. TWO Days after, a very unfortunate Accident happened. For ſo great a Storm aroſe, that the Water was never known to be higher in thoſe Parts; and the Snow came down in ſuch Quantities from all the Mountains round about, that the River overflowed its Banks, and in one Day broke down both the Bridges *Fabius* had built over it. *Cæſar*'s Army was reduced to great Extremities on this Occaſion. For his Camp, as we have before obſerved, was between the *Sicoris* and *Cinga*, two Rivers that were neither of them fordable, and neceſſarily ſhut him up within a Space of no more than thirty Miles. By this Means, neither could the States that had declared for him ſupply him with Proviſions, nor the Troops that had been ſent beyond the Rivers to forage return, nor the large Convoys he expected from *Gaul* and *Italy* get to his Camp. Add to all this, that it being near the Time of Harveſt, Corn was extremely ſcarce: And the more, as before *Cæſar*'s Arrival, *Afranius* had carried great Quantities of it to *Lerida*; and the reſt had been conſumed by *Cæſar*'s Troops.

The

The Cattle, which was the next Resource in the present Scarcity, had been removed to Places of Security, on the breaking out of the War. The Parties sent out to forage and bring in Corn, were perpetually harassed by the *Spanish* Infantry, who being well acquainted with the Country, pursued them every where. The Rivers themselves did not impede them, because they were accustomed to pass them on blown-up Skins, which they always brought with them into the Field. *Afranius*, on the contrary, abounded in all Things. He had large Magazines of Corn already laid up, was continually receiving fresh Supplies from the Province, and had Plenty of Forage. The Bridge of *Lerida* furnished all these Conveniencies without Danger, and opened a free Communication with the Country beyond the River, from which *Cæsar* was wholly excluded.

XLVII. THE Waters continued several Days. *Cæsar* endeavoured to re-establish his Bridges, but could not get the better of the Obstacles occasioned by the Swelling of the River, and the Enemy's Forces stationed on the opposite Bank. They found it the easier to prevent his Design, as the River was deep and rapid, and they could discharge their Darts all along the Bank, on that particular Spot where our Men were at work: Whereas it was extremely difficult on our Side to struggle with the Force of the Stream, and at the same Time guard ourselves against the Assaults of the Enemy.

XLVIII. MEAN-WHILE *Afranius* was informed, that a large Convoy, which was on its Way to join *Cæsar*, had been obliged to halt at the River-side. It consisted of Archers from *Rovergue*, *Gallish* Horse, with many Carts and much Baggage, according to the Custom of the *Gauls*, and about six thousand Men of all Sorts, with their Domesticks and Slaves; but without Discipline or Commander, every one following his own Choice, and all marching in perfect Security, as if they had nothing more to apprehend than in former Times. There were likewise many young Gentlemen of Quality, Senators' Sons, and *Roman* Knights, with the Deputies of the States of *Gaul*, and some of *Cæsar*'s Lieutenants; who were all stopped short by the River. *Afranius* set out in the Night with three Legions, and all his Cavalry;

Cavalry: and ſending the Horſe before, attacked them, when they leaſt expected it. The *Gauliſh* Squadrons forming with great Expedition, began the Fight. While the Conteſt was upon equal Terms, the *Gauls*, though few in Number, bore up againſt the vaſt Multitude of the Enemy; but ſeeing the Legions advance, and having loſt ſome of their Men, they retreated to the neighbouring Mountains. This Delay ſaved the Convoy; for during the Skirmiſh, the reſt of the Troops gained the higher Ground. We loſt that Day about two hundred Archers, a few Troopers, and ſome Servants and Baggage.

XLIX. ALL this ſerved to enhance the Price of Proviſions, a Calamity inſeparable from preſent Scarcity, and the Proſpect of future Want. Corn was already at fifty Denarii a *Buſhel*, the Soldiers began to loſe their Strength, and the Evil increaſed every Moment. Nay, ſo great was the Change produced in a few Days, and ſuch the Alteration of Fortune, that while our Men were in the utmoſt Want of all Kind of Neceſſaries, the Enemy had plenty of every Thing, and were accounted victorious. *Cæſar* left nothing untried to remove the preſent Scarcity: He diſmiſſed all the uſeleſs Mouths, and applied to the States that had declared for him, deſiring them to ſend him Cattle where they wanted Corn.

L. THESE Things were greatly exaggerated by *Afranius*, *Petreius*, and their Friends, in the Letters they ſent upon this Occaſion to *Rome*. Nor was Fame backward in adding to the Account; inſomuch that the War appeared to be almoſt at an End. Theſe Couriers and Letters having reached *Rome*, there was a great Concourſe of People at *Afranius*'s Houſe, many Congratulations paſſed, and Multitudes of the Nobility flocked out of *Italy* to *Pompey*; ſome to carry the firſt Accounts of this grateful News; others that they might not be ſo late as to ſubject them to the Reproach of having waited for the Event of Things.

LI. AFFAIRS being in this Extremity, and all the Paſſes guarded by *Afranius*'s Parties, without a Poſſibility of repairing the Bridges; *Cæſar* ordered the Soldiers to build ſome light Boats, in imitation of thoſe he had

formerly seen in *Britain*, whose Keel and Ribs were of Wood, and the rest of Wicker, covered with Leather. When he had got a sufficient Number, he sent them by Night in Waggons, twenty-two Miles off his Camp. In these he embarked a good Number of Soldiers, and sent them over the River; took possession unexpectedly of a Hill adjoining to the Bank on the other Side; threw up a Fortification before the Enemy thought of hindering him; posted a Legion in this Fortification; and then threw a Bridge over the *Sicoris* in two Days. By this Means he recovered his Foragers, secured the Convoy, and opened a Passage for future Supplies. The same Day he detached a great Part of his Cavalry over the River; who falling unexpectedly upon the Enemy's Foragers, dispersed up and down without a Suspicion of Danger, made a considerable Capture of Men and Horses; and observing some *Spanish* Cohorts on the March to their Assistance, skilfully divided themselves into two Bodies; one to secure the Booty; the other to receive, and return the Enemy's Charge. One of their Cohorts, which had rashly separated from the rest, and advanced too far before the main Body, was surrounded and cut to Pieces by our Men, who returned over the same Bridge to the Camp, without Loss, and enriched with a considerable Booty.

LII. WHILST these Things passed at *Lerida*, the People of *Marseilles*, by the Advice of *L. Domitius*, equipped seventeen Gallies, eleven of which were covered. To these they added a Multitude of smaller Vessels, that they might strike a Terror into our Fleet by their very Number; and manned them with Archers, and the Mountaineers we have already mentioned, whom they encouraged to perform their Part by great Rewards and Promises. *Domitius* desired some of these Ships, and filled them with the Shepherds and Labourers he had brought thither with him. Thus furnished and equipped, they sailed with great Confidence in quest of our Fleet, which was commanded by *Decimus Brutus*, and rid at Anchor at an Island over-against *Marseilles*. *Brutus* was much inferior to the Enemy in Number of Ships; but *Cæsar* had manned them with his best Soldiers, chosen out of all the Legions, and headed by Centurions of distinguished Bravery, who had petitioned

him for this Service. Theſe had provided themſelves with Hooks and Grappling-irons, and a great Number of Darts, Javelins, and offenſive Weapons of all Sorts. Thus prepared, upon Notice of the Enemy's Arrival, they ſtood out to Sea, and attacked their Fleet. The Conflict was ſharp and vigorous. For the Mountaineers, a hardy Race, habituated to Arms, and trained up in War, ſcarce yielded to the *Romans* in Bravery; and having but juſt parted from *Marſeilles*, ſtill retained a lively Senſe of the Promiſes ſo lately made them. The Shepherds too, animated by the Hopes of Liberty, and fighting under the Eye of their Maſter, did Wonders to merit his Approbation. The Townſmen themſelves, confiding in the Nimbleneſs of their Ships, and the Skill of their Pilots, eluded the Shock of our Veſſels, and baffled all their Attempts. As they had abundance of Sea-room, they extended their Line of Battle, in order to ſurround our Fleet, or attack our Ships ſingly with a Number of theirs, or in running along-ſide, ſweep away a Range of Oars. If they were compelled to come to a cloſer Engagement, ſetting aſide the Skill and Addreſs of their Pilots, they relied wholly on the Bravery of their Mountaineers. Our Men were but indifferently provided with Rowers and Pilots, who had been haſtily taken out of ſome Merchants Ships, and knew not ſo much as the Names of the Tackle. They were incommoded too by the Weight and Lumpiſhneſs of their Veſſels, which being built in haſte of unſeaſoned Timber, were not ſo ready at tacking about. But when an Opportunity offered of coming to cloſe fight, they would boldly get between two of the Enemy's Ships; and grappling them with their Hooks, charge them on each Side, board them, and cut to Pieces the Mountaineers and Shepherds that defended them. In this Manner they ſunk Part of their Veſſels, took ſome with all the Men on board, and drove the reſt into the Haven. In this Engagement the Enemy had nine Galleys ſunk or taken.

LIII. THE Report of this Battle reaching *Lerida*, and *Cæſar* having finiſhed his Bridge over the *Sicoris*, Affairs ſoon began to put on a new Face. The Enemy dreading the Courage of our Horſe, durſt not diſperſe about the Country as formerly; but either foraged in the

Neighbourhood of the Camp, that they might the ſooner make good their Retreat; or by a long Circuit, endeavoured to avoid our Parties: and upon receiving any Check, or even deſcrying our Cavalry at a Diſtance, they would throw down their Truſſes, and fly. At laſt, they were reduced to omit foraging ſeveral Days together, and reſolved to purſue it only by Night, contrary to the general Cuſtom of War.

LIV. In the Mean-time the *Oſcenſes* and *Calagurritani*, jointly ſent Deputies to *Cæſar*, with an Offer of their Submiſſion and Services. The *Terraconenſes*, *Jacitani*, and *Auſetani*, and not many Days after, the *Illurgavonenſes*, who inhabit along the Banks of the *Iberus*, followed their Example. He only required them to ſupply him with Corn, to which they readily agreed; and having got together a great Number of Carriage-horſes, brought it to his Camp. A Cohort of the *Illurgavonenſes*, hearing of the Reſolution taken by their State, deſerted from the Enemy, and came over to *Cæſar*'s Camp. The Change was ſudden and great: for the Bridge being finiſhed, Proviſions ſecured, the Rumour of *Pompey*'s March through *Mauritania* extinguiſhed, and five conſiderable States having declared in his Favour; a great Number of diſtant Provinces renounced their Engagements with *Afranius*, and entered into new ones with *Cæſar*.

LV. These Things having ſtruck a Terror into the Enemy; that he might not be always obliged to ſend his Cavalry ſo far about to forage, the Bridge lying above ſeven Miles from his Camp, he bethought himſelf of draining the River, by turning ſome of its Water into Canals thirty Foot deep, ſo as to make it fordable. The Work being almoſt completed, *Petreius* and *Afranius* grew extremely apprehenſive of being entirely cut off from their Proviſions and Forage, becauſe *Cæſar* was very ſtrong in Cavalry. They therefore thought proper to quit a Poſt that was no longer tenable, and to carry the War into *Celtiberia*. What contributed ſtill further to confirm them in this Reſolution was, that of the two contrary Parties, concerned in the late War; thoſe who had declared for *Sertorius*, ſtill trembled at the Name of the Conqueror, and dreaded his Power though abſent;

ſent; and thoſe who had attached themſelves to *Pompey*, continued to love him for the many Services he had done them: but *Cæſar*'s Name was hardly known among theſe Barbarians. Here they expected conſiderable Reinforcements of Horſe and Foot; and doubted not, by taking the Advantage of Places, to be able to protract the War till Winter. In order to execute this Plan, they collected all the Boats to be found on the *Iberus*, and ordered them to be brought to *Octogeſa*, a City on that River, about twenty Miles from their Camp. Here they commanded a Bridge of Boats to be built; and having ſent two Legions over the *Sicoris*, fortified their Camp with a Rampart of twelve Foot.

LVI. CÆSAR having Notice of this by his Scouts, laboured Day and Night at his Drains with the utmoſt Diligence; and had already ſo far diminiſhed the Water of the *Sicoris*, that the Cavalry could, with ſome Difficulty, paſs over: but it took the Infantry as high as the Shoulders, who had therefore both the Depth of the River, and the Rapidity of the Stream to ſtruggle with. Mean-while it was known, that the Bridge over the *Iberus* was almoſt finiſhed, and *Cæſar*'s Ford in great Forwardneſs. This was a freſh Motive to the Enemy to quicken their March: wherefore leaving two auxiliary Cohorts for a Garriſon at *Lerida*, they croſſed the *Sicoris* with all their Forces, and joined the two Legions they had ſent over before. *Cæſar* had now no other Remedy left but to haraſs and fatigue them with his Cavalry: for if he went with his whole Army over his Bridge, he lengthened his March prodigiouſly, and gave *Afranius* Time enough to get to the *Iberus*. Accordingly the Horſe having forded the River, came up with *Petreius* and *Afranius*'s Rear, who had decamped about Midnight; and making a Motion to ſurround them, began to ſtop and retard their March.

LVII. AT Day-break we diſcovered from the Hills near the Camp, that the Enemy's Rear was greatly haraſſed by our Cavalry. Sometimes they obliged them to halt, and diſordered their Ranks: at other Times the Enemy facing about, charged with all their Cohorts at once, and forced our Men to give ground; who wheeling again as ſoon as they began to march, failed not to

renew the Attack. At this Sight the legionary Soldiers running up and down the Camp, complained that the Enemy would escape out of their Hands, and the War necessarily be prolonged. They addressed themselves to the Centurions and military Tribunes, and desired them to beg of *Cæsar* not to spare them; that they feared neither Danger nor Fatigue, and were ready to pass the River as the Horse had done. *Cæsar* moved by their Alacrity and Intreaties, though he saw some Danger in exposing his Army to the Rapidity of a deep River, judged it yet proper to attempt and make Trial of the Passage. Having therefore withdrawn from every Company such as were weak of Body, or of less Courage than the rest; he left them in the Camp with a Legion and all the Baggage. The rest of the Army happily passed the River, by the Assistance of a double Line of Cavalry, placed above and below them. Some of the Infantry were carried away by the Violence of the Current, but they were picked up and saved by the Horse below them; so that not one Man was lost. Having passed the River without Loss, he drew up his Army in Order of Battle, and began to pursue the Enemy in three Lines: and such was the Ardor of the Soldiers, that notwithstanding the Army was obliged to make a Circuit of six Miles, notwithstanding the Time necessarily lost in crossing the River, they got up at the ninth Hour of the Day to the Enemy, who had set out at Midnight.

LVIII. WHEN *Afranius* and *Petreius* perceived them at some Distance, being with Reason intimidated, they suspended their March, halted on an Eminence, and formed in Order of Battle. *Cæsar* would not hazard an Action with his Troops thus fatigued, and halted likewise in the Plain. On this, the Enemy resumed their March, and he the Pursuit; which obliged them to encamp earlier than they designed. Hard by was a Range of Mountains, and about five Miles farther, the Ways were difficult and narrow. The Enemy retired among these Mountains, to avoid the Pursuit of the Cavalry; and having placed Parties in all the Passes, to stop *Cæsar*'s Army, hoped by this Means to continue their March to the *Iberus*, without Fear or Danger. This was their great Affair; and what before all Things they should have

have endeavoured to effect; but being fatigued by a long March, and their continual Skirmiſhes with *Cæſar*'s Cavalry, they deferred it till next Day. *Cæſar* likewiſe encamped on a Hill that lay near him.

LIX. ABOUT Midnight the Cavalry having ſurpriſed ſome of the Enemy, who had adventured a little too far from their Camp in queſt of Water; *Cæſar* was informed by them, that *Pompey*'s Lieutenants were decamping without Noiſe. Immediately he ordered the Alarm to be ſounded, and gave his Army the Signal to march. The Enemy, finding they ſhould be purſued, kept ſtill; being afraid of a nocturnal Flight, wherein they would have had greatly the Diſadvantage, on account of their heavy Baggage, which they had with them, and the Superiority of *Cæſar*'s Cavalry. Next Day *Petreius* went privately out with a Party of Horſe, to take a View of the Country. *Cæſar* likewiſe detached a Squadron for the ſame Purpoſe, under the Command of *Decidius Saxa*. Both made the like Report in their ſeveral Camps; that for five Miles together, the Country was level and open, but after that rough and mountainous; and that whoever ſhould firſt get poſſeſſion of the Defiles, might eaſily prevent the other Army from approaching them.

LX. UPON this a Council of War was held by *Petreius* and *Afranius*, to deliberate about the Time of beginning their March. The greater Number were for ſetting out by Night, in hopes of reaching the Defiles before *Cæſar* could have Notice of their Departure. Others argued againſt the Poſſibility of decamping privately, by the Alarm given in *Cæſar*'s Camp the Night before: "That the Enemy's Cavalry were continually patrol-"ling in the Night, and had beſet all the Ways and "Paſſes: That a nocturnal Engagement was to be "avoided, becauſe in a Civil War, the Soldiers were "more apt to liſten to their Fears, than the Obligations "of the military Oath: That Shame, and the Preſence "of the Centurions and Tribunes, the great Inſtru-"ments of Obedience and military Duty, could have "their proper Effect only in the Light, which rendered "it of infinite Importance to wait the Approach of "Day: That in caſe of a Diſaſter, yet the Bulk of the

" Army would escape, and be able to possess them-
" selves of the Post in question." This Opinion prevailed in the Council, and they resolved to set out the next Morning by Break of Day.

LXI. CÆSAR having taken a View of the Country, decamped as soon as it was light, taking a considerable Circuit, and observing no particular Route: for the direct Way to the *Iberus* and *Octogesa*, lay in the Rear of the Enemy's Camp. He was therefore obliged to march through Valleys and Precipices, and over steep Rocks, which the Soldiers could not climb, but by disencumbering themselves of their Arms, and returning them afterwards to one another. But not a Man murmured at these Difficulties, in hopes of seeing a speedy End of all their Labours, if they could but gain the *Iberus* before the Enemy, and intercept their Provisions. As in this March we pursued at first an opposite Course, and seemed to turn our Backs upon the Enemy, *Afranius*'s Soldiers, who observed us from their Camp, came forth with joyful Looks, and insulted us on our supposed Flight, imagining the Want of Provisions obliged us to return to *Lerida*. Their Generals applauded themselves upon their Resolution of not decamping, and were confirmed in the Notion of our Retreat, as they saw we had neither Horses nor Carriages, whence they concluded the Scarcity must be exceeding great. But when they saw us, after some Time, turn to the Right, and that our advanced Guard had already gained the Ground beyond their Camp, there was not a Man so tardy or indolent, as not to perceive the Necessity of decamping and opposing our March. Immediately they ran to Arms, and leaving a few Cohorts to guard the Camp, sallied in a Body, pursuing their Way directly to the *Iberus*.

LXII. ALL depended upon Dispatch, and getting the first possession of the Defiles and Mountains. Our Troops were retarded by the Difficulties of the Way, and *Afranius*'s by the continual Attacks of *Cæsar*'s Cavalry. But such was the Situation of the *Afranians*, that even supposing them to gain the Hills first, they could only secure their own Retreat, without a Possibility of preserving their Baggage, and the Cohorts left to guard the Camp; because *Cæsar*'s Army getting between,

tween, cut them off from all Communication with their own Men. *Cæsar* arrived first at the Place in question; and having found a Plain beyond the Rocks, formed his Men in Order of Battle against the Enemy. *Afranius*, who now saw our Army in his Front, at the same Time that his Rear was continually harassed by the Cavalry, halted on an Eminence, from whence he detached four *Spanish* Cohorts, to take possession of the highest Mountain thereabouts; ordering them to make all the Dispatch they could to seize it, that he might get thither himself with the rest of his Forces, and changing his Route, march them over the Hills to *Octogesa*. The *Spaniards* wheeling obliquely to take possession of the Place, were perceived by *Cæsar*'s Cavalry; who charged them furiously, broke them at the first Onset, surrounded, and cut them in pieces in sight of both Armies.

LXIII. CÆSAR had now an Opportunity of giving the Enemy an effectual Blow; whose Army, in the present Consternation it was under, would, he was sensible, make but a faint Resistance; more especially as it was surrounded on all Sides by the Cavalry, and would be obliged to fight on equal Ground. He was pressed on all hands to give the Signal. The Lieutenants, Centurions, and Military Tribunes, got round him, urging him not to delay the Engagement: "That the Soldiers "were all eager for a Battle; whereas, on the contrary, "the *Afranians* had given many Marks of Fear: That "they had neither dared to support their own Detach-"ment, nor offered to descend from the Hill, nor been "able to withstand the very first Charge of our Ca-"valry: That they had brought their Ensigns all into "one Place, where they crowded confusedly round "them, without observing Ranks or Order: That if he "was afraid to attack them on the Eminence, he would "soon have an Opportunity of more equal Ground, "as *Afranius* would be obliged to remove for want of "Water."

LXIV. CÆSAR was in hopes of terminating the Affair without Bloodshed, or a Battle; because he had intercepted the Enemy's Provisions. Why therefore, even supposing the Event to be prosperous, should he unnecessarily lose any of his Men? Why should he expose to

Wounds Soldiers who had deſerved ſo well of him? Why, in fine, ſhould he tempt Fortune? Eſpecially as it redounded no leſs to the Honour of a good General, to gain the Victory by his Conduct, than by the Force of his Arms. He was alſo touched with Compaſſion for *Afranius*'s Soldiers; who, after all, were Fellow-citizens, and whom he muſt have ſlaughtered, when he could equally ſucceed without touching their Lives. This Reſolution was not at all reliſhed by the Army; who, in their Diſcontent, openly declared, that ſince *Cæſar* did not lay hold of ſo favourable an Opportunity, nor let them fight when they had a mind, they would not fight when he had a mind. But nothing could ſhake him. Nay, he even retreated a little, to give *Afranius* and *Petreius* Liberty to regain their Camp, which they did. He then poſted Troops on the Mountains to guard the Defiles, and came and encamped as near the Enemy as poſſible.

LXV. THE Day after, *Pompey*'s Lieutenants diſturbed at finding their Proviſions cut off, and all the Ways to the *Iberus* intercepted, conſulted what was proper to be done. They had it ſtill in their Power to return to *Lerida*, or march to *Tarraco*. But while they were debating this Matter, Notice was brought them, that our Cavalry had fallen upon their Parties ſent out in queſt of Water. Upon this Intelligence, they formed ſeveral Poſts of Horſe and Foot, intermixed with legionary Cohorts; and began to throw up a Rampart from the Camp to the Place where they watered, that the Soldiers might paſs and repaſs under cover, without Fear, and without a Guard. *Afranius* and *Petreius* divided this Work between them, and went to give Directions about it in perſon.

LXVI. IN their Abſence, their Soldiers found frequent Opportunities of converſing with our Men, and ſought out every one his Fellow-citizen and Acquaintance. They began by thanking them for having ſpared them the Day before, owning they were indebted to them for their Lives. Afterwards they aſked them, if they might truſt to *Cæſar*'s Honour; teſtifying much Grief at being obliged to fight with their Countrymen and Relations, with whom they were united by the ſtricteſt

ſtricteſt Ties. At laſt they ſtipulated even for their Generals, whom they would not ſeem to betray; and promiſed, if the Lives of *Petreius* and *Afranius* were granted them, to change Sides. At the ſame Time they ſent ſome of their principal Officers to negotiate with *Cæſar*; and theſe Preliminaries to an Accommodation being ſettled, the Soldiers of both Armies went into one another's Tents, ſo that the two Camps were now in a Manner one. A great Number of Centurions and military Tribunes came to pay their court to *Cæſar*, and beg his Protection. The *Spaniſh* Chiefs, who had been ſummoned to attend *Afranius*, and were detained in the Camp as Hoſtages, followed their Example. Every Man ſought out his Acquaintance and Friend, who might recommend and procure him a favourable Reception from *Cæſar*. Things were carried to ſuch a length, that *Afranius*'s Son, a young Gentleman, treated with *Cæſar* by the Mediation of *Sulpicius*, to deſire he would give his Word for his Life, and that of his Father. The Joy was general, they mutually congratulated each other; the one, in that they had eſcaped ſo imminent a Danger; and the other, in that they had brought to a happy Concluſion ſo important an Enterpriſe, without ſtriking a Blow. *Cæſar*, in the Judgment of all, was upon the Point of amply reaping the Fruits of his wonted Clemency, and every Body applauded his late Conduct.

LXVII. AFRANIUS having Notice of what paſſed, quitted the Work he was engaged in, and returned to the Camp; prepared, as it would ſeem, to bear with an equal Mind whatever ſhould happen. But *Petreius* was not wanting to himſelf. He armed his Slaves; and joining them to a prætorian Cohort of Target-bearers, and ſome *Spaniſh* Horſe, his Dependents, whom he always kept about him to guard his Perſon; he inſtantly flew to the Rampart, broke off the Conferences of the Soldiers, drove our Men from the Camp, and put all of them he could find to the Sword. The reſt flocked together: where, alarmed at the Danger to which they ſaw themſelves expoſed, they wrapped their Clokes round their left Arms, drew their Swords; and truſting to the Nearneſs of their Camp, defended themſelves againſt the *Spaniſh* Target-bearers and Cavalry, till they had

had retreated to our advanced Guard, who ſcreened them from any farther Aſſault.

LXVIII. AFTER this he went through the whole Camp, begging his Troops with Tears, to have pity on him, and *Pompey* their General; and that they would not deliver them both up to the cruel Vengeance of their Enemies. Every one upon this flocks to the Head-quarters. There *Petreius* propoſes to the Army to bind themſelves by a new Oath, not to abandon nor betray their Commanders, nor to act ſeparately, but all in concert, for the common Good. He himſelf took this Oath firſt, and then exacted it of *Afranius*, afterwards of the military Tribunes and Centurions, and laſtly of all the Companies Man by Man. At the ſame Time an Order was iſſued, that all who had any of *Cæſar*'s Soldiers in their Tents ſhould ſignify it, that they might be put to Death in the Sight of the whole Army. But the Majority deteſting this bloody Order, carefully hid thoſe who were under their Protection, and procured them Means to eſcape in the Night. However the Terror they had been thrown into by their Generals, the Severity ſhewn in puniſhing, and the new Oath they had been obliged to take, defeated, for the preſent, all Hopes of a Surrender, changed the Soldiers Minds, and reduced the War to its former State.

LXIX. CÆSAR ordered diligent Search to be made after ſuch of the Enemy's Soldiers as had come to his Camp during the Time of Conference, and carefully ſent them back. Some military Tribunes and Centurions voluntarily choſe to ſtay with him; whom he afterwards treated with great Diſtinction, promoting the Centurions to higher Ranks, and honouring the *Roman* Knights with the Office of Military Tribune.

LXX. THE *Afranian* Troops were deſtitute of Forage, and could not water without much Difficulty. The legionary Soldiers had indeed ſome Proviſions, becauſe they had been ordered to bring two-and-twenty Days Corn with them from *Lerida*: but the *Spaniſh* Infantry and Auxiliaries had none; for they neither had Opportunities of ſupplying themſelves, nor were their Bodies inured to carry heavy Burdens. Accordingly they

they every Day deſerted in Shoals to *Cæſar*. In this Extremity, of the two Expedients propoſed, that of returning to *Lerida* appeared the ſafeſt, as they had ſtill ſome Proviſions in that City, and might there concert what further Meaſures to purſue. *Tarraco* was at a greater Diſtance, and they would of courſe be expoſed to more Accidents by the Way. This Reſolution being taken, they decamped. *Cæſar* ſent the Cavalry before, to haraſs and retard them in their March; and followed himſelf with the reſt of the Army. The Cavalry gave the Enemy no Reſpite, being continually engaged with their Rear.

LXXI. THE Manner of fighting was thus. Some light-armed Cohorts formed the Rear-guard, which in a Plain, halted from Time to Time, and made head againſt our Cavalry. When they fell in with an Eminence, the very Nature of the Ground furniſhed them with the Means of defending themſelves; becauſe thoſe who were firſt could cover them behind. But when a Valley or Deſcent came in the Way, the Van could give no Aſſiſtance to the Rear, and our Cavalry annoyed them with their Darts from the higher Ground, which put them in imminent Danger. In this Caſe the Legions were obliged to halt, and endeavoured to drive back the Cavalry a good Way, after which they ran down the Valley precipitately, until they came to the oppoſite Eminence. For their Cavalry, of which they had a conſiderable Number, was ſo terrified by their ill Succeſs in former Skirmiſhes, that, far from being of any Service, they were forced to place it in the Center to ſecure it; and if any of them chanced to ſtraggle from the main Body, they were immediately taken by *Cæſar*'s Horſe.

LXXII. DURING theſe continual Skirmiſhes, in which the Enemy were often obliged to halt, in order to diſengage their Rear, it is eaſy to perceive that their March could not be very expeditious. This was in fact the Caſe; ſo that after advancing four Miles, finding themſelves great incommoded by the Cavalry, they halted on an Eminence, and drew a Line before them, as it were to encamp; but did not unload their Beaſts of Burden. When they ſaw that *Cæſar* had marked

marked out his Camp, pitched his Tents, and ſent his Cavalry to forage; ſuddenly, towards Noon, they reſumed their March briſkly, hoping to be rid of the Cavalry which had ſo much incommoded them. But *Cæſar* ſet out immediately with his Legions, leaving a few Cohorts to guard the Baggage, and ſent Orders to his Cavalry to return with all Diligence. The Cavalry returned accordingly; and having overtaken the Enemy before the Cloſe of Day, attacked their Rear ſo vigorouſly, that they were almoſt routed; a great Number of Soldiers, and even ſome Centurions being ſlain. *Cæſar*'s whole Army came up, and threatened them with an immediate Attack.

LXXIII. As they could then neither chooſe a proper Place for a Camp, nor continue their March, they were forced to halt where they were, far from any Water, and on very diſadvantageous Ground. *Cæſar* did not offer to attack them, for the Reaſons mentioned before: he would not even permit any Tents to be pitched that Day, that he might be the readier to purſue with all his Forces, ſhould they attempt to eſcape either by Night or by Day. The *Afranians* perceiving the Diſadvantage of their Situation, employed the whole Night in throwing up Intrenchments, and diſpoſed their Camp directly fronting ours. The ſame they did the following Day, from Sun-riſe till the Evening. But the farther they extended their Camp, and produced their Lines, in order to better their Poſition, the farther they went from Water; and to avoid one Inconvenience, fell into another. The firſt Night no-body went out of the Camp for Water, and the next Day the whole Army was obliged to do it in Order of Battle, ſo that they could not Forage that Day. *Cæſar* wanted to humble them by theſe Misfortunes, and reduce them by Want and Neceſſity rather than Force. He began however to draw Lines round their Camp, the better to check their ſudden Sallies and Eruptions, to which he foreſaw they would be obliged to have recourſe at laſt. Want, and the Deſire of marching with leſs Difficulty, ſoon conſtrained them to kill all the Beaſts of Burden.

LXXIV. Two Days were ſpent in forming and executing theſe Reſolutions: on the third *Cæſar* had conſiderably

conſiderably advanced his Works. *Afranius* and *Petreius*, ſenſible of the Conſequences, drew all the Forces out of the Camp, and formed them in Order of Battle. *Cæſar* preſently called in his Workmen, aſſembled his Cavalry, and put his Army in a Condition to receive them: for he was aware of the Hurt his Reputation might ſuſtain, if, contrary to the Opinion of the Troops, and the earneſt Expectations of all, he ſhould ſtill ſeem to decline an Engagement. However, for the Reaſons already mentioned, he reſolved to keep only upon the Defenſive; and the rather, becauſe the Diſtance between the two Camps was ſo ſmall, that ſhould he even put his Adverſaries to rout, he could not flatter himſelf with the Hopes of a complete Victory. In fact, from Camp to Camp was not above two thouſand Foot: the Armies were poſted on each Side of this Space, which was left void for the mutual Charge and Aſſault of the Soldiers. On Suppoſition therefore of a Battle, the Nearneſs of their Camp furniſhed an eaſy Retreat to the Vanquiſhed. For this Reaſon he reſolved to wait the Enemy's Charge, and not enter the firſt into Action.

LXXV. AFRANIUS's Troops were ranged in two Lines, conſiſting of five Legions; and the Cohorts wont to be ſtationed in the Wings formed a Body of Reſerve. *Cæſar*'s Army was upon three Lines; in the firſt of which were poſted four Cohorts, detached out of each of the five Legions; in the ſecond three; and in the third the like Number, all from their reſpective Legions; the Archers and Slingers were diſpoſed in the Midſt, and the Cavalry on the two Wings. The Armies being drawn up in this Manner, each General kept firm to his Reſolution: *Cæſar*, not to engage, unleſs forced to it: and *Afranius*, to prevent the Progreſs of our Works. In this Poſture they continued till Sun-ſet, when both Armies returned to their ſeveral Camps. The next Day, *Cæſar* prepared to finiſh his Lines; and *Pompey*'s Lieutenants, as their laſt Reſource, endeavoured to find a fordable Place in the *Sicoris*. But *Cæſar* penetrating their Deſign, ſent his light-armed *Germans*, with Part of his Cavalry over the River; and poſted many good Bodies of Troops along the Banks, at a ſmall Diſtance from one another.

LXXVI. AT

LXXVI. AT laſt, having no Hope left, and being in want of every Thing, Wood, Water, Forage, Corn, they demanded an Interview: and that it might be, if poſſible, in ſome Place out of the Sight of the Soldiers. *Cæſar* denied the laſt Part of their Requeſt, but offered to grant them a publick Interview: whereupon *Afranius*, having given his Son for a Hoſtage, went to the Place appointed by *Cæſar*; where, in the Preſence of both Armies, he addreſſed him to this Effect: "That it was no juſt Matter of Blame, either in him "or his Soldiers, to have preſerved their Fidelity to "their General *Pompey*; but that they had now ſuffici-"ently acquitted themſelves of their Duty, and ſuffered "enough in his Cauſe, by the Want of all Kind of "Neceſſaries: That like wild Beaſts caught in a Toil, "they were deprived of the moſt common Enjoyments; "having their Bodies oppreſſed by Want, and their "Minds overwhelmed with Ignominy: That they "therefore acknowledged themſelves vanquiſhed, and "beſought and conjured him, not to make a rigorous "Uſe of his Victory, but to ſpare the Lives of his "unhappy Countrymen." This Speech was delivered with all poſſible Marks of Humility and Submiſſion.

LXXVII. CÆSAR replied: "That he, of all "Mankind, had leaſt Reaſon to complain, or implore "Compaſſion: That all the reſt had fully done their "Duty: himſelf, in forbearing to attack him, with "all the Advantages of Time and Place, that the Way "to an Accommodation might be the more open: his "his Army, in returning untouched the Men that "were in their Power, after Injuries received, and the "Maſſacre of their Comrades: in fine, even his own "Troops, in endeavouring to conclude a Peace, whereon "they thought their Safety depended. Thus all Orders "had ſhewn an Inclination to treat, while *Afranius* "and *Petreius* alone oppoſed an Accommodation; re-"fuſing both Interview and Truce, and barbarouſly "murdering thoſe, whom the Faith of a Conference "had enticed to their Camp: That it had therefore "happened to them, as frequently happens to Men of "Obſtinacy and Arrogance; and they were forced to "have recourſe to thoſe Conditions, and earneſtly "ſolicit the very ſame Terms, which not long before

"they

" they had deſpiſed. However, he would not take " advantage of their preſent Submiſſion, or the favour- " able Circumſtances in which he found himſelf, to " demand any Thing tending to the Increaſe of his " own Power; but only that they would diſband thoſe " Troops which they had now for ſo many Years kept " on foot againſt him. For with what other View had " ſix Legions been ſent into *Spain*; a ſeventh levied " there; ſo many powerful Navies equipped; ſo many " able and experienced Officers ſent over. Theſe " mighty Preparations could not be meant againſt *Spain*, " or to ſupply the Wants of the Province, which " having enjoyed a long Run of Peace, had no Occa- " ſion for ſuch extraordinary Forces. Their real Aim " was to pave the Way to his Deſtruction; to effect " which, a new Species of Power had been introduced " into the Commonwealth; and the ſame Man appointed " to command in *Italy* at the Gates of *Rome*, and hold " for ſo many Years, though abſent, the Government " of the two moſt potent Provinces of the Republick. " For this Reaſon the Magiſtrates were ſtript of their " Prerogatives, and not ſuffered to take poſſeſſion of " their Provinces, at the Expiration of the Prætor- " ſhip or Conſulſhip, as had always been the Cuſtom; " but particular Governors were ſent, by the Choice " and Management of a Faction. For this Reaſon " even the Excuſe of old Age was diſallowed; and thoſe " who had merited a Diſcharge by their paſt Services, " were compelled to take Arms again, to complete the " Number of their Troops. In fine, for this Reaſon " he alone had been denied that Juſtice, which was " never refuſed to any General before him; that after " having ſucceſsfully ſerved the Commonwealth, he " ſhould be allowed to return Home, and diſband his " own Army, with ſome Marks of Honour, or at leaſt " without Ignominy. All which, nevertheleſs, he had " hitherto borne, and ſtill reſolved to bear with Patience: " nor was it now his Deſign to take from them their " Soldiers, and enliſt them, as it would be eaſy for " him to do; but to prevent their employing them " againſt him. Therefore, as he had already intimated, " they muſt reſolve to quit *Spain*, and diſband their " Forces: in which caſe he would injure no Man. " This was his final Reſolution, and the only Condi- " tion of Peace they were to expect."

LXXVIII. THESE

LXXVIII. THESE Conditions were very agreeable to *Afranius*'s Soldiers; who, inſtead of being puniſhed, as they feared, were in ſome Sort rewarded by the Diſcharge procured them. They plainly ſhewed their Satisfaction. For, while the Place and Time of their Diſmiſſion were debating, they ſignified by their Geſtures and Cries from the Rampart, where they ſtood, that they deſired to be diſbanded immediately: becauſe no ſufficient Security could be given for the Performance of what was put off till another Time. After ſome Diſcuſſion of that Article by *Cæſar* and *Afranius*, it was regulated, that thoſe who had Houſes or Poſſeſſions in *Spain*, ſhould be diſcharged on the Spot; and the reſt near the *Var*, a River between *Gaul* and *Italy*. *Cæſar* on his Side declared, that he would hurt no-body, nor force any one to take on in his Service.

LXXIX. CÆSAR undertook to find them in Corn until they got to the *Var*. He even promiſed to reſtore to them all they had loſt in the War, that could be known again; himſelf indemnifying his own Soldiers, who hereby loſt Part of their Booty. By this Conduct he acquired their Confidence to ſuch a Degree, that he was Arbiter of all the Diſputes they had, either among themſelves, or with their Commanders. The Soldiers being ready to mutiny about their Pay, becauſe *Petreius* and *Afranius* affirmed it was not yet Due, the Matter was referred to *Cæſar*, who determined it to the Satisfaction of both Parties. About a third of the Army was diſbanded during the two Days they continued here; after which the reſt ſet out for the *Var* in this Order: Two of *Cæſar*'s Legions marched at the Head, the others in the Rear, and the vanquiſhed Troops in the Middle. *Q. Fufius Calenus*, one of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants, preſided over the March. In this Manner they continued their Route to the *Var*, where the Remainder of the Troops were diſbanded.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

CIVIL WAR.

BOOK II.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. Trebonius *continues the Siege of* Marſeilles. III. Naſidius *arrives with a Fleet to the Relief of the Town.* IV. *The Inhabitants repair their Fleet, and join it to that of* Naſidius. V. *A Sea Fight between* Brutus *and the People of* Marſeilles. VI. *In which the latter are defeated.* VIII. Trebonius *raiſes a prodigious Tower againſt the Town.* IX. *Likewiſe a Muſculus of uncommon Size.* X. *By which a Tower belonging to the Enemy is overthrown.* XI. *Upon this the Beſieged demand a Truce.* XIII. *Which they afterwards break, and in a ſudden Sally, burn* Trebonius's *Works.* XIV. Trebonius, *with wonderful Expedition, raiſes a new and amazing Terraſs.* XV. *Upon which the Beſieged again treat of a Surrender.* XVI. *Mean-while* M. Varro *in Farther* Spain *prepares to oppoſe* Cæſar. XVII. Cæſar *ſummons a general Aſſembly of the States at* Corduba. XVIII. Varro, *deſerted by his Troops, goes over to* Cæſar. XIX. Cæſar *having reduced* Spain, *arrives before* Marſeilles. XX. *The* Marſeillians *ſurrender.* L. Domitius *eſcapes by Sea.* XXI. *About the ſame Time* C. Curio *ſets out for* Africa. XXII. *Where, at firſt, he wars ſucceſsfully againſt* Varus. XXXIV. *But afterwards,* Varus, *having received Supplies from King* Juba, *he raſhly ventures a a Battle; where, after ſome Advantages in the Beginning, by Means of his Cavalry, he is at laſt cut off with his whole Army.*

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

CIVIL WAR.

BOOK II.

I. WHILE theſe Things paſſed in *Spain*, *Trebonius*, *Cæſar's* Lieutenant, who had been left to carry on the Siege of *Marſeilles*, raiſed Terraſſes for two different Attacks, and approached with his Towers and Galleries. One of the Attacks was on the Side of the Port; the other towards the Mouth of the *Rhone*, which empties itſelf into the Sea bordering upon *Spain* and *Gaul*. For *Marſeilles* is waſhed by the Sea on three Sides, and can be approached by Land only on the fourth; of which that Part where the Citadel ſtands, being very ſtrong by Nature, becauſe of a deep Valley that runs before it, requires a long and difficult Siege. For the completing of theſe Works, *Trebonius* drew together, from all Parts of the Province, a great Number of Workmen and Beaſts of Carriage; ordered Wood and Oſiers to be brought; and having prepared all Things neceſſary, raiſed a Terraſs eighty Foot high.

II. BUT ſo well was the Town provided with all Requiſites of War, and ſo great was the Multitude of Machines to annoy the Beſiegers, that no Mantles were ſufficient to withſtand their Violence. For they had

wooden Bars twelve Foot in Length, armed at the Point with Iron, which were ſhot with ſuch Force from their Baliſtæ, that they pierced four Rows of Hurdles, and entered a conſiderable Way into the Ground. To reſiſt the Violence of theſe Batteries, the Beſiegers made uſe of Galleries, whoſe Roofs conſiſted of Pieces of Wood of about a Foot in Thickneſs, ſtrongly compacted together. Under this Cover, the Materials neceſſary for raiſing the Terraſs were conveyed: And a Tortoiſe ſixty Foot long, compoſed of ſtrong Beams, and armed with every Thing neceſſary to defend it againſt Fire and Stones, went before to level the Ground. But in ſpite of all Endeavours; the Greatneſs of the Works, the Height of the Wall and Towers, and the Multitude of Machines made uſe of by the Beſieged, greatly retarded the Approaches. Beſides, the Mountaineers made frequent Sallies, and ſet fire to the Towers and Mount: Which though our Men eaſily ſuſtained, driving them back with great Loſs into the Town, yet failed not very much to incommode the Works.

III. In the mean-time *L. Naſidius*, ſent by *Pompey* to the Aſſiſtance of *Domitius* and the *Maſſilians*, with a Fleet of ſixteen Ships, ſome of which were ſtrengthened with Beaks of Braſs; paſſed the Straits of *Sicily* unknown to *Curio*, landed at *Meſſana*, and raiſed ſo great a Terror in the Place, that being abandoned by the Senate and principal Inhabitants, he found Means to carry off one of their Gallies: And joining it to his own Fleet, ſteered directly for *Marſeilles*; having diſpatched a Frigate before, to apprize *Domitius* and the Inhabitants of his coming, and preſs them to hazard a ſecond Engagement with *Brutus*, when they ſhould be reinforced by his Fleet.

IV. The *Maſſilians*, after their late Defeat, had drawn as many old Ships out of the Docks as they had loſt in the Engagement; and repaired and rigged them with wondrous Expedition. They were likewiſe well provided with Rowers and Pilots; and had prepared a Number of Fiſhing-barks, which they filled with Archers and Engines, and ſtrengthened with Roofs, to ſhelter the Rowers from the Enemy's Darts. The Fleet being equipped in this Manner; the *Maſſilians*, animated by the

the Prayers and Tears of their old Men, Matrons, and Virgins, to exert themſelves in Defence of their Country in ſo preſſing a Conjuncture; embarked with no leſs Confidence and Aſſurance, than they had done before their late Defeat. For ſuch is the Weakneſs of the human Mind, that Things dark, hidden, and unknown, always produce in us a greater Degree of Confidence or Terror; as happened in the preſent Caſe: For the Arrival of *Naſidius* had filled all Men with an uncommon Share of Hope and Eagerneſs. The Wind ſpringing up fair, they ſet Sail, and rendezvouſed at *Tauroenta*, a Caſtle belonging to the Town, where *Naſidius* lay with his Fleet. Here they put their Ships in Order, armed themſelves with Courage for a ſecond Encounter, and entering readily into all the Meaſures propoſed by *Naſidius*, left to him the Command of the left Wing, and ſtationed themſelves upon the right.

V. BRUTUS ſailed to meet them with his Fleet conſiderably increaſed; for beſides the Ships which *Cæſar* had cauſed to be built at *Arles*, he had alſo joined to it ſix more taken from the *Maſſilians*, which he had refitted and rigged ſince the late Action. Wherefore exhorting his Men to deſpiſe an Enemy, who had not been able to reſiſt them when entire and unvanquiſhed, he advanced againſt them full of Reſolution and Confidence. It was eaſy to diſcern from *Trebonius*'s Camp, and the Eminences around it, what paſſed in the Town. All the Youth that were left, the old Men, the Women, Children, and even the Guards upon the Walls, extending their Hands to Heaven, or repairing to the Temples, and proſtrating themſelves at the Altars, beſought the Gods to grant them Victory. Nor was there a Man among them who did not believe, that their Safety depended wholly on the Iſſue of that Day's Action. For the Choice of their Youth, and the moſt conſiderable Men of their City, were all on board the Fleet: Inſomuch, that in caſe of any Diſaſter, they had no Reſource left: But ſhould they obtain the Victory, they were in hopes of preſerving their City, either by their own Forces, or the Reinforcements they expected from without.

VI. ACCORDINGLY in the Engagement, they behaved with the moſt determined Courage. The Re-

membrance of what their Wives and Children had repreſented to them at their Departure ſerved to exalt their Bravery, in a full Perſuaſion, that this was the laſt Opportunity they ſhould have of exerting themſelves in Defence of their Country; and that if they fell in the Engagement, their Fellow-citizens could not long ſurvive them, as their Fate muſt be the ſame upon the taking of the Town. Our Ships being at ſome Diſtance from each other, both gave the Enemy's Pilots an Opportunity of ſhewing their Addreſs in working their Veſſels, and flying to the Aſſiſtance of their Friends, when they were laid hold on by our grappling Hooks. And indeed, when it came to a cloſe Fight, they ſeconded the Mountaineers with wonderful Reſolution, and in Bravery ſeemed to yield but little to our Men. At the ſame Time, a great Quantity of Darts poured inceſſantly from their ſmaller Frigates, wounded a great many of our Rowers, and ſuch of the Soldiers as were without Shelter. Two of their Gallies fell upon that of *Brutus*, which was eaſily diſtinguiſhed by its Flag: But though they attacked him on both Sides, he extricated himſelf with ſuch Agility and Addreſs, as in a ſhort Time to get a little before; which made them run foul of each other ſo violently, that they were both conſiderably ſhattered; one in particular had its Beak broken, and was in a manner totally cruſhed; which being obſerved by thoſe of our Fleet that lay neareſt, they ſuddenly fell upon and ſunk them, before they could recover out of their Diſorder.

VII. In this Encounter, the Ships under *Naſidius* were of no manner of Service to the *Maſſilians*, but quickly retired out of the Fight. For as they were neither animated by the Sight of their Country, nor the Intreaties of their Relations, they were not very forward to expoſe their Lives to Hazard, but eſcaped without Hurt from the Combat. The *Maſſilians* had five Ships ſunk, and four taken. One eſcaped to the Coaſt of Hither *Spain* with thoſe of *Naſidius*. Of the reſt that remained, one was immediately diſpatched to *Marſeilles*, to carry thither the News of the Defeat. As ſoon as it drew near the Town, all the Inhabitants flocked out, to know what had paſſed; and being informed of it, appeared no leſs dejected, than if the City had

had been taken by Storm. However, they ſtill continued their Preparations for the Defence of the Place with as much Diligence as ever.

VIII. THE Legionaries who had the Charge of the Works on the Right perceived, that a Tower of Brick, built at a little Diſtance from the Walls, would be of great Service to ſhelter them from the frequent Sallies of the Enemy. At firſt they made it very low and ſmall, to guard againſt ſudden Incurſions. Hither they retired in caſe of Danger: Here they defended themſelves againſt the moſt obſtinate Attacks of the Enemy; nay, even aſſaulted them in their Turn, repulſed and purſued them. This Tower was of a ſquare Form, thirty Foot every Way, allowing for the Thickneſs of the Walls, which might be about five Foot. Afterwards, (being inſtructed by Experience, which is the beſt of Teachers,) they plainly perceived, that the higher it was carried, the more ſerviceable it would prove. The Manner of effecting it was thus: When the Work was raiſed to the Height of one Story, they laid a Floor over it, the Extremities of whoſe Beams were concealed in the Thickneſs of the Wall; that they might not, by appearing on the Outſide, be liable to be ſet on fire. Thence they continued the Wall directly upwards, as far as their Galleries and Mantles would allow. Here they laid two Beams croſs-wiſe, whoſe Extremities almoſt reached the Angles of the Wall, for ſupporting the Floor, which was to ſerve as a Roof to the whole. Over theſe Beams they laid the Joiſts of the Roof, and boarded them with Planks. The Roof was ſo contrived as to project a little beyond the Wall, in order to ſuſpend from it what might be neceſſary to ſhelter the Workmen, while employed in completing the Story. This Floor was paved with Tiles and Clay, to render it proof againſt Fire; and had beſides a Covering of ſtrong Mattreſſes, to break the Force of Stones and Darts. At the ſame Time they ſuſpended from the Beams of the Roof, that projected beyond the Wall, Curtains made of ſtrong Cables, wove to the Depth of four Feet, and which went round the three Sides of the Tower that were expoſed to the Engines of the Enemy; having experienced on former Occaſions that this Kind of Cover was impenetrable to any Dart or Engine whatever. When this Part of the

Tower was finiſhed, roofed, and ſheltered from the Enemy's Blows, they removed their Mantles to another; and by means of Engines elevated the Roof entire from the firſt Story, as far as the Curtains would allow. There, ſecure from all Inſult, they laboured at the Wall; elevating the Roof a ſecond Time, and thereby enabling themſelves both to continue the Work, and lay the interjacent Floors. In this Manner they proceeded from Story to Story, mounting them one upon another, till without Danger or Wounds, they had completed the Number of ſix; leaving Loop-holes in convenient Places, for the Engines to play through.

IX. WHEN by Means of this Tower, they thought they had ſufficiently provided for the Security of the Works around it; they reſolved to build a Gallery ſixty Foot long, of Wood two Feet in Thickneſs, to extend from the Brick Tower to the Tower of the Enemy, and the very Walls of the Town. The Form of the Gallery was this: Firſt, two Beams of equal Length were laid upon the Ground, at the Diſtance of four Feet from one another; and in theſe were fixed little Pillars five Foot high, joined at the Top by Beams deſigned to ſupport the Roof of the Gallery. Over theſe were laid Rafters two Foot ſquare, faſtened ſtrongly with Nails and Plates of Iron. The upper Part of the Roof was compoſed of ſquare Laths, four Inches thick, which were placed at a ſmall Diſtance one from another, to bear the Tiles that were to be laid upon them. Thus was the whole finiſhed with a ſloping Roof, which being partly compoſed of Tiles and Mortar, was proof againſt Fire; and had beſides a Covering of Hides, to hinder the Mortar from being waſhed away by Spouts of Water. Over all we threw ſtrong Mattreſſes, to ſkreen the Hides from Fire and Stones. This Work was finiſhed cloſe by the Brick Tower, under Cover of four Mantles; and immediately carried forward upon Rollers, in the Manner Ships are launched, till it unexpectedly reached the very Tower of the Enemy.

X. THE *Maſſilians* aſtoniſhed at ſo threatening and unlooked-for a Machine, puſhed forward with Levers the largeſt Stones they could find, and tumbled them from the Top of the Wall upon the Gallery. But the Strength

Strength of the Wood reſiſted the Violence of the Blows, ſo that they fell to the Ground without doing any Hurt. Obſerving this, they changed their Deſign, and poured down upon us burning Barrels of Pitch and Tallow. But theſe likewiſe rolled along the Roof without Damage, and falling upon the Ground, were afterwards thruſt away with Forks and long Poles. Mean-while our Soldiers, under Protection of the Gallery, were endeavouring with their Levers to undermine the Enemy's Tower. The Gallery itſelf was defended by the Tower of Brick, whence our Engines played without Intermiſſion; inſomuch that the Enemy, driven from their Tower and Walls, were at laſt obliged to abandon their Defence. By Degrees the Tower being undermined, Part of it fell down, and the reſt was ſo ſhaken that it could not ſtand long.

XI. UPON this the Enemy, alarmed at ſo unexpected a Misfortune, diſcouraged by the Downfal of the Tower, awed by ſuch a Teſtimony of the Wrath of the Gods, and dreading the Plunder and Devaſtation of their City; came forth in the Habit of Suppliants; and with outſtretched Hands, beſought the Compaſſion of the Army and Generals. At this new and unexpected Sight, all Acts of Hoſtility ceaſed; and the Soldiers laying aſide their Ardor for the Fight, were eager to hear and get acquainted with the Propoſals of the Enemy: Who arriving in Preſence of the Army and Generals, threw themſelves at their Feet, requeſting them to ſuſpend all further Operations, till *Cæſar*'s Arrival. They told them: "That as the Works were now completed, and "the Tower deſtroyed, they were ſenſible the City "could no longer hold out; and therefore meant not "to defend it: That in the mean-time, no Prejudice "could ariſe to the Beſiegers from this Reſpite; be"cauſe, if they refuſed to ſubmit upon *Cæſar*'s coming, "he would have it in his Power to treat them as he "pleaſed." They added, "That if the whole Tower "ſhould be brought down, it would be impoſſible to "hinder the Soldiers from yielding to the Deſire of "Plunder, by breaking into and pillaging the Town." This, and much more of the ſame Nature (for the *Maſſilians* are a learned People) they urged in a very moving and pathetick Strain.

XII. THE

XII. THE Generals moved by theſe Remonſtrances, drew off the Soldiers from the Works, diſcontinued the Attack, and contented themſelves with poſting Guards in convenient Places. Compaſſion occaſioned a Kind of Truce till *Cæſar*'s Arrival; ſo that on neither Side were any Acts of Hoſtility committed, but every Thing was quiet and ſecure, as if the Siege had been at an End. For *Cæſar* had earneſtly recommended it to *Trebonius* by Letter, to prevent, if poſſible, the City's being taken by Storm; leſt the Soldiers, irritated by their Revolt, and the Reſiſtance they had found, ſhould put all the Youth to the Sword, as they threatened to do. Nay, they were even then hardly reſtrained from breaking into the Town, and loudly murmured againſt *Trebonius*, for delaying a Conqueſt, which they looked upon as certain.

XIII. BUT the *Maſſilians*, a Nation without Faith, aimed at nothing farther in all this, than to find a Time and Opportunity to deceive us, and put in Practice the treacherous Purpoſe they had formed. For after ſome Days, our Men ſuſpecting no Danger, but relying upon the good Faith of the Enemy; while ſome were retired to their Tents, others laid down to reſt in the Trenches, overpowered by the long Fatigue they had undergone; and all the Arms laid up and removed out of Sight; ſuddenly they ſallied from the Town: and the Wind being high, and favourable to their Deſign, ſet fire to the Works. The Flame in a Moment ſpread itſelf on all Sides, inſomuch that the Battery, the Mantles, the Tortoiſe, the Tower, the Machines, and the Gallery were entirely deſtroyed, before it was poſſible to diſcover whence the Diſaſter aroſe. The Suddenneſs of the Accident made our Men immediately run to their Arms, where every one took what came firſt to hand. Some ſallied out upon the Enemy, but were checked by the Arrows and Darts poured upon them from the Town; inſomuch that the *Maſſilians*, ſheltered by their Walls, burnt without any Diſficulty the Tower of Brick and the Gallery. Thus the Labour of many Months was deſtroyed in an Inſtant, by the Treachery of an Enemy, and the Violence of the Wind. Next Day they made the ſame Attempt, favoured by the ſame Wind, and with yet greater Aſſurance, againſt the Tower and Terraſs of the other Attack. They approached them boldly,

boldly, and threw plenty of Fire upon them: but our Men, grown wiſe by their late Misfortune, had made all neceſſary Preparations for their Defence; ſo that after loſing many Men, they were obliged to retreat into the City, without effecting their Purpoſe.

XIV. TREBONIUS immediately reſolved to repair his Loſs, in which he found himſelf warmly ſeconded by the Zeal of the Soldiers. They ſaw the Works which had coſt ſo much Labour and Toil, deſtroyed by the Perfidy of a People, who made no Scruple of violating the moſt ſacred Engagements: they ſaw that their Credulity had been abuſed, and that they were become the Jeſt of their Enemies, which grieved and provoked them at the ſame Time. But it was ſtill difficult to determine, whence they might be ſupplied with Wood, to repair all theſe Works. There was none in the Neighbourhood of *Marſeilles*, the Trees having been all cut down for a great way round. They reſolved therefore to raiſe a Terraſs of a new Kind, and ſuch as Hiſtory no where mentions before that Time. They raiſed two Walls of Brick, each ſix Foot thick, and diſtant from one another nearly the Breadth of the former Mount. Over theſe they laid a Floor; and to render it firm, beſides its being ſupported on either ſide, placed Pillars underneath between the Walls, to bear it up where it was weakeſt, or had a greater Streſs of Weight to ſupport. There were moreover Croſs-beams, which reſted upon Niches in the Wall; and to render the ſeveral Floors proof againſt Fire, Hurdles were laid over them, which were afterwards covered with Clay. The Soldiers thus ſheltered over head by the Roof, on the Right and Left by Walls, and before by a Breaſt-work, brought the neceſſary Materials without Danger; and by the Eagerneſs with which they laboured, ſoon completed the Whole; leaving Ouvertures in convenient Places, to ſally out upon occaſion.

XV. THE Enemy ſeeing we had repaired in ſo ſhort a Time, what they imagined muſt have coſt us the Labour of many Days; that there was now no Hope left, either of deceiving us, or ſallying out upon us with Succeſs; that all the Approaches to the City by Land, might in like Manner be ſhut up by a Wall and Towers,

ſo

ſo as to render it impoſſible for them to appear upon their Works, our Walls over-topping and commanding theirs, that they could neither diſcharge their Javelins, nor make any Uſe of their Engines, in which their principal Hope lay; and that they were now reduced to the Neceſſity of fighting us upon equal Terms, though conſcious of their great Inferiority in point of Valour: they were forced to have recourſe again to the ſame Conditions of Truce they had ſo ill obſerved before.

XVI. M. VARRO in Farther *Spain*, having early Notice of what paſſed in *Italy*, and beginning to diſtruſt the Succeſs of *Pompey*'s Affairs, ſpoke in a very friendly Manner of *Cæſar*. He ſaid: "That he was indeed under particular Obligations to *Pompey*, who had made him his Lieutenant-general; but at the ſame Time was no leſs indebted to *Cæſar*: That he was not ignorant of the Duty of a Lieutenant, employed by his General in an Office of Truſt; but that he likewiſe knew his own Strength, and the Attachment of the whole Province to *Cæſar*." After this Manner he talked in all Companies, nor declared expreſsly for either Side. But when he afterwards underſtood, that *Cæſar* was detained by the Siege of *Marſeilles*; that the Armies of *Petreius* and *Afranius* had joined, and daily grew ſtronger by the Arrival of new Succours; that there was Room to hope for every Thing; that the hither Province had unanimouſly declared in their Favour; that *Cæſar* himſelf was reduced to great Straits at *Lerida*: of all which *Afranius* wrote largely, magnifying his own Advantages; he began to alter with Fortune. He raiſed Troops over the whole Province; added thirty auxiliary Cohorts to the two Legions he had already under his Command; formed great Magazines of Corn to ſupply *Marſeilles*, and the Armies under *Afranius* and *Petreius*; ordered the *Gaditani* to furniſh him with ten Ships of War; cauſed a conſiderable Number to be built at *Hiſpalis*; ſent all the Money and Ornaments he found in the Temple of *Hercules* to *Cales*; left there a Garriſon of ſix Cohorts, under the Command of *Caius Gallonius*, a *Roman* Knight, the Friend of *Domitius*, who had ſent him thither to look after an Inheritance of his; conveyed all the Arms, publick and private, to *Gallonius*'s Houſe; ſpoke every where diſadvantageouſly of *Cæſar*;

Cæſar; declared ſeveral Times from his Tribunal, that *Cæſar* had been worſted, and that many of his Soldiers had gone over to *Afranius*, as he was well aſſured by undoubted Teſtimonies: by all which, having ſtruck a Terror into the *Roman* Citizens of that Province, he obliged them to promiſe him one hundred and ninety thouſand Seſterces, twenty thouſand Weight of Silver, and one hundred and twenty thouſand Buſhels of Wheat. The States well affected to *Cæſar* he loaded with heavy Contributions; confiſcated the Effects of ſuch as had ſpoken againſt the Commonwealth; quartered Soldiers upon them; haraſſed them with arbitrary Judgments; and in fine obliged the whole Province to take an Oath of Fidelity to himſelf and *Pompey*. Hearing of what had paſſed in Hither *Spain*, he prepared for War. His Deſign was, to ſhut himſelf up with his two Legions in *Cales*, where all the Proviſions and Shipping lay; becauſe he very well underſtood, that the whole Province was in *Cæſar*'s Intereſt: for he judged it would be eaſy in that Iſland, with the Ships and Proviſions he had, to draw out the War into length.

XVII. CÆSAR, though called upon by many and neceſſary Affairs to return to *Italy*, reſolved however not to leave *Spain*, till he had entirely quelled the War in that Province: for he knew that Hither *Spain* had many Obligations to *Pompey*, and that moſt of the Inhabitants were ſtrongly in his Intereſt. Having therefore detached two Legions into Farther *Spain*, under the Command of *Q. Caſſius*, Tribune of the People, he himſelf advanced by great Journeys at the Head of ſix hundred Horſe. He ſent Orders before to the Magiſtrates, and the principal Men of every State, to meet him by a certain Day at *Cordova*. All obeyed: every State ſent its Deputies: nor was there a ſingle *Roman* Citizen of any Conſideration, who did not repair thither on this Occaſion. The very Senate of *Cordova*, of their own proper Motion, ſhut their Gates againſt *Varro*, ſtationed Guards and Sentinels along the Walls, and detained two Cohorts called *Calonicæ*, which chanced to march that way, that they might ſerve to protect the Town. At the ſame time thoſe of *Carmona*, the moſt conſiderable State in the Province, drove out of their City three Cohorts,

Cohorts, which *Varro* had left to garriſon the Citadel, and ſhut their Gates againſt them.

XVIII. THIS determined *Varro* to make all poſſible Diſpatch, that he might reach *Cales* as ſoon as poſſible, leſt his March ſhould be intercepted; ſo great and apparent was the Affection of the Province to *Cæſar*. When he was advanced a little way, he received Letters from *Cales*, which informed him, "That as ſoon as "*Cæſar*'s Edict was known, the principal Men of *Cales*, "with the Tribunes of the Cohorts he had left in Gar"riſon, had conſpired to drive *Gallonius* from the City, "and preſerve the Town and Iſland for *Cæſar*: that "this Project being formed, they had warned *Gallonius* "to retire of his own accord, while he yet might with "Safety; threatening, if he did not, to come to ſome "immediate Reſolution againſt him: that *Gallonius*, "terrified by ſo general a Revolt, had accordingly left "*Cales*." Upon this Intelligence, one of the two Legions known by the Name of *Vernacula*, took up their Enſigns in *Varro*'s Preſence, quitted the Camp, and marched directly to *Hiſpalis*, where they ſat down in the Market-place and Cloiſters, without committing the leaſt Act of Violence: which ſo wrought upon the *Roman* Citizens reſiding in the Town, that every one was deſirous of accommodating them in their Houſes. *Varro* aſtoniſhed at theſe Proceedings, turned back with deſign to reach *Italica*, but was informed that the Gates were ſhut. At laſt, finding himſelf ſurrounded on all Sides, and the Ways every where beſet; he wrote to *Cæſar*, that he was ready to reſign the Legion under his Command, to whomſoever he ſhould order to receive it. *Cæſar* ſent *Sextus Cæſar* to take the Command; and *Varro* having reſigned the Legion accordingly, came to him at *Cordova*. After giving him an Account of the State of the Province, he faithfully reſigned all the publick Money he had in his Hands, and informed him of the Quantity of Corn and Shipping he had prepared.

XIX. CÆSAR aſſembling the States at *Cordova*, returned Thanks ſeverally to all who had declared in his Favour: to the *Roman* Citizens, for having made themſelves Maſters of the Town in his Name: to the *Spa-*

niards, for driving out *Pompey*'s Garriſons: to the People of *Cales*, for having fruſtrated the Deſigns of his Enemies, and aſſerted their own Liberty: to the military Tribunes and Centurions ſent thither to guard the Place, for having confirmed them in their Reſolutions by their Example. He remitted the Tribute impoſed by *Varro* upon the *Roman* Citizens; reſtored their Eſtates to thoſe who had been deprived of them for ſpeaking their Thoughts freely; diſtributed Rewards to a great many both in publick and private; and gave all room to hope for like Favours in the Iſſue. After a Stay of two Days at *Cordova*, he went to *Cales*; where he reſtored to the Temple of *Hercules* all the Treaſures and Ornaments which had been carried off, and lodged in private Houſes. He committed the Government of the Province to *Q. Caſſius*, aſſigned him four Legions for that Purpoſe; and embarking for *Tarraco* on board the Fleet which *Varro* had obliged the *Gaditani* to furniſh, arrived there in a few Days. There he found Deputies from almoſt all the States of the Province: and having, in like manner as at *Cordova*, both publickly and privately rewarded ſome States; he left *Tarraco*, came by Land to *Narbonne*, and thence to *Marſeilles*. There he was informed of the Law touching the Dictatorſhip, and that *M. Lepidus* the Prætor had named him to that Office.

XX. THE *Maſſilians* overwhelmed with a Profuſion of Calamities; reduced to the utmoſt Diſtreſs by Famine; worſted in two different Engagements by Sea; weakened by continual Sallies; aſſaulted by a heavy Peſtilence, occaſioned by the Length of the Siege, and their conſtant change of Diet; (for they were obliged to feed upon old Meal and muſty Barley, which had been long treaſured up in their Magazines againſt an Accident of this Kind:) their Tower being overthrown; a great Part of their Walls undermined; and no Proſpect of Relief from Armies or the Provinces, which were now all reduced under *Cæſar*'s Power: they reſolved to ſurrender in good earneſt. But ſome Days before, *Domitius*, who was apprized of their Intentions, having prepared three Ships (two of which he aſſigned to his Followers, and embarked in perſon on board the Third) took occaſion during a Storm to make his Eſcape. Some of *Brutus*'s Gallies, which he had ordered to keep conſtantly cruiſing before

before the Port, chancing to get ſight of him, prepared to give chace. That in which *Domitius* was eſcaped under favour of the Tempeſt; but the two others, alarmed at ſeeing our Gallies ſo near them, re-entered the Port. *Cæſar* ſpared the Town, more in regard to its Antiquity and Reputation, than any real Merit it could plead. He obliged the Citizens however to deliver up their Arms, Machines, and Ships of War, whether in the Port or Arſenal: to ſurrender all the Money in their Treaſury: and to receive a Garriſon of two Legions. Then ſending the reſt of the Army into *Italy*, he himſelf ſet out for *Rome*.

XXI. ABOUT the ſame Time, *C. Curio* ſailed from *Sicily* into *Africa*, with two of the four Legions, which had been put under his Command by *Cæſar*, and five hundred Horſe; having conceived the higheſt Contempt of the Troops headed by *P. Attius Varus*. After two Days and three Nights ſailing, he landed at a Place called *Aquilaria*. This Place is about twenty-two Miles diſtant from *Clupea*, and has a very convenient Harbour for Ships in the Summer-time, ſheltered on each Side by a Promontory. *L. Cæſar* the Son waited for him at *Clupea* with ten Gallies, which *P. Attius* had taken in the War againſt the Pirates, and repaired at *Utica*, for the Service of the preſent War. But terrified at the Number of Ships *Curio* brought with him, he ſtood in for the Coaſt; where running his Galley on ſhore, he left her, and went by Land to *Adrumetum*. *C. Conſidius Longus* commanded in that Town with one Legion: and here alſo the reſt of the Fleet repaired after *Cæſar*'s Flight. *M. Rufus* the Quæſtor purſuing them with twelve Gallies, which *Curio* had brought with him from *Africa* to guard the Tranſports; when he ſaw *Cæſar*'s own Galley upon the Strand, he towed her off, and returned with the Fleet to *Curio*.

XXII. CURIO ordered him to ſail directly for *Utica*, and followed himſelf with the Land-army. After a March of two Days, he arrived at the River *Bagradas*, where he left *C. Caninius Rebilus* with the Legions, and advanced before with the Cavalry, to take a View of the *Cornelian* Camp, which was judged to be a Situation extremely advantageous. It is a high Rock, jutting out into

into the Sea, ſteep and rough on both Sides, but with an eaſier Deſcent where it fronts *Utica*. It lies little more than a Mile from *Utica* in a direct Line: but as there is a Fountain about half way, which runs towards the Sea, and overflowing the Plain, forms a Moraſs; to avoid this, in marching to *Utica*, it is neceſſary to take a Compaſs of ſix Miles. When he had taken a View of this Poſt, he went next and examined *Varus*'s Camp, which was under the Walls of the Town, towards the Gate named the *Gate of War*. The Situation of it was extremely advantageous; for on the one Side it was covered by the City of *Utica* itſelf, and on the other by a Kind of Theatre which ſtood without the Walls, the Works round which took up ſo much Room, that they rendered the Approach to the Camp extremely difficult. At the ſame Time he ſaw all the Ways crowded with People, who out of fear of being pillaged, were carrying their moſt valuable Effects into the City. He detached the Cavalry againſt them to diſperſe them, and likewiſe have an Opportunity of making ſome Booty. Upon which *Varus* ordered ſix hundred *Numidian* Horſe to advance to their Aſſiſtance, which he farther ſtrengthened with four hundred Foot, ſent by *Juba* a few Days before, to reinforce the Garriſon of *Utica*. This King inherited from his Father an Affection for *Pompey*, and beſides perſonally hated *Curio*, who, during his Tribuneſhip, had publiſhed a Law to deprive him of his Kingdom. The *Numidian* Cavalry ſoon came to Blows with ours; but were not able to ſtand their firſt Charge, retreating to their Camp with the Loſs of an hundred and twenty Men. Mean-time, upon the Arrival of *Curio*'s Fleet, he ordered Proclamation to be made among the Merchant Ships which were at *Utica*, to the Number of two Hundred, that he would treat them as Enemies, if they did not immediately repair to the *Cornelian* Camp. Upon this Proclamation they inſtantly weighed Anchor, and leaving *Utica*, ſailed whither they were ordered; by which Means the Army was plentifully ſupplied with every Thing they ſtood in need of.

XXIII. THESE Things diſpatched, *Curio* repaired to his Camp at *Bagrada*, where with the joint Acclamations of the whole Army, he was ſaluted by the Name of *Imperator*. Next Day he led his Army towards *Utica*,

and encamped not far from the Town. But before he had finiſhed his Intrenchments, he was informed by ſome Parties of Horſe, who were upon the Scout, that a powerful Body of Horſe and Foot had been ſent by the King to *Utica:* at the ſame Time a great Cloud of Duſt began to appear, and ſoon after the Enemy's Van was in view. *Curio*, aſtoniſhed at a Motion ſo unexpected, ſent the Cavalry before to ſuſtain their firſt Charge, and keep them in play: he, mean-while, drawing off the Legions from the Works with all poſſible Expedition, formed them in Order of Battle. The Horſe engaged according to Orders; and with ſuch Succeſs, that before the Legions could be duly drawn up, the whole Reinforcement ſent by the King, who marched without Order or Apprehenſion of Danger, falling into Confuſion, at laſt betook themſelves to flight. The Cavalry, wheeling nimbly along the Shore, eſcaped with little Loſs into the Town: but great Numbers of the Infantry were cut to pieces.

XXIV. NEXT Night two Centurions of the Nation of the *Marſi*, with twenty-two private Soldiers, deſerted from *Curio*, and went over to *Attius Varus*. Theſe, either believing the Thing themſelves, or deſirous to carry grateful Tidings to *Varus*, (for we eaſily believe what we wiſh, and readily hope that others will fall into our Way of thinking,) aſſured him, that the whole Army was extremely averſe to *Curio*, and would infallibly revolt, if he would but advance, and come to a Conference with them. Accordingly *Varus* drew out his Legions next Day. *Curio* did the ſame: and the two Armies ſtood facing one another in Order of Battle, with a ſmall Valley between them.

XXV. SEXTUS QUINTILIUS VARUS, who, as we have related above, had been made Priſoner at *Corfinium*, was now in the Enemy's Army: for *Cæſar* having granted him his Liberty, he had retired into *Africa*. *Curio* had brought over with him from *Sicily* the very ſame Legions who had revolted ſome Time before to *Cæſar* at the Siege of *Corfinium:* ſo that excepting a few Centurions who had been changed, the Officers and Companies were the ſame as had formerly ſerved with this very *Quintilius*. He made uſe of this Handle to debauch the Army of *Curio*, " and began with putting the Soldiers in mind

" of

" of their former Oath to *Domitius*, and to himſelf, that " General's Quæſtor; he exhorted them not to carry " Arms againſt the old Companions of their Fortune, " who had ſhared with them in all the Hazards of " that Siege; nor fight in defence of that Party, who " treated them ignominiouſly, and as Deſerters." To theſe Conſiderations he added Offers of a liberal Recompenſe, if they would follow his Fortune and that of *Attius*. But his Speech made no Impreſſion upon *Curio*'s Troops, ſo that both Armies retired to their reſpective Camps.

XXVI. BUT an uncommon Panick ſoon ſpread itſelf over *Curio*'s Camp, which the various Diſcourſes of the Soldiers ſerved only to increaſe. For every one had his Opinion, and added the Suggeſtions of his own Fear to that which he heard from others. Theſe Reports ſpreading from one to many, and receiving Additions in every new Relation, there appeared to be ſeveral Authors of the ſame Notions: " That in a Civil War it was " lawful for every Soldier to chooſe what Side he pleaſ- " ed: That the ſame Legions who a little before had " fought on the Side of the Enemy, might without " Scruple return again to the ſame Cauſe, ſince *Cæſar*'s " conferring Favours upon his Enemies, ought not to " render them unmindful of prior and greater Obliga- " tions: That even the municipal Towns were divided " in their Affection, and ſided ſome with one Party, " ſome with another." Theſe Diſcourſes proceeded not from the *Marſi* and *Peligni* alone, but ran like a Torrent through the whole Camp. However, ſome of the Soldiers blamed their Companions for this ſo great Freedom of Talk; and others, who affected to appear more diligent than the reſt, enlarged in their Accounts of it to the Officers.

XXVII. FOR theſe Reaſons *Curio*, ſummoning a Council of War, began to deliberate about the proper Remedies for this Evil. Some were for attacking at all Hazards the Camp of *Varus*, in order to find Employment for the Soldiers, whoſe Idleneſs they conſidered as the Cauſe of all the preſent Alarms. Beſides, it was better, they ſaid, to truſt to Valour, and try the Fortune of a Battle, than ſee themſelves abandoned by their Men, and

delivered up to the Barbarity of the Enemy. Others were for retiring during the Night to the *Cornelian* Camp, where they would have more Time to cure the Infatuation of the Soldiers; and whence, in caſe of a Diſaſter, they could with more Safety and Eaſe make good their Retreat into *Sicily*, by Means of the great Number of Ships they were there provided with. *Curio* reliſhed neither of theſe Motions: the one, he thought, argued Cowardice; the other, a raſh Boldneſs: to retreat, would have all the Appearance of a ſhameful Flight; to attack, they muſt reſolve to fight in a Place of Diſadvantage. "With what Hope, ſaid he, can we attack a "Camp fortified by Nature and Art? And what Ad- "vantage can we draw from an Attempt, whence we "ſhall be obliged to retire with Loſs? Does not Suc- "ceſs always ſecure to a General the Affection of his "Troops, whereas ill Fortune is evermore followed "with Contempt? And what would a Decampment "imply but an ignominious Flight, an abſolute De- "ſpair of all Things, and an unavoidable Alienation of "the whole Army? That we ought not to let the Mo- "deſt think we diſtruſt them, nor the Inſolent that we "fear them; becauſe the Knowledge of our Fear only "augments the Preſumption of the one; and an Appre- "henſion of being ſuſpected abates the Zeal of the "other. But if what is reported of the Diſcontent of "the Army be true, which I am yet unwilling to be- "lieve, at leaſt to the Degree ſome pretend; we ought "for that Reaſon rather to hide and diſſemble our "Fears, than by an unreaſonable Diſcovery of them to "add Strength to the Evil: That as in ſome Caſes it "was neceſſary to conceal the Wounds of the Body, "that the Enemy might not conceive Hope from our "Misfortunes; ſo alſo ought we to hide the Indiſpoſi- "tion of an Army: That by retreating in the Night, "as ſome propoſed, they would only furniſh a fairer "Occaſion to the ill-affected to execute their Purpoſe: "for Fear and Shame are powerful Reſtraints by Day, "but Night entirely diveſts them of their Force: That "he was neither ſo raſh, as to attack a Camp without "Hopes of Succeſs; nor ſo blinded by Fear, as to be "at a loſs what Meaſures to purſue: That he thought "it his Duty to examine Things to the Bottom; and "as he had called them together to deliberate upon the

" preſent State of Affairs, doubted not, with their Aſ-
" ſiſtance, to take ſuch Meaſures as would be attended
" with Succeſs."

XXVIII. He then diſmiſſed the Council: and aſſembling the Soldiers, put them in mind of what Advantage their Steadineſs and Zeal had been to *Cæſar* at *Corfinium*, and how ſerviceable towards the Conqueſt of the greateſt Part of *Italy*. " It was you, ſaid he, that
" gave the Example, and all the municipal Towns ſoon
" followed: their Submiſſion to *Cæſar* was your Work:
" and therefore it is not without Reaſon, that he is ſo
" particularly attached to you, and that *Pompey* hates
" you ſincerely. It was you that obliged him to quit
" *Italy*, without being forced to it by the Loſs of a
" Battle. *Cæſar*, who ranks me in the Number of his
" deareſt Friends, has committed my Safety to your
" Care, with *Sicily* and *Africa*, without which it would
" be impoſſible to defend either *Rome* or *Italy*. You are
" now in the Preſence of thoſe who exhort you to aban-
" don us: and indeed what could be more deſirable to
" them, than at the ſame Time to enſnare us, and fix
" upon you the Stain of an infamous Crime? What
" worſe Opinion could an enraged Enemy teſtify of you,
" than to ſuppoſe you capable of betraying thoſe, who
" own themſelves indebted to you for all; and of throw-
" ing yourſelves into the Power of a Party who conſi-
" der you as the Authors of all their Misfortunes? Are
" you Strangers to *Cæſar*'s Exploits in *Spain*? Two
" Armies defeated? Two Generals overcome? Two
" Provinces brought under Subjection? And all this
" in the Space of forty Days, after *Cæſar* came within
" ſight of the Enemy. Is it likely that thoſe, who
" with Forces unbroken could not ſtand their Ground,
" will be able to reſiſt, now they are vanquiſhed? And
" will you, who followed *Cæſar* before Fortune de-
" clared in his Favour, now return to the Vanquiſhed,
" when Fortune has already decided the Quarrel, and
" you are upon the Point of obtaining the Reward of
" your Services? They charge you with having aban-
" doned and betrayed them, contrary to the Faith of
" Oaths. But is it indeed true that you abandoned *Do-*
" *mitius*? Or did not he rather meanly abandon you, at
" a Time when you were ready to ſuffer every Thing for

" his Sake? Did he not, unknown to you, reſolve to " ſeek his Safety in Flight? And were you not, after " being thus baſely betrayed by him, indebted to *Cæ-* " *ſar*'s Goodneſs for your Preſervation? How could " your Oath bind you to one, who after throwing away " the Enſigns of his Authority, and diveſting himſelf " of his Office, ſurrendered himſelf a private Man and a " Captive into the Power of another? The new En- " gagement you were then brought under alone ſubſiſts " at preſent, and ought quite to obliterate that, which " the Surrender of your General, and his Loſs of Li- " berty, have made void. But though I doubt not of " your being ſatisfied with *Cæſar*, you may perhaps " have taken Offence at me. And, indeed, I have no " thought of mentioning any Services I may have done " you: which, as yet, come far ſhort of my Intentions, " and your Expectations: but you are not ignorant, " that the Rewards of military Service come not till " after the Concluſion of the War; and I believe you " little doubt what the Iſſue of this will be. Nor need " I on this Occaſion decline taking Notice of the Dili- " gence I have uſed, the Progreſs already made, and the " good Fortune that has hitherto attended me. Are " you diſſatisfied that I have landed my Army ſafe in " *Africa*, without the Loſs of a ſingle Ship? That I " diſperſed the Enemy's Fleet at the firſt Onſet? That " within the Space of two Days I have twice defeated " their Cavalry? That I forced two hundred of their " Merchantmen to quit the Port of *Utica* and join me? " and that I have reduced them to a Situation where it is " impoſſible for them to receive any Supplies either by " Land or Sea? Can you think of abandoning a Cauſe " conducted by ſuch Leaders, and attended with ſuch " Succeſs; to follow the Fortune of thoſe who ſo igno- " miniouſly delivered up *Corfinium*, relinquiſhed *Italy*, " ſurrendered *Spain*, and have already ſuſtained conſi- " derable Loſſes in the *African* War? I never pre- " tended to more than being a Follower of *Cæſar*: it " was you that honoured me with the Title of *Impera-* " *tor*; which I am this Moment ready to reſign, if you " think me unworthy of the Favour. Reſtore me my " former Name, that it may not be ſaid I was honoured, " to be covered afterwards with the greater Igno- " miny."

XXIX. THESE

XXIX. THESE Remonſtrances made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the Soldiers, that they frequently interrupted him while he was ſpeaking, and appeared deeply touched at his ſuſpecting their Fidelity. As he retired, they all gathered round him, exhorting him not to be diſcouraged, or ſcruple to hazard a Battle, and make Trial of their Fidelity and Bravery. This Behaviour of the Troops wrought ſo great a Change in the Minds of the Officers, that *Curio*, with the joint Concurrence of them all, reſolved to give Battle the firſt Opportunity that offered. Accordingly drawing out his Men next Day, in the ſame Place he had done for ſome time paſt, he ranged them in Order of Battle. *Attius Varus* did the ſame; that if an Opportunity offered, either of corrupting the Soldiers, or fighting to advantage, he might be in readineſs to lay hold of it.

XXX. BETWEEN the two Armies lay a Valley, as we have obſerved above; not indeed conſiderable for its Breadth, but ſteep and difficult of Aſcent. Both Sides waited till the other ſhould paſs it, that they might engage to more Advantage. *Curio* obſerving that all the Horſe on *Varus*'s right Wing, together with the light-armed Foot, had ventured down into this Valley; detached his Cavalry againſt them, with two Cohorts of *Marrucinians*; whoſe firſt Shock the Enemy were not able to ſuſtain, but returned full ſpeed to their own Men, leaving the light-armed Foot behind, who were ſurrounded and cut to Pieces in ſight of *Varus*'s Army; which fronting that Way, was Witneſs to the Flight of the one, and Slaughter of the other. Upon this *Rebilus*, one of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants, whom *Curio* had brought with him from *Sicily*, on account of his conſummate Knowledge in the Art of War; "Why, ſays he, do you delay "ſeizing the favourable Moment? You ſee the Enemy "ſtruck with Terror." *Curio* made no Anſwer, only deſired his Soldiers to remember what they had promiſed the Day before; and marching the firſt, commanded them to follow him. The Valley was ſo ſteep and difficult, that the firſt Ranks could not aſcend, but with the Aſſiſtance of thoſe that came after. But the *Attinian* Army was ſo diſpirited with Fear, and the Flight and Slaughter of their Troops, that they never thought of making Reſiſtance; fancying themſelves already ſur-

rounded by our Cavalry: ſo that before we could arrive within Reach of Dart, the whole Army of *Varus* fled, and retreated to their Camp.

XXXI. IN this Flight, one *Fabius Pelignus*, a Centurion of the loweſt Rank in *Curio*'s Army, as he was purſuing the Fugitives, called with a loud Voice to *Varus*, as if he had been one of his own Men, who wanted to admoniſh him of ſomething. *Varus*, hearing himſelf named ſeveral Times, turned and ſtood ſtill, demanding who he was, and what he wanted. *Fabius* aimed a Blow at his Breaſt with his Sword, and would certainly have killed him, had not *Varus* warded it off with his Shield. *Fabius* himſelf was ſoon after ſurrounded and ſlain. Mean-while the Multitude of Fugitives ſo cloſed up the Gates of the Camp, and preſſed upon one another in ſuch a Manner, that more were crowded to Death, than fell either in the Battle or Purſuit. Nay, the Camp itſelf was very near being taken; becauſe great Numbers, inſtead of ſtopping there to defend it, made directly for the Town. But both the Nature of the Ground, and the Fortifications themſelves, prevented the Aſſault; and the rather, as *Curio*'s Soldiers being armed only for Battle, had brought with them none of the neceſſary Tools to force a Camp. *Curio* brought back his Army without the Loſs of a Man, *Fabius* excepted: of the Enemy about ſix hundred were killed, and a thouſand wounded. After *Curio* had drawn off his Men, all the wounded quitted the Camp, and retired into the City, as did a great many others, who, overcome by Fear, ſheltered themſelves there alſo under the ſame Pretence. *Varus* obſerving this, and that an univerſal Dread had ſeized the Army; left only a Trumpet in the Camp, with a few Tents for Shew; and about Midnight, ſilently entered the Town with all his Forces.

XXXII. NEXT Day *Curio* reſolved to beſiege *Utica*, and draw a Line of Circumvallation round it. There was in the Town a Multitude of Men unfit for the Fatigues of War, through a long Enjoyment of Peace. The Inhabitants themſelves were ſtrongly attached to *Cæſar*, for ancient Favours received from him. The Senate was compoſed of People greatly differing in their Tempers,

Tempers, and the Loſſes already ſuſtained ſpread Terror through all Ranks. A Surrender was publickly talked of; and all concurred in ſoliciting *Varus* not to ruin them by his Obſtinacy and Perverſeneſs. While theſe Things were in agitation, Meſſengers ſent by King *Juba* arrived, who informed them of the Approach of his Army, and exhorted them to defend the City; which contributed not a little to confirm their wavering Minds.

XXXIII. CURIO received the ſame News; but for ſome Time would not believe it, ſo greatly did he confide in his good Fortune. Beſides, *Cæſar*'s Succeſs in *Spain* was already known in *Africa*; whence he concluded it improbable that *Juba* would attempt any Thing againſt him. But when he was for certain informed of his being within twenty-five Miles of *Utica* with his whole Army, he retired from before the Town to the *Cornelian* Camp, laid in great Quantities of Corn and Wood, began to fortify himſelf, and ſent directly to *Sicily* for the Cavalry, and the two Legions he had left there. The Camp itſelf was very advantageous for protracting the War; being ſtrong both by Nature and Art, near the Sea, and abounding in Water and Salt, great Quantities of which had been carried thither from the neighbouring Salt-pits. Neither ran he any Hazard of being ſtraitened for Wood and Corn, as the Country abounded in Trees and Grain. He reſolved therefore, with the Conſent of the whole Army, to wait here the Arrival of the reſt of the Troops, and make Preparation for continuing the War.

XXXIV. THIS Reſolution being taken, and meeting with a general Approbation; ſome of the Townſmen, who he had deſerted to *Curio*, informed him, that the War in which *Juba* was engaged with the *Leptitani*, having obliged him to return into his own Kingdom, he had only ſent his Lieutenant *Sabura*, with a ſmall Body of Forces, to the Aſſiſtance of the *Uticans*. Upon this Intelligence, to which he too haſtily gave Credit, he changed his Deſign and reſolved to give Battle. The Fire of Youth, his Courage, good Succeſs, and Self-confidence, contributed greatly to confirm him in this Reſolution. Urged by theſe Conſiderations, about the

the Beginning of the Night, he ſent all his Cavalry towards the Enemy's Camp, which was upon the River *Bagradas*, and where *Sabura*, of whom we have ſpoken before, commanded in chief. But the King followed with all his Forces, and was not above ſix Miles behind him. The Cavalry which *Curio* had detached, marched all Night, and coming unexpectedly upon the Enemy, attacked them before they were ready to receive the Charge: for the *Numidians*, according to the Cuſtom of that barbarous Country, were encamped without Order or Rule. Falling upon them, therefore, in this Confuſion, and oppreſſed with Sleep, they ſlew great Numbers, and obliged the reſt to fly in the utmoſt Conſternation: after which they returned to *Curio*, with the Priſoners they had taken.

XXXV. CURIO had ſet out with all his Forces about the fourth Watch of the Night, leaving only five Cohorts to guard his Camp. After a March of ſix Miles he was met by his Cavalry, who informed him of all that had paſſed. He aſked the Priſoners, Who commanded at *Bagradas?* they anſwered, *Sabura*. Upon this, without making any farther Enquiries, for fear of being detained too long, he turned to the Troops next to him, and ſaid: "Do you not ſee, Fellow-ſoldiers, that "the Report of the Priſoners correſponds exactly with "the Intelligence given by the Deſerters? *Juba* is not "with the Army. It muſt conſiſt of but a few Troops, "ſince they were not able to withſtand the Charge of a "ſmall Body of Horſe. Haſte, therefore, in the Purſuit "of Glory, Booty, and Victory." What the Cavalry had done was indeed conſiderable, becauſe they were but few in Number in Compariſon of the *Numidians:* but as Vanity always makes us believe our Merit to be greater than it is, they themſelves boaſted immoderately of the Action, and endeavoured to enhance the Value of it. They made a mighty Parade of the Booty. The Priſoners too, as well Infantry as Cavalry, marched in Proceſſion before them. And indeed the whole Army imagined, that to delay the Battle was no other than to delay the Victory: ſo that the Ardor of the Troops perfectly ſeconded *Curio*'s Hopes. He therefore haſtened his March, ordering the Horſe to follow, that he might as ſoon as poſſible come up with the frighted Enemy. But

But as they were fatigued with their late March, they found themſelves unable to keep pace with the Army; but ſtopped, ſome in one Place, ſome in another: which, however, retarded not *Curio*'s Hopes.

XXXVI. JUBA having Notice from *Sabura* of the Action in the Night, detached to his Aſſiſtance two thouſand *Spaniſh* and *Gallick* Horſe, of his ordinary Guard, with that Part of the Infantry in which he put the greateſt Confidence. Himſelf followed leiſurely with the reſt of the Troops, and about forty Elephants; ſuſpecting that *Curio*, who had ſent the Cavalry before, could not be far off with his Army. *Sabura* drew up his Horſe and Foot, ordering them to give Ground upon the Enemy's Attack; and, as through Fear, counterfeit a Flight. Mean-while he told them, that he would give the Signal of Battle when he ſaw proper, and direct their Motions as the Caſe might require.

XXXVII. CURIO flattered with new Hopes, and imagining by the Enemy's Motions, that they were preparing for Flight, made his Troops come down from the Mountain into the Plain; and advancing ſtill farther, though his Army was already very much fatigued, having marched upwards of ſixteen Miles, halted at laſt to give the Men breath. That Moment *Sabura* ſounded the Charge, led on his Men in Order of Battle, and went from Rank to Rank to animate the Troops: but he ſuffered only the Cavalry to come to Blows, keeping the Infantry at a Diſtance within Sight. *Curio* was not wanting on his Side, but exhorted his Men to place all their Hopes in their Valour. And indeed neither the Infantry, though fatigued with their March; nor the Cavalry, though few in Number, and ſpent with Toil, ſhewed any Want of Valour, or Backwardneſs to fight: though the laſt, in particular, did no exceed two Hundred; the reſt having ſtopt by the Way. Theſe, wherever they attacked the Enemy, obliged them to give Ground: but they could neither purſue far, nor drive their Horſes on with Impetuoſity. On the other Hand, the *Numidian* Cavalry began to ſurround our Men, and charge them in the Rear. When the Cohorts advanced againſt them, they fell back, and by the Quickneſs of their Retreat, eluded the Charge; but immediately returning,

returning, they got behind our Men, and cut them off from the reſt of the Army. Thus it was equally dangerous for them to maintain their Ranks, or advance to Battle. The Enemy's Forces increaſed continually, by the Reinforcements ſent from the King: ours, on the contrary, were diſabled by Fatigue. Neither could our wounded Men retire, or be ſent to any Place of Safety, the whole Army being inveſted by the Enemy's Horſe. Theſe deſpairing of Safety; as is uſual for Men in the laſt Moments of Life, either lamented their own Fate, or recommended their Relations to their Fellow-Soldiers, if any ſhould be ſo fortunate as to eſcape that Danger. The whole Army was filled with Conſternation and Grief.

XXXVIII. CURIO perceiving the general Alarm, and that neither his Exhortations nor Prayers were regarded, ordered the Troops to retire with the Standards to the neareſt Mountains, as the only Reſource in the preſent Exigence. But the Cavalry detached by *Sabura* had already ſeized them. All Hope being now loſt, ſome were ſlain endeavouring to fly: others threw themſelves upon the Ground, partly in Deſpair, partly unable to make any Efforts for their own Safety. At this Moment *Cn. Domitius*, who commanded the Horſe, addreſſing *Curio*, intreated him to regain his Camp with the few Cavalry that remained, promiſing not to abandon him. "Can I, ſays *Curio*, look *Cæſar* "in the Face, after having loſt an Army he had committed to my Charge?" So ſaying, he continued fighting till he was ſlain. Very few of the Cavalry eſcaped, thoſe only excepted who had ſtopt to refreſh their Horſes: for perceiving at a Diſtance the Rout of the whole Army, they returned to their Camp. All the Infantry were ſlain to a Man.

XXXIX. WHEN this Diſaſter was known, *M. Rufus*, the Quæſtor, whom *Curio* had left to guard the Camp, intreated his Men not to loſe Courage. They begged and requeſted him to reconduct them into *Sicily*; which he promiſed: and ordered the Maſters of the Tranſports to have their Ships in readineſs at Night along the Shore. But Fear had ſo univerſally ſeized the Minds of the Soldiers, that ſome cried out *Juba* was arrived

arrived with his Troops; ſome that *Varus* approached with the Legions, the Duſt of whoſe March they pretended to diſcern; and others, that the Enemy's Fleet would be upon them in an Inſtant; though there was not the leaſt Ground for theſe Reports. The Conſternation thus becoming general, each Man thought only of his own Safety. Thoſe who were already embarked ſailed immediately: and their Flight drew after it that of the Tranſports; ſo that only a very few ſmall Frigates obeyed the Summons, and came to the general Rendezvous. The Diſorder was ſo great upon the Shore, every one ſtriving who ſhould firſt embark, that many Boats ſunk under the Crowd, and others were afraid to come near the Land.

XL. THUS only a few Soldiers and aged Men, who either through Intereſt or Compaſſion were received on board, or had Strength enough to ſwim to the Tranſports, got ſafe to *Sicily*. The reſt deputing their Centurions to *Varus* by Night, ſurrendered to him. *Juba* coming up next Day, claimed them as his Property, put the greater Number to the Sword, and ſent a few of the moſt conſiderable, whom he had ſelected for that Purpoſe, into *Numidia*. *Varus* complained of this Violation of his Faith; but durſt not make any Reſiſtance. The King made his Entrance into the City on Horſeback, followed by a great Number of Senators, among whom was *Servius Sulpicius*, and *Licinius Damaſippus*. Here he ſtayed a few Days, to give what Orders he thought neceſſary: and then returned with all his Forces into his own Kingdom.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

CIVIL WAR.

BOOK III.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. Cæſar *reverſes ſome Judgments given upon Perſons for Bribery at Elections.* II. *He ſets out for* Brunduſium. III. Pompey's *mighty Preparations for War.* IV. Cæſar *embarks, and arrives at the Promontory of* Ceraunium. VI. *His Fleet returning to* Brunduſium, *is intercepted by the Enemy.* VII. M. Octavius, *one of* Pompey's *Adherents, laying Siege to* Salona, *is obliged, by a ſudden Sally of the Inhabitants, to abandon his Lines.* VIII. Cæſar's *Embaſſy to* Pompey *with Propoſals of Peace.* IX. Cæſar *makes himſelf Maſter of* Oricum. X. *Alſo of* Apollonia, *and the whole Country round about.* XI. Cæſar *and* Pompey *encamp over-againſt each other on the Banks of the River* Apſus. XII. Cæſar's *Tranſports ſailing from* Brunduſium, *put back immediately for fear of the Enemy.* XIII. Pompey's *Fleet reduced to great Straits.* XIV. *Conferences ſet on foot about a Peace, which come to nothing.* XV. Bibulus, *Admiral of* Pompey's *Fleet, dies.* XVI. Pompey's *Anſwer to* Cæſar's *Propoſals of Peace.* XVII. *The Conferences about a Peace renewed, but without Effect.* XVIII. *A Commotion in* Rome. XXI. Libo, *one of* Pompey's *Followers, blocks up the Port of* Brunduſium *with a Fleet.* XXII. *But by the Valour and Conduct of* Antony *is forced to quit his Project.* XXIII. Antony *and* Kalenus *tranſport* Cæſar's *Troops to* Greece *with wonderful good Succeſs.* XXVII. Pompey, *to avoid being ſhut up between two Armies, retires to* Aſparagium. XXVIII. Scipio, *a Partizan of* Pompey, *behaves very tyrannically in* Aſia. XXIX. *The Motions of* Cæſar's *Lieutenants in* Theſſaly, Ætolia, *and* Macedonia. XXXIV. *Young* Pompey *burns* Cæſar's *Fleet in the Port of* Oricum. XXXV. Cæſar *cuts off* Pompey's *Communication with* Dyrrhachium. XXXVI. *And beſieges him in his Camp.* XXXIX. *Many Attempts and Diſpoſitions on both Sides, with various Turns of Fortune.* XL. Cæſar's *Troops diſtreſſed for want of Corn, make Bread of a certain Root.* XLII. Pompey *repulſed in a Sally.* XLVII. Kalenus, *one of* Cæſar's *Lieutenants, poſſeſſes himſelf of ſeveral Towns in* Achaia. XLVIII. Cæſar *offers* Pompey *Battle.* XLIX. *Another Embaſſy with Propoſals of Peace, which are rejected.* L. Pompey, *diſtreſſed for want of Forage, reſolves to break through* Cæſar's *Lines.* LI. Roſcillus *and* Ægus, *diſguſted at ſome Check they had*

had received from Cæſar, *revolt to* Pompey. LII. Pompey *breaks through* Cæſar's *Lines, after making great Slaughter of his Troops.* LXI. Cæſar *deſiſts from the Deſign of incloſing* Pompey, *and makes a Speech to his Men.* LXII. Cæſar *retires to* Aſparagium, *and is followed by* Pompey. LXV. *Thence to* Apollonia. LXVII. *And then to* Gomphi, *a Town of* Theſſaly; *which refuſing to open its Gates, is taken by Aſſault the firſt Day.* LXVIII. Metropolis *ſubmits, and their Example is followed by other* Theſſalian *States.* LXIX. Pompey *arrives in* Theſſaly, *elated with his Succeſs, and confident of Victory.* LXX. Cæſar *reſolves to give battle. His Reſolution with reſpect to his Cavalry.* LXXII. Pompey *likewiſe reſolves to give battle, and boaſts of an aſſured Victory.* LXXIII. *The Diſpoſition of* Pompey's *Army.* LXXIV. *The Diſpoſition of* Cæſar's. LXXV. Cæſar's *Speech to his Soldiers.* LXXVI. *The Battle of* Pharſalia, *in which* Cæſar *obtains a compleat Victory.* LXXVII. Cæſar *makes himſelf Maſter of* Pompey's *Camp.* LXXVIII. *Where he finds great Riches.* LXXIX. Pompey's *Flight.* LXXX. Cæſar *purſues* Pompey's *Troops, and obliges them to ſurrender.* LXXXI. *The Number of Men killed on each Side.* LXXXII. *Mean-while* Lælius, *a Follower of* Pompey, *blocks up the Port of* Brunduſium *with a Fleet.* LXXXIII. *And* Caſſius *burns ſome Ships in* Sicily *belonging to* Cæſar. LXXXIV. Cæſar *purſues* Pompey. LXXXV. Pompey *flying to* Peluſium, *is murdered there by ſome of King* Ptolemy's *Court.* LXXXVI. *Some Prodigies that happened on the Day of* Cæſar's *Victory.* LXXXVII. Cæſar *purſuing* Pompey *to* Alexandria, *hears there the News of his Death.* LXXXVIII. *And is unexpectedly entangled in a new War.*

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's COMMENTARIES OF THE CIVIL WAR.

BOOK III.

1. *CÆSAR*, as Dictator, holding the Comitia, *Julius Cæsar*, and *P. Servilius*, were chosen Consuls: For this was the Year in which he could be elected to that Magistracy, consistent with the Laws. This Affair being dispatched; as *Cæsar* saw publick Credit at a Stand, over all *Italy*, because nobody paid their Debts; he ordered that Arbiters should be chose, who should make an Estimate of the Possessions of all Debtors, and should convey them in Payment to their Creditors, at the Price they bore before the War. This Regulation he thought best calculated to restore publick Credit, and prevent the Apprehension of a general Abolition of Debts; which is but too common a Consequence of Wars and civil Dissensions. At the same Time, in consequence of an Address to the People, he re-established the Prætors and Tribunes, who had been deprived upon a Charge of Bribery, at a Time when *Pompey* awed the City by his Legions. These Decisions were so little conformable to Law, that Sentence was often pronounced by a Party of Judges, different from those who attended the Pleadings. As these had made him an Offer of their Service in the Beginning of the War, he accounted the Obligation the same as if he had actually accepted of their Friendship: But thought it better their Restoration

ſhould ſeem to flow from the People, than appear a mere Act of Bounty in him; that he might neither be charged with Ingratitude to his Followers, nor accuſed of invading the Prerogatives of the People.

II. ALL this Buſineſs, with the Celebration of the *Latin* Feſtivals, and the holding the Comitia for Elections, took him up only eleven Days, at the End of which he abdicated the Dictatorſhip; and immediately ſet out from *Rome*, in order to reach *Brunduſium*, where he had ordered twelve Legions, with all the Cavalry, to rendezvous. But he had ſcarce Ships to carry over twenty thouſand legionary Soldiers, and ſix hundred Horſe; which alone hindered him from from putting a ſpeedy End to the War. Beſides, the Legions were conſiderably weakened by their many Loſſes in the *Gallick* War, and the long and painful March from *Spain*: And an unhealthful Autumn in *Apulia*, and about *Brunduſium*, with the Change of ſo fine a Climate as that of *Gaul* and *Spain*, had brought a general Sickneſs among the Troops.

III. POMPEY having had a whole Year to complete his Preparations, undiſturbed by Wars, and free from the Interruption of an Enemy; had collected a mighty Fleet from *Aſia*, the *Cyclades*, *Corcyra*, *Athens*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Phœnicia*, and *Egypt*; and had given Orders for the building of Ships in all Parts. He had exacted great Sums from the People of *Aſia* and *Syria*; from the Kings, Tetrarchs, and Dynaſties of thoſe Parts; from the free States of *Achaia*; and from the Corporations of the Provinces ſubject to his Command. He had raiſed nine Legions of *Roman* Citizens: Five he had brought with him from *Italy*; one had been ſent him from *Sicily*, conſiſting wholly of Veterans, and called *Gemella*, becauſe compoſed of two; another from *Crete* and *Macedonia*, of veteran Soldiers likewiſe, who having been diſbanded by former Generals, had ſettled in thoſe Parts; and two more from *Aſia*, levied by the Care of *Lentulus*. Beſides all theſe, he had great Numbers from *Theſſaly*, *Bœotia*, *Achaia*, and *Epirus*; whom, together with *Antony*'s Soldiers, he diſtributed among the Legions by way of Recruits. He expected alſo two Legions that *Metellus Scipio* was to bring out of *Syria*. He had three thouſand Archers drawn together from *Crete*,

Crete, *Lacedemon*, *Pontus*, *Syria*, and other Provinces; ſix Cohorts of Slingers; and two of Mercenaries. His Cavalry amounted to ſeven thouſand; ſix hundred of which came from *Galatia*, under *Dejotarus*; five hundred from *Cappadocia*, under *Ariobarzanes*; and the like Number had been ſent him out of *Thrace* by *Cotus*, with his Son *Sadalis* at their Head. Two hundred were from *Macedonia*, commanded *Raſcipolis*, an Officer of great Diſtinction: Five hundred from *Alexandria*, conſiſting of *Gauls* and *Germans*, left there by *A. Gabinius* to ſerve as a Guard to King *Ptolemy*; and now brought over by young *Pompey* in his Fleet, together with eight hundred of his own Domeſticks. *Tarcundarius Caſtor* and *Donilaus* furniſhed three hundred *Gallogræcians*: The firſt of theſe came himſelf in perſon, the latter ſent his Son. Two hundred, moſt of them Archers, were ſent from *Syria* by *Comagenus* of *Antioch*, who lay under the greateſt Obligations to *Pompey*. There were likewiſe a great Number of *Dardanians* and *Beſſians*, partly Volunteers, partly Mercenaries; with others from *Macedonia*, *Theſſaly*, and the adjoining States and Provinces, who altogether made up the Number mentioned above. To ſubſiſt this mighty Army, he had taken care to amaſs vaſt Quantities of Corn from *Theſſaly*, *Aſia*, *Egypt*, *Crete*, *Cyrene*, and other Countries; reſolving to quarter his Troops during the Winter at *Dyrrhachium*, *Apollonia*, and the other maritime Towns, to prevent *Cæſar*'s paſſing the Sea; for which Purpoſe he ordered his Fleet to cruiſe perpetually about the Coaſts. Young *Pompey* commanded the *Egyptian* Squadron; *D. Lælius* and *C. Triarius* the *Aſiatic*; *C. Caſſius* the *Syrian*; *C. Marcellus* and *C. Coponius* the *Rhodian*; *Scribonius Libo* and *M. Octavius* the *Liburnian* and *Achaian*: But the chief Authority was veſted in *M. Bibulus*, who was Admiral of the whole, and gave his Orders accordingly.

IV. CÆSAR, upon his Arrival at *Brunduſium*, harangued his Troops, and told them, "That as they "were now upon the Point of ſeeing an End of all their "Toils and Dangers, they ought not to ſcruple at "leaving their Servants and Baggage behind them in "*Italy*, that they might embark with leſs Confuſion, "and in greater Numbers; putting all their Hopes in "Victory, and the Generoſity of their General." The

whole Army teſtified their Approbation of what was propoſed, and called out that they were ready to ſubmit to his Orders. Accordingly, having put ſeven Legions on board, as we have before obſerved, he ſet Sail the fourth of *January*, and arrived the next Day at the *Ceraunian* Mountains: Where having found among the Rocks and Shelves, with which that Coaſt abounds, a tolerable Road; and not daring to go to any Port, as he apprehended they were all in the Enemy's Poſſeſſion; he landed his Troops at a Place called *Pharſalus*, whither he brought his Fleet without the Loſs of a ſingle Ship.

V. LUCRETIUS VESPILLO and *Minucius Rufus* were at *Oricum*, with eighteen *Aſiatic* Ships; and *Bibulus* had an hundred and ten at *Corcyra*. But the firſt durſt not hazard an Engagement, though *Cæſar* was eſcorted by no more than twelve Gallies, only four of which had Decks: And *Bibulus* had not Time to re-aſſemble his Sailors and Soldiers, who were diſperſed in full Security: For no News of *Cæſar*'s Approach had reached thoſe Parts, till his Fleet was ſeen from the Continent.

VI. CÆSAR having landed his Troops, ſent the Fleet back the ſame Night to *Brunduſium*, to bring over his other Legions and Cavalry. *Fufius Kalenus*, Lieutenant-General, had the Charge of this Expedition, with Orders to uſe the utmoſt Diſpatch. But ſetting Sail too late, he loſt the Benefit of the Wind, which offered fair all Night, and fell in with the Enemy. For *Bibulus* hearing at *Corcyra* of *Cæſar*'s Arrival, forthwith put to Sea, in hopes of intercepting ſome of the Tranſports; and meeting the Fleet as it returned empty, took about thirty Ships, which he immediately burnt, with all that were on board; partly to ſatisfy his own Vengeance for the Diſappointment he had received; partly to deter the reſt of the Troops from attempting the Paſſage. He then ſtationed his Fleet along the Coaſt from *Salona* to *Oricum*, guarded all Places with extraordinary Care, and even lay himſelf aboard, notwithſtanding the Rigour of the Winter; declining no Danger nor Fatigue, and ſolely intent upon intercepting *Cæſar*'s Supplies.

VII. AFTER the Departure of the *Liburnian* Gallies, *M. Octavius*, with the Squadron under his Command,

mand, ſailed from *Illyricum*, and came before *Salonæ*. Having ſpirited up the *Dalmatians*, and other barbarous Nations in thoſe Parts, he drew *Iſſa* to revolt from *Cæſar*. But finding that the Council of *Salonæ* was neither to be moved by Promiſes nor Threats, he reſolved to inveſt the Town. *Salonæ* is built upon a Hill, and advantageouſly ſituated for Defence: But as the Fortifications were very inconſiderable, the *Roman* Citizens reſiding there, immediately ſurrounded the Place with wooden Towers; and finding themſelves too few to reſiſt the Attacks of the Enemy, who ſoon overwhelmed them with Wounds, betook themſelves to their laſt Refuge, by granting Liberty to all Slaves capable of bearing Arms, and cutting off the Womens Hair to make Cords for their Engines. *Octavius* perceiving their Obſtinacy, formed five different Camps round the Town, that they might at once ſuffer all the Inconveniencies of a Siege, and be expoſed to frequent Attacks. The *Salonians*, determined to endure every Thing, found themſelves moſt preſſed for want of Corn; and therefore ſent Deputies to *Cæſar* to ſolicit a Supply, patiently ſubmitting to all the other Hardſhips they laboured under. When the Siege had now continued a conſiderable Time, and the *Octavians* began to be off their Guard, the *Salonians* finding the Opportunity favourable, about Noon, when the Enemy were diſperſed, diſpoſed their Wives and Children upon the Walls, that every Thing might have its wonted Appearance; and ſallying in a Body with their enfranchiſed Slaves, attacked the neareſt Quarters of *Octavius*. Having ſoon forced theſe, they advanced to the next; thence to a third, a fourth, and ſo on through the reſt; till having driven the Enemy from every Poſt, and made great Slaughter of their Men, they at length compelled them, and *Octavius* their Leader, to betake themſelves to their Ships. Such was the Iſſue of the Siege. As Winter now approached, and the Loſs had been very conſiderable, *Octavius*, deſpairing to reduce the Place, retired to *Dyrrhachium*, and joined *Pompey*.

VIII. We have ſeen that *L. Vibullius Rufus*, *Pompey*'s chief Engineer, had fallen twice into *Cæſar*'s Hands, and been as often ſet at Liberty; the firſt Time at *Corfinium*, the next in *Spain*. Having been therefore twice

indebted to him for his Life, and being alſo much in *Pompey*'s Eſteem, *Cæſar* thought him a proper Perſon to negotiate between them. His Inſtructions were; "That it was now Time for both to deſiſt from their "Obſtinacy, and lay down their Arms, without ex- "poſing themſelves any more to the precarious Events "of Fortune. That the Loſſes they had already "ſuſtained ought to ſerve as Leſſons and Cautions, and "fill them with juſt Apprehenſions with regard to the "future. That *Pompey* had been forced to abandon "*Italy*, had loſt *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, the two *Spains*, "with about an hundred and thirty Cohorts of *Roman* "Citizens, who had periſhed in theſe Countries. "That himſelf too had been a conſiderable Sufferer by "the Death of *Curio*, the Deſtruction of the *African* "Army, and the Surrender of his Forces at *Corcyra*. "That it was therefore incumbent on them to ſhow "ſome Regard to the ſinking State of the Common- "wealth, having ſufficiently experienced by their own "Misfortunes, how prevalent Fortune was in War. "That the preſent Moment was the moſt favourable "in this Reſpect; becauſe, not having yet tried one "another's Strength, and conſidering them as Equals, "there would be more Likelihood of agreeing on "Terms: whereas, if one of them once got the Supe- "riority, he would exact every Thing from the other, "and give up nothing. That as hitherto they had "been unable to ſettle the Conditions of Peace, they "ought to refer them to the Deciſion of the Senate and "People of *Rome*; and in the Mean-time, to obtain a "free and unbiaſſed Judgment, both ſwear to diſband "their Armies in three Days Time. That when they "were once diveſted of their national and auxiliary "Forces, in which their whole Confidence lay, they "would find themſelves under a Neceſſity of ſubmit- "ting to the Decree of the Senate and People. In fine, "that to give *Pompey* a Proof of his Readineſs to perform "theſe Propoſals, he would give immediate Orders for "the Diſcharge of all his Forces, both in Garriſon "and in the Field."

IX. VIBULLIUS having received theſe Inſtructions, thought it neceſſary to give *Pompey* ſpeedy Notice of *Cæſar*'s Arrival, that he might be provided againſt that Event,

Event, before he laid open the Commiſſion he was charged with. Accordingly journeying Day and Night, and frequently changing Horſes for the greater Expedition, he at length got to *Pompey*, and informed him that *Cæſar* was approaching with all his Forces. *Pompey* was at that Time in *Candavia*, from whence he was marching through *Macedonia*, to his Winter-quarters at *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium*. Concerned at this unexpected News, he haſtened his March to *Apollonia*, to prevent *Cæſar*'s making himſelf Maſter of the Sea-coaſts. Mean-while *Cæſar* having landed his Forces, marched the ſame Day to *Oricum*. Upon his Arrival there, *L. Torquatus*, who commanded in the Town for *Pompey*, with a Garriſon of *Parthinians*, ordered the Gates to be ſhut, and the *Greeks* to repair to their Arms, and man the Walls. But they refuſing to fight againſt the Authority of the People of *Rome*; and the Inhabitants, of their own Accord, endeavouring to admit *Cæſar*; *Torquatus*, deſpairing of Relief, opened the Gates, and ſurrendered both himſelf and the Town to *Cæſar*, who readily granted him his Life.

X. CÆSAR having made himſelf Maſter of *Oricum*, marched directly to *Apollonia*. Upon the Report of his Arrival, *L. Staberius*, who commanded in the Place, ordered Water to be carried into the Caſtle, fortified it with great Care, and demanded Hoſtages of the Townſmen. They refuſed to comply: declaring they would not ſhut their Gates againſt the Conſul of the *Roman* People, nor preſume to act in Contradiction to the Judgment of the Senate, and of all *Italy*. *Staberius* finding it in vain to reſiſt, privately left the Place; upon which the *Apollonians* ſent Deputies to *Cæſar*, and received him into the Town. The *Bullidenſes*, *Amantiani*, with the reſt of the neighbouring Countries, and all *Epirus*, followed their Example; acquainting *Cæſar* by their Ambaſſadors, that they were ready to execute his Commands.

XI. MEAN-WHILE *Pompey*, having Notice of what paſſed at *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, and being apprehenſive for *Dyrrhachium*, marched Day and Night to reach the Place. At the ſame Time it was reported that *Cæſar* was not far off; which meeting with the more Credit, becauſe

because of their hasty March, put the whole Army into such Consternation, that many abandoning their Colours in *Epirus* and the neighbouring States, and others throwing down their Arms, every Thing had the Appearance of a precipitate Flight. But upon *Pompey*'s halting near *Dyrrhachium*, and ordering a Camp to be formed; as the Army had not even then recovered its Fright, *Labienus* advanced before the rest, and swore never to abandon his General, but to share in whatever Lot Fortune should assign him. The other Lieutenants did the same, as likewise the military Tribunes and Centurions, whose Example was followed by the whole Army. *Cæsar* finding that he was prevented in his Design upon *Dyrrhachium*, pursued his March more leisurely, and encamped on the River *Apsus*, in the Territories of the *Apollonians*, that he might protect the Possessions of a State which had so warmly declared in his Favour. Here he resolved to pass the Winter in Tents, and wait the Arrival of the rest of his Legions out of *Italy*. *Pompey* did the like, and having encamped on the other Side of the *Apsus*, assembled there all his Legions and Auxiliaries.

XII. KALENUS having embarked the Legions and Cavalry at *Brundusium*, according to the Instructions he had received, put to Sea with his whole Fleet; but had not sailed very far, till he was met by Letters from *Cæsar*, informing him, that all the *Grecian* Coasts were guarded by the Enemy's Fleet. Upon this he recalled his Ships, and returned again into the Harbour. Only one continued its Route, which carried no Soldiers, nor was subject to the Orders of *Kalenus*, but belonged to a private Commander. This Vessel arriving before *Oricum*, fell into the Hands of *Bibulus*, who not sparing the very Children, put all on board to death, both Freemen and Slaves. So much did the Safety of the whole Army depend upon a single Moment.

XIII. BIBULUS, as we have related above, lay at *Oricum* with his Fleet; and as he deprived *Cæsar* of all Supplies by Sea, so was he in like Manner greatly incommoded by *Cæsar* at Land: who having disposed Parties along the Coast, hindered him from getting Water or Wood, or coming near the Shore. This was attended

attended with many Inconveniencies, and threw him into great Straits; insomuch that he was obliged to fetch all his other Neceſſaries, as well as Wood and Water, from the Iſland of *Corcyra*: and once, when foul Weather prevented his receiving Refreſhments from thence, the Soldiers were neceſſitated, for want of Water, to collect the Dew which in the Night fell on the Hides that covered their Ships. Yet he bore all theſe Difficulties with ſurpriſing Firmneſs, and continued reſolute in his Deſign of not unguarding the Coaſt. But at laſt, being reduced to the above-mentioned Extremity, and *Libo* having joined him, they called from on board to *M. Acilius* and *Statius Murcus*, two of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants, one of whom guarded the Walls of *Oricum*, and the other the Sea-coaſts; that they wanted to confer with *Cæſar*, about Affairs of the greateſt Conſequence, if they could but have an Opportunity. To gain the more Credit, they let fall ſome Expreſſions that ſeemed to promiſe Accommodation; and in the Mean-while demanded and obtained a Truce: for *Murcus* and *Acilius* believing their Propoſals to be ſerious, knew how extremely grateful they would be to *Cæſar*, and doubted not but *Vibullius* had ſucceeded in his Negotiation.

XIV. CÆSAR was then at *Buthrotum*, a Town over-againſt *Corcyra*, whither he was gone with one Legion, to reduce ſome of the more diſtant States, and ſupply himſelf with Corn, which then began to be ſcarce. Here receiving Letters from *Acilius* and *Murcus*, with an Account of *Libo* and *Bibulus*'s Demands, he left the Legion, and returned to *Oricum*. Upon his Arrival, he invited them to a Conference. *Libo* appeared, and made an Apology for *Bibulus*: "That being naturally "haſty, and bearing a perſonal Grudge to *Cæſar*, con-"tracted during the Time of his Ædileſhip and "Queſtorſhip, he had for that Reaſon declined the "Interview; to prevent any Obſtructions from his "Preſence to the Succeſs of ſo deſirable and advan-"tageous a Deſign: That *Pompey* was, and ever had "been inclined to lay down his Arms, and terminate "their Differences by an Accommodation: but as yet "had not ſent him ſufficient Powers to treat, which "however he doubted not ſoon to receive, as the "Council

" Council had intruſted him with the whole Adminiſtra-
" tion of the War: That if he would therefore make
" known his Demands, they would ſend them to
" *Pompey*, who would ſoon come to a Reſolution upon
" their Repreſentations. In the Mean-time the Truce
" might continue, and both Parties abſtain from Acts
" of Hoſtility, till an Anſwer could be obtained." He added ſomething about the Juſtice of their Cauſe, and their Forces both natural and auxiliary; to which *Cæſar* neither at that Time returned any Anſwer, nor do we now think it of Importance enough to be tranſmitted to Poſterity. *Cæſar*'s Demands were: " That he might
" have leave to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Pompey*; and that
" they would either ſtipulate for their Return, or
" undertake themſelves to convey them in Safety:
" That, with Regard to the Truce; ſuch were the
" preſent Circumſtances of the War, that their Fleet
" kept back his Supplies and Tranſports, and his Forces
" deprived them of Water and Acceſs to the Shore. If
" they expected any Abatement on his Side, they muſt
" likewiſe abate in guarding the Coaſt; but if they
" ſtill perſiſted in their former Vigilance, neither
" would he yield in what depended on him: That
" notwithſtanding, the Accommodation might go for-
" ward, without any Obſtruction from this mutual
" Denial." *Libo* declined receiving *Cæſar*'s Ambaſſadors, or undertaking for their ſafe Return, and choſe to refer the whole Matter to *Pompey*; yet inſiſted on the Truce. *Cæſar* perceiving, that the only Aim of the Enemy was, to extricate themſelves out of their preſent Straits and Danger; and that it was in vain to entertain any Hopes of Peace; turned all his Thoughts to the vigorous Proſecution of the War.

XV. BIBULUS having kept at Sea for many Days, and contracted a dangerous Illneſs by the Cold and perpetual Fatigue; as he could neither have proper Aſſiſtance on board, nor would be prevailed upon to quit his Poſt; he at laſt ſunk under the Weight of his Diſtemper. After his Death, nobody ſucceeded in the Command of the whole Fleet; but each Squadron was governed, independently of the reſt, by its particular Commander.

XVI. WHEN the Surpriſe occaſioned by *Cæſar*'s ſudden Arrival was over; *Vibullius*, in preſence of *Libo*, *L. Lucceius*, and *Theophanes*, who were among *Pompey*'s moſt intimate Counſellors, reſolved to deliver the Commiſſion he had received from *Cæſar*. But ſcarce had he begun to ſpeak, when *Pompey* interrupted him, and ordered him to proceed no farther. "What, ſays "he, is my Life or Country to me, if I ſhall ſeem to "be beholden to *Cæſar* for them? And will it be "believed that I am not indebted to him for them, if "he, by an Accommodation, reſtores me to *Italy*?" *Cæſar* was informed of this Speech, after the Concluſion of the War, by thoſe who were preſent when it was delivered: he ſtill continued however, by other Methods, to try to bring about an Accommodation.

XVII. As the two Camps were only ſeparated by the River *Apſus*, the Soldiers had frequent Diſcourſe among themſelves; and it was ſettled by mutual Conſent, that no Act of Hoſtility ſhould paſs during the Conferences. *Cæſar* taking Advantage of this Opportunity, ſent *P. Vatinius*, one of his Lieutenants, to forward to the utmoſt an Accommodation; and to demand frequently with a loud Voice, "Whether it might not be permit-"ted to Citizens, to ſend Deputies to their Fellow-"Citizens about Peace: That this had never been "denied even to Fugitives and Robbers, and could "much leſs be oppoſed, when the only Deſign was, to "prevent the Effuſion of civil Blood." This and much more he ſaid, with a ſubmiſſive Air, as became one employed to treat for his own and the common Safety. He was heard with great Silence by both Parties, and received this Anſwer from the Enemy. "That *A. Varro* had declared he would next Day appear "at an Interview, whither the Deputies of both Parties "might come in perfect Security, and mutually make "known their Demands." The Hour of meeting was likewiſe ſettled; which being come, Multitudes on both Sides flocked to the Place, the greateſt Expectations were formed, and the Minds of all ſeemed intent upon Peace. *T. Labienus*, advancing from the Crowd, began in a low Voice to confer with *Vatinius*, as if to ſettle the Articles of the Treaty. But their Diſcourſe was ſoon interrupted by a Multitude of Darts that came pouring

pouring in on all Sides. *Vatinius* escaped the Danger by Means of the Soldiers, who protected him with their Shields; but *Cornelius Balbus*, *M. Plotius*, *L. Tiburtus*, Centurions, and some private Men were wounded. *Labienus* then lifted up his Voice, and cried: "Leave "off prating of an Accommodation: for you must not "expect Peace, till you bring us *Cæsar*'s Head."

XVIII. ABOUT the same Time *M. Cælius Rufus*, Prætor at *Rome* for foreign Affairs, having undertaken the Cause of the Debtors; on his Entrance into his Office, ordered his Tribunal to be fixed near that of the City Prætor, *C. Trebonius*; and promised to receive the Complaints of such as should appeal to him, in regard to the Estimation and Payments, made in consequence of *Cæsar*'s late Regulation. But such was the Equity of the Decree, and the Humanity of *Trebonius*, who in so nice and critical an Affair, thought it necessary to conduct himself with the utmost Clemency and Moderation, that no Pretence of Appeal could be found. For to plead Poverty, personal Losses, the Hardness of the Times, and the Difficulty of bringing their Effects to sale, is usual enough even with reasonable Minds: but to own themselves indebted, and yet aim at keeping their Possessions entire, would have argued a total Want both of Honesty and Shame. Accordingly not a Man was found who made any such Demand. *Cælius*'s whole Severity, therefore, was pointed against those, to whom the Inheritance of the Debtor was adjudged: and having once embarked in the Affair, that he might not seem to have engaged himself to no Purpose in an unjustifiable Cause, he published a Law, by which he allowed the Debtors six Years for the Discharge of their Debts, which they were to clear at equal Payments, without Interest.

XIX. BUT the Consul *Servilius* and the rest of the Magistrates opposing the Law; when he found it had not the Effect he expected, he thought proper to drop that Design; and in the View of inflaming the People, proposed two new Laws; the one, to exempt all the Tenants in *Rome* from paying Rents; the other, for a general Abolition of Debts. This Bait took with the Multitude; and *Cælius* at their Head, came and attacked *Trebonius*

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Trebonius on his Tribunal, drove him thence, and wounded some about him. The Consul *Servilius* reported these Things to the Senate, who interdicted to *Cælius* the Functions of his Office. In consequence of this Decree, the Consul refused him admittance into the Senate, and drove him out of his Tribunal, when he was going to harangue the People. Overwhelmed with Shame and Resentment, he openly threatened to carry his Complaints to *Cæsar*; but privately gave Notice to *Milo*, who had been banished for the Murder of *Clodius*, to come into *Italy*, and join him with the Remains of the Gladiators, which he bought formerly to entertain the People with, in the Shows he gave them. With this View he sent him before to *Turinum*, to solicit the Shepherds to take Arms, and went himself to *Casilinum*; where hearing that his Arms and Ensigns had been seized at *Capua*, his Partizans at *Naples*, and their Design of betraying the City discovered: finding all his Projects defeated, the Gates of *Capua* shut against him, and the Danger increasing every Moment, because the Citizens had taken Arms, and began to consider him as a publick Enemy; he desisted from the Project he had formed, and thought proper to change his Route.

XX. In the Mean-time *Milo*, having dispatched Letters to all the Colonies and free Towns, intimating that what he did was in virtue of *Pompey*'s Authority, who had sent him his Orders by *Bibulus*, endeavoured to draw over the Debtors to his Party. But not succeeding in his Design, he contented himself with setting some Slaves at Liberty, and with them marched to besiege *Cosa*, in the Territory of *Turinum*. *Q. Pædius* the Prætor, with a Garrison of one Legion, commanded in the Town; and here *Milo* was slain by a Stone from a Machine on the Walls. *Cælius* giving out that he was gone to *Cæsar*, came to *Thurium*; where endeavouring to debauch the Inhabitants, and corrupt by Promises of Money the *Spanish* and *Gaulish* Horse, whom *Cæsar* had sent thither to garrison the Place, they slew him. Thus these dangerous Beginnings, that by reason of the Multiplicity of Affairs wherewith the Magistrates were distracted, and the ticklish Situation of the Times, threatened great Revolutions, and alarmed all *Italy*, were brought to a safe and speedy Issue.

XXI. Libo

XXI. LIBO leaving *Oricum*, with the Fleet under his Command, conſiſting of fifty Sail, came to *Brunduſium*; and poſſeſſed himſelf of an Iſland directly facing the Harbour; judging it of more Conſequence to ſecure a Poſt, by which our Tranſports muſt neceſſarily paſs, than guard all the Coaſts and Havens on the other Side. As his Arrival was unexpected, he ſurpriſed and burnt ſome Tranſports, and carried off a Veſſel loaden with Corn. The Conſternation was great among our Men; inſomuch that having landed ſome Foot, with a Party of Archers, in the Night, he defeated our Guard of Cavalry; and had ſo far the Advantage by the Commodiouſneſs of his Poſt, that he writ *Pompey* word, he might draw the reſt of the Navy on Shore, and order them to be careened; for he alone, with his Squadron, would undertake to cut off *Cæſar*'s Supplies.

XXII. ANTONY was then at *Brunduſium*; who confiding in the Valour of the Troops, ordered ſome Boats belonging to the Fleet to be armed with Hurdles and Galleries; and having filled them with choſen Troops, diſpoſed them in ſeveral Places along the Shore. At the ſame Time he ſent two three-benched Gallies, which he had cauſed to be built at *Brunduſium*, to the Mouth of the Harbour, as if with Deſign to exerciſe the Rowers. *Libo* perceiving them advance boldly, and hoping he might be able to intercept them, detached five Quadriremes for that Purpoſe. At their Approach, our Men rowed towards the Harbour; whither the Enemy, eager of the Purſuit, inconſiderately followed them: for now *Antony*'s armed Boats, upon a Signal given, came pouring upon them from all Parts; and on the very firſt Onſet took a Quadrireme, with all the Soldiers and Sailors on board, and forced the reſt to an ignominious Flight. To add to this Diſgrace, the Cavalry, which *Antony* had poſted all along the Coaſt, hindered the Enemy from watering; which reduced them to ſuch Straits, that *Libo* was forced to quit the Blockade of *Brunduſium*, and retire with his Fleet.

XXIII. SEVERAL Months had now paſſed, the Winter was almoſt over; mean-time neither the Ships nor Legions were yet arrived, which *Cæſar* expected from *Brunduſium*. He could not help thinking that ſome Oppor-

Opportunities had been loſt, as it was certain the Wind had many Times offered fair, and there was a Neceſſity of truſting to it at laſt. The longer the Delay in ſending over the Troops, the more vigilant and alert were the Enemy in guarding the Coaſt, and the greater their Confidence to hinder the Paſſage; nay, *Pompey*, in his Letters, frequently reproached them, that as they had not prevented the firſt Embarkation, they ought at leaſt to take care that no more of the Troops got over; and the Seaſon itſelf was becoming leſs favourable, by the Approach of milder Weather, when the Enemy's Fleet would be able to act and extend itſelf. For theſe Reaſons *Cæſar* writ ſharply to his Lieutenants at *Brunduſium*, charging them not to omit the firſt Opportunity of ſailing, as ſoon as the Wind offered fair; and to ſteer for the Coaſt of *Apollonia*, which they could approach with leſs Danger, as it was not ſo ſtrictly guarded by the Enemy, who were afraid of venturing on a Coaſt ſo ill provided with Havens.

XXIV. THE Lieutenants rouſed and emboldened by theſe Letters, and encouraged by the Exhortations of the Troops themſelves, who profeſſed they were ready to face any Danger for *Cæſar*'s Sake, embarked under the Direction of *M. Antony*, and *Fufius Kalenus*; and ſetting Sail with the Wind at South, paſſed *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium* next Day. Being deſcried from the Continent, *C. Caponius*, who commanded the *Rhodian* Squadron at *Dyrrhachium*, put out to Sea; and the Wind ſlackening upon our Fleet, it was near falling into the Hands of the Enemy; but a freſh Gale ſpringing up at South, ſaved us from that Danger. *Caponius* however deſiſted not from the Purſuit, hoping by the Labour and Perſeverance of the Mariners, to ſurmount the Violence of the Tempeſt; and though we had paſſed *Dyrrhachium* with a very hard Gale, ſtill continued to follow us. Our Men apprehenſive of an Attack, ſhould the Wind again chance to ſlacken, ſeized an Advantage Fortune threw in their Way, and put into the Port of *Nymphæum*, about three Miles beyond *Liſſus*. This Port is ſheltered from the South-weſt Wind, but lies open to the South: but they preferred the Hazard they might be expoſed to by the Tempeſt, to that of fighting. At that Inſtant, by an unuſual Piece of good Fortune, the

Wind, which for two Days had blown from the South, changed to the South-weſt. This was a ſudden and favourable Turn: for the Fleet, ſo lately in Danger from the Enemy, was ſheltered in a ſafe commodious Port: and that which threatened ours with Deſtruction, was in its Turn expoſed to the utmoſt Peril. By this unexpected Change, the Storm, which protected our Fleet, beat ſo furiouſly on the *Rhodian* Gallies, that they were all, to the Number of Sixteen, broke to Pieces againſt the Shore. Moſt of the Soldiers and Mariners periſhed among the Rocks; the reſt were taken up by our Men, and ſent by *Cæſar*'s Orders to their ſeveral Homes.

XXV. Two of our Tranſports, unable to keep up with the reſt, were overtaken by the Night; and not knowing where the Fleet had put in, caſt Anchor over-againſt *Liſſus*. *Otacilius Craſſus*, who commanded in the Place, ſent out ſome Boats and ſmall Veſſels to attack them: at the ſame Time he urged them to a Surrender, promiſing Quarter to ſuch as would ſubmit. One of theſe Veſſels carried two hundred and twenty new raiſed Soldiers; the other leſs than two hundred Veterans. On this Occaſion appeared, how great a Defence againſt Danger reſults from Firmneſs of Mind. The new Levies, frighted at the Number of their Adverſaries, and fatigued with Sea-ſickneſs, ſurrendered on Promiſe of their Lives. But when they were brought to *Otacilius*, regardleſs of the Oath he had taken, he ordered them all to be cruelly ſlain in his Preſence. The Veterans, on the contrary, though they had both the Storm and a leaky Veſſel to ſtruggle with, abated nothing of their wonted Bravery; but having ſpun out the Time till Night, under Pretence of treating, obliged the Pilot to run the Veſſel aſhore; where finding an advantageous Poſt, they continued the Remainder of the Night. At Day-break *Otacilius* detached againſt them about four hundred Horſe, who guarded that Part of the Coaſt, and purſued them Sword in Hand: but they defended themſelves with great Bravery, and having ſlain ſome of the Enemy, rejoined, without Loſs, the reſt of the Troops.

XXVI. UPON this the *Roman* Citizens inhabiting *Liſſus*, to whom *Cæſar* had before made a Grant of the Town,

Town, after fortifying it with great Care, opened their Gates to *Antony*, and furniſhed him with every Thing he ſtood in need of. *Otacilius*, dreading the Conſequences of this Revolution, quitted the Place, and fled to *Pompey*. *Antony* having landed his Troops, which conſiſted of three veteran Legions, one new raiſed, and eight hundred Horſe, ſent moſt of the Tranſports back again to *Brunduſium*, to bring over the reſt of the Foot and Cavalry; retaining nevertheleſs ſome Ships of *Gauliſh* Structure, that if *Pompey*, imagining *Italy* deſtitute of Troops, ſhould attempt to return thither, as was commonly rumoured, *Cæſar* might be able to follow him. At the ſame Time he gave *Cæſar* ſpeedy Notice of the Number of Forces he had brought over with him, and the Place where he had landed.

XXVII. THIS Intelligence reached *Cæſar* and *Pompey* much about the ſame Time; for both had ſeen the Fleet paſs *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium*, and had in conſequence directed their March that Way; but neither knew, for ſome Days, into what Harbour it had put. On the firſt News of *Antony*'s landing, the two Generals took different Reſolutions; *Cæſar*, to join him as ſoon as poſſible; *Pompey*, to oppoſe his March, and, if poſſible, draw him into an Ambuſcade. Both quitted their Camps on the *Apſus* about the ſame Time; *Pompey*, privately during the Night; *Cæſar*, publickly by Day. But *Cæſar*, who had the River to croſs, was obliged to fetch a Compaſs, that he might come at a Ford. *Pompey*, on the other Hand, having nothing to obſtruct his March, advanced by great Journeys againſt *Antony*; and underſtanding that he was not far off, poſted his Troops on an advantageous Ground, ordering them to keep within their Camp, and light no Fires, that his Approach might not be perceived. But *Antony* being informed of it by the *Greeks*, would not ſtir out of his Lines; and ſending immediate Notice to *Cæſar*, was joined by him next Day. On Advice of *Cæſar*'s Arrival, *Pompey*, that he might not be ſhut up between two Armies, quitted the Place; and coming with all his Forces to *Aſparagium*, a Town belonging to the *Dyrrhachians*, encamped there on an advantageous Ground.

XXVIII. ABOUT the ſame Time *Scipio*, notwithſtanding ſome Checks he had received near Mount *Amanus*, aſſumed the Title of Emperor; after which he exacted great Sums of Money from the neighbouring States and Princes; obliged the Farmers of the Revenue to pay the two Years' Taxes, which lay in their Hands, and advance a Third by Way of Loan; and ſent Orders to the whole Province for levying Cavalry. Having got a ſufficient Number together, he quitted the *Parthians*, his neareſt Enemies, who not long before had ſlain *M. Craſſus*, and held *Bibulus* inveſted; and marched out of *Syria* with his Legions and Cavalry. When he arrived in *Aſia Minor*, he found the whole Country filled with Terror on account of the *Parthian* War; and the Soldiers themſelves declared, that they were ready to march againſt an Enemy, but would never bear Arms againſt a Conſul, and their Fellow-citizens. To ſtifle theſe Diſcontents, he made conſiderable Preſents to the Troops, quartered them in *Pergamus* and other rich Towns, and gave up the whole Country to their Diſcretion. Mean-while the Money demanded of the Province was levied with great Rigor; and various Pretences were deviſed, to ſerve as a Ground to new Exactions. Slaves and Freemen were ſubjected to a Capitation-Tax. Impoſts were laid upon Pillars and Doors of Houſes. Corn, Soldiers, Mariners, Arms, Engines, Carriages, in a Word, every Thing that had a Name, furniſhed a ſufficient Handle for extorting Money. Governors were appointed not only over Towns, but over Villages and Caſtles; and he that acted with the greateſt Rigor and Cruelty, was accounted the worthieſt Man, and beſt Citizen. The Province ſwarmed with Lictors, Overſeers, and Collectors, who beſides the Sums impoſed by publick Authority, exacted Money likewiſe on their own Account; colouring their iniquitous Demands with a Pretence, that they had been expelled their Country and native Homes, and were in extreme Want of every Thing. Add to all theſe Calamities, immoderate Uſury, an Evil almoſt inſeparable from War: for as great Sums are then exacted, beyond what a Country is able to furniſh, they are obliged to apply for a Delay, which at any Price is ſtill accounted a Favour. Thus the Debts of the Province increaſed conſiderably during theſe

theſe two Years. Nor were the *Roman* Citizens the only Sufferers on this Occaſion; for certain Sums were demanded of every State and Corporation, as a Loan upon the Senate's Decree; and the Farmers of the Revenue were ordered to advance the next Year's Tribute, in like Manner as when they firſt entered upon Office. Beſides all this, *Scipio* gave Orders for ſeizing the Treaſures of the Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, with all the Statues of that Goddeſs. But when he came to the Temple attended by many Perſons of ſenatorian Rank, he received Letters from *Pompey*, deſiring him to lay aſide all other Concerns, and make what Haſte he could to join him, becauſe *Cæſar* had paſſed into *Greece* with his whole Army. In conſequence of this Order, he ſent back the Senators who had been ſummoned to attend him at *Epheſus*, made Preparations for paſſing into *Macedonia*, and began his March a few Days after. Thus the *Epheſian* Treaſures eſcaped being plundered.

XXIX. CÆSAR having joined *Antony*'s Army, and recalled the Legion he had left at *Oricum*, to guard the Sea-coaſt, judged it neceſſary to advance farther into the Country, and poſſeſs himſelf of the more diſtant Provinces. At the ſame Time Deputies arrived from *Theſſaly* and *Ætolia*, with Aſſurances of Submiſſion from all the States in thoſe Parts, provided he would ſend Troops to defend them. Accordingly he diſpatched *L. Caſſius Longinus*, with a Legion of new Levies, called the Twenty-ſeventh, and two hundred Horſe into *Theſſaly*; and *C. Calviſius Sabinus*, with five Cohorts, and ſome Cavalry, into *Ætolia*; charging them in a particular Manner, as thoſe Provinces lay the neareſt to his Camp, that they would take care to furniſh him with Corn. He likewiſe ordered *Cn. Domitius Calvinus*, with the eleventh and twelfth Legions, and five hundred Horſe, to march into *Macedonia*: for *Menedemus*, the principal Man of that Country, having come Ambaſſador to *Cæſar*, had aſſured him of the Affection of the Province.

XXX. CALVISIUS was well received by the *Ætolians*; and having driven the Enemies Garriſons from *Calydon* and *Naupactum*, poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole Country. *Caſſius* arriving in *Theſſaly* with his Legion, found the State divided into two Factions. *Egeſaretus*, a Man in

Years, and of eſtabliſhed Credit, favoured *Pompey*: *Petreius*, a young Nobleman of the firſt Rank, exerted his whole Intereſt in behalf of *Cæſar*.

XXXI. ABOUT the ſame Time *Domitius* arrived in *Macedonia*: and whilſt Deputies were attending him from all Parts, News came that *Scipio* approached with his Legions, which ſpread a great Alarm through the Country; as Fame, for the moſt Part, magnifies the firſt Appearances of Things. *Scipio*, without ſtopping any where in *Macedonia*, advanced by great Marches towards *Domitius*; but being come within twenty Miles of him, ſuddenly changed his Route, and turned off to *Theſſaly*, in queſt of *Caſſius Longinus*. This was done ſo expeditiouſly, that he was actually arrived with his Troops, when *Caſſius* received the firſt Notice of his March: for to make the more Diſpatch, he had left *M. Favonius* at the River *Haliacmon*, which ſeparates *Macedonia* from *Theſſaly*, with eight Cohorts to guard the Baggage of the Legions, and ordered him to erect a Fort there. At the ſame Time King *Cotus*'s Cavalry, which had been accuſtomed to make Inroads into *Theſſaly*, came pouring upon *Caſſius*'s Camp; who knowing that *Scipio* was upon his March, and believing the Cavalry to be his, retired in a Fright to the Mountains that begirt *Theſſaly*, and thence directed his Courſe towards *Ambracia*. *Scipio* preparing to follow him, received Letters from *M. Favonius*; that *Domitius* was coming up with his Legions, nor would it be poſſible for him to maintain the Poſt he was in, without his Aſſiſtance. *Scipio*, upon this Intelligence, changed his Reſolution, gave over the Purſuit of *Caſſius*, and advanced to the Relief of *Favonius*. As he marched Day and Night without Intermiſſion, he arrived ſo opportunely, that the Duſt of *Domitius*'s Army, and his advanced Parties, were deſcried at the ſame Time. Thus *Domitius*'s Care preſerved *Caſſius*, and *Scipio*'s Diligence *Favonius*.

XXXII. SCIPIO continuing two Days in his Camp upon the *Haliacmon*, which ran between him and the Army of *Domitius*, put his Troops in Motion on the Third, and by Day-break forded the River. Early next Morning he drew up his Troops in Order of Battle at the Head of his Camp. *Domitius* was not averſe to an Engagement;

Engagement; but as between the two Camps there was a Plain of ſix Miles, he thought that the fitteſt Place for a Field of Battle, and drew up his Men at ſome Diſtance from *Scipio*'s Camp. *Scipio* would not ſtir from his Poſt; yet hardly could *Domitius* reſtrain his Men from advancing to attack him; though a Rivulet with ſteep Banks, that ran in the Front of the Enemy's Camp, oppoſed their Paſſage. *Scipio* obſerving the Keenneſs and Alacrity of our Troops, and fearing that next Day he ſhould either be forced to fight againſt his Will, or ignominiouſly keep within his Camp; after great Expectations raiſed, by too haſtily croſſing the River, he ſaw all his Projects defeated; and decamping in great Silence during the Night, returned to his former Station beyond the *Haliacmon*, and poſted himſelf on a riſing Ground, near the River. A few Days after, he formed an Ambuſcade of Cavalry by Night, in a Place where our Men were wont to forage: and when *Q. Varus*, who commanded the Horſe under *Domitius*, came next Day according to Cuſtom; ſuddenly the Enemy roſe from their lurking Holes: but our Men bravely ſuſtaining the Attack, ſoon recovered their Ranks, and in their Turn vigorouſly charged the Enemy. About fourſcore fell on this Occaſion; the reſt betook themſelves to flight, and our Men returned to their Camp with the Loſs of only two of their Number.

XXXIII. AFTER this Rencounter, *Domitius* hoping to draw *Scipio* to a Battle, feigned to decamp for Want of Proviſions; and having made the uſual Signal for retreating, after a March of three Miles, drew up his Cavalry and Legions in a convenient Plain, ſhrouded from the Enemy's View. *Scipio* preparing to follow, ſent the Horſe and light-armed Infantry before, to explore his Route, and examine the Situation of the Country. When they were advanced a little Way, and their firſt Squadrons had come within reach of our Ambuſh; beginning to ſuſpect ſomething from the Neighing of the Horſes, they wheeled about in order to retreat; which the Troops that followed obſerving, ſuddenly halted. Our Men finding that the Ambuſh was diſcovered, and knowing it would be in vain to wait for the reſt of the Army, fell upon the two Squadrons that were moſt ad-

vanced. *M. Opimius*, General of the Horſe to *Domitius*, was amongſt theſe, but ſome how found Means to eſcape. All the reſt were either ſlain or made Priſoners.

XXXIV. CÆSAR having drawn off his Garriſons from the Sea-coaſt, as we have related above; left three Cohorts at *Oricum* to defend the Town, and committed to their Charge the Gallies he had brought out of *Italy*. *Acilius*, one of his Lieutenants, had the Command of theſe Troops; who, for the greater Security, cauſed the Ships to be drawn up into the Harbour behind the Town, and made them faſt to the Shore. He likewiſe ſunk a Tranſport in the Mouth of the Haven, behind which another rode at Anchor, on whoſe Deck a Tower was erected facing the Entrance of the Port, and filled with Troops, to be ready in caſe of Surpriſe. Young *Pompey*, who commanded the *Ægyptian* Fleet, having Notice of this, came to *Oricum*; weighed up the Veſſel that had been ſunk in the Mouth of the Harbour; and after an obſtinate Reſiſtance, took the other, which had been placed there by *Acilius* to guard the Haven. He then brought forward his Fleet, on which he had raiſed Towers to fight with the greater Advantage; and having ſurrounded the Town on all Sides, attacked it by Land with ſcaling Ladders, and by Sea from the Towers, ſending freſh Men continually in the place of thoſe that were fatigued, and thereby obliging us to yield through Wearineſs and Wounds. At the ſame Time he ſeized an Eminence on the other Side of the Town, which ſeemed a Kind of natural Mole, and almoſt formed a Peninſula over-againſt *Oricum*; and by Means of this Neck of Land, carried four ſmall Gallies upon Rollers into the inner Part of the Haven. Thus the Gallies, that were made faſt to the Land, and deſtitute of Troops, being attacked on all Sides; four were carried off, and the reſt burnt. This Affair diſpatched, he left *D. Lælius*, whom he had taken from the Command of the *Aſiatic* Fleet, to prevent the Importation of Proviſions from *Biblis* and *Amantia*; and ſailing for *Liſſus*, attacked and burnt the thirty Tranſports which *Antony* had left in that Haven. He endeavoured likewiſe to take the Town: but the *Roman* Citizens of that Diſtrict, aided by the

Garriſon *Cæſar* had left, defended it ſo well, that at the End of three Days, he retired without effecting his Purpoſe, having loſt ſome Men in the Attempt.

XXXV. CÆSAR being informed that *Pompey* was at *Aſparagium*, marched thither with his Army; and having taken the Capital of the *Parthinians* by the way, where *Pompey* had a Garriſon; arrived the third Day in *Macedonia*, and encamped at a ſmall Diſtance from the Enemy. The next Day he drew out all his Forces, formed them before his Camp, and offered *Pompey* Battle. Finding that he kept within his Lines, he led back his Troops, and began to think of purſuing other Meaſures. Accordingly, on the Morrow, by a long Circuit, and through very narrow and difficult Ways, he marched with all his Forces to *Dyrrhachium*; hoping either to oblige *Pompey* to follow him thither, or cut off his Communication with the Town, where he had laid up all his Proviſions, and Magazines of War: which happened accordingly. For *Pompey*, at firſt, not penetrating his Deſign, becauſe he counterfeited a Route different from what he really intended, imagined he had been obliged to decamp for Want of Proviſions; but being afterwards informed of the Truth by his Scouts, he quitted his Camp next Day, in hopes to prevent him, by taking a nearer Way. *Cæſar* ſuſpecting what might happen, exhorted his Soldiers to bear the Fatigue patiently; and allowing them to repoſe during only a ſmall Part of the Night, arrived next Morning at *Dyrrhachium*, where he immediately formed a Camp, juſt as *Pompey*'s Van began to appear at a Diſtance.

XXXVI. POMPEY thus excluded from *Dyrrhachium*, and unable to execute his firſt Deſign, came to a Reſolution of encamping on an Eminence called *Petra*, where was a tolerable Harbour, ſheltered from ſome Winds. Here he ordered Part of his Fleet to attend him, and Corn and Proviſions to be brought him from *Aſia*, and the other Provinces ſubject to his Command. *Cæſar* apprehending the War would run into Length, and deſpairing of Supplies from *Italy*, becauſe the Coaſts were ſo ſtrictly guarded by *Pompey*'s Fleet; and his own Gallies, built the Winter before in *Sicily*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*, were not yet arrived; diſpatched *L. Canuleius*, one

one of his Lieutenants, to *Epirus* for Corn. And becauſe that Country lay at a great Diſtance from his Camp, he built Granaries in ſeveral Places, and wrote to the neighbouring States to carry their Corn thither. He likewiſe ordered Search to be made for what Corn could be found in *Liſſus*, the Country of the *Parthinians*, and the other Principalities in thoſe Parts. This amounted to very little; partly occaſioned by the Soil, which is rough and mountainous, and obliges the Inhabitants often to import Grain; partly becauſe *Pompey* foreſeeing *Cæſar*'s Wants, had ſome Days before ravaged the Country of the *Parthinians*, plundered their Houſes, and by Means of his Cavalry carried off all their Corn.

XXXVII. For theſe Reaſons *Cæſar* formed a Project, which the very Nature of the Country ſuggeſted. All round *Pompey*'s Camp, at a ſmall Diſtance, were high and ſteep Hills. *Cæſar* took poſſeſſion of thoſe Hills, and built Forts upon them; reſolving, as the Nature of the Ground would allow, to draw Lines of Communication from one Fort to another, and incloſe *Pompey* within his Works. His Views herein were; firſt, to facilitate the Paſſage of his Convoys, which the Enemy's Cavalry, which was very ſtrong and fine, would no longer cut off; next, to diſtreſs this very Cavalry, for want of Forage; and laſtly, to leſſen the great Reputation and high Idea entertained of *Pompey*, when it ſhould be reported all over the World, that he had ſuffered himſelf to be blockaded, and as it were impriſoned by *Cæſar*'s Works; and durſt not hazard a Battle to ſet himſelf at Liberty.

XXXVIII. POMPEY would neither leave the Sea and *Dyrrhachium*, where he had all his Magazines and Engines of War, and whence he was ſupplied with Proviſions by Means of his Fleet; nor could he prevent the Progreſs of *Cæſar*'s Works without fighting, which at that Time he was determined againſt. He could do nothing therefore but extend himſelf, by taking in as many Hills, and as large a Circuit of Country as poſſible, to give his Adverſary the more Trouble, and divide his Forces. This he did, by raiſing twenty-four Forts, which took in a Circumference of fifteen Miles, wherein were arable and paſture Lands, to feed his Horſes and Beaſts

Beaſts of Burden. And as our Men had carried their Circumvallation quite round, by drawing Lines of Communication from Fort to Fort, to prevent the Sallies of the Enemy, and guard againſt Attacks in their Rear; in like Manner *Pompey*'s Men had ſurrounded themſelves with Lines, to hinder us from breaking in upon them, and charging them behind. They even perfected their Works firſt, becauſe they had more Hands, and a leſs Circuit to incloſe. When *Cæſar* endeavoured to gain any Place, *Pompey*, though determined not to oppoſe him with all his Forces, nor hazard a general Action, failed not however to detach Parties of Archers and Slingers, who wounded great Numbers of our Men, and occaſioned ſuch a Dread of their Arrows, that almoſt all the Soldiers furniſhed themſelves with Coats of Mail, or thick Leather, to guard againſt that Danger.

XXXIX. BOTH Parties diſputed every Poſt with great Obſtinacy: *Cæſar*, that he might incloſe *Pompey* within as narrow a Space as poſſible; and *Pompey*, that he might have Liberty to extend himſelf: which occaſioned many ſharp Skirmiſhes. In one of theſe, *Cæſar*'s Ninth Legion having poſſeſſed themſelves of an Eminence, which they began to fortify, *Pompey* ſeized the oppoſite Mount, with a Reſolution to hinder their Works. As the Acceſs on one Side was very eaſy; he ſent firſt ſome Archers and Slingers, and afterwards a ſtrong Detachment of light-armed Foot, plying us at the ſame Time with his military Engines; which obliged our Men to deſiſt, as they found it impoſſible at once to ſuſtain the Enemy's Charge, and go forward with their Works. *Cæſar* perceiving that his Men were wounded from all Sides, reſolved to quit the Place and retire. But as the Deſcent by which he muſt retreat was pretty ſteep, the *Pompeians* charged him briſkly in drawing off, imagining he gave way through Fear. *Pompey* went ſo far as to ſay, "That he conſented to be "accounted a General of no Merit, if *Cæſar*'s Men got "off without conſiderable Loſs." *Cæſar*, concerned about the Retreat of his Men, ordered Hurdles to be fixed on the Ridge of the Hill fronting the Enemy; behind which he dug a moderate Ditch, and rendered the Place as inacceſſible as he could on all Sides. When this was done, he began to file off the legionary Soldiers,

ſupporting them by ſome light-armed Troops poſted on their Flanks, who with Arrows and Stones might repulſe the Enemy. *Pompey*'s Troops failed not to purſue them with great Outcries and fierce Menaces, overturned the Hurdles, and uſed them as Bridges to get over the Ditch. Which *Cæſar* obſerving; and fearing ſome Diſaſter might enſue, ſhould he ſeem to be driven from a Poſt, which he quitted voluntarily; when his Forces were got half down the Hill, encouraging them by *Antony*, who had the Command of that Legion, he gave the Signal to face about and fall on the Enemy. Immediately the Soldiers of the Ninth Legion, forming themſelves into cloſe Order, launched their Darts; and advancing briſkly up the Hill againſt the Enemy, forced them to give ground, and at laſt betake themſelves to flight: which was not a little incommoded by the Hurdles, Paliſades, and Ditch, *Cæſar* had thrown up to ſtop their Purſuit. But our Men, who fought only to ſecure their Retreat, having killed ſeveral of the Enemy, and loſt only five of their own Number, retired without the leaſt Diſturbance, and incloſing ſome other Hills within their Lines, completed the Circumvallation.

XL. THIS Method of making War was new and extraordinary; as well in regard to the Number of Forts, the Extent of the Circumvallation, the Greatneſs of the Works, and the Manner of Attack and Defence, as on other Accounts. For whoever undertakes to inveſt another, is for the moſt Part moved thereto, either by ſome previous Defeat he has ſuſtained, the Knowledge of his Weakneſs, to take Advantage of his Diſtreſſes, to profit by a Superiority of Forces; or, in fine, to cut off his Proviſions, which is the moſt ordinary Cauſe of theſe Attempts. But *Cæſar*, with an inferior Force, beſieged *Pompey*, whoſe Troops were entire, in good Order, and abounded in all Things. For Ships arrived every Day from all Parts with Proviſions; nor could the Wind blow from any Quarter, that was not favourable to ſome of them; whereas *Cæſar*'s Army, having conſumed all the Corn round about, was reduced to the laſt Neceſſities. Nevertheleſs the Soldiers bore all with ſingular Patience; remembering, that though reduced to the like Extremity the Year before in *Spain*, they had yet, by their

their Aſſiduity and Perſeverance, put an End to a very formidable War. They called to mind too their Sufferings at *Aleſia*, and their ſtill greater Diſtreſſes before *Gergovia*, by which however they triumphed over mighty Nations. When Barley or Pulſe was given them inſtead of Corn, they took it cheerfully; and thought themſelves regaled when they got any Cattle, which *Epirus* furniſhed them with in great Abundance. They diſcovered in the Country a Root called *Chara*, which they pounded and kneaded with Milk, ſo as to make a Sort of Bread of it. This furniſhed a plentiful Supply; and when their Adverſaries reproached them with their Want, by Way of Anſwer to their Inſults, they threw theſe Loaves at them.

XLI. By this Time the Corn began to ripen, and the Hopes of a ſpeedy Supply ſupported the Soldiers under their preſent Wants. Nay, they were often heard to ſay one to another, that they would ſooner live on the Bark of Trees, than let *Pompey* eſcape. For they were informed from Time to Time by Deſerters, that their Horſes were almoſt ſtarved, and the reſt of their Cattle actually dead: that the Troops themſelves were very ſickly; partly occaſioned by the narrow Space in which they were incloſed, the Number and noiſome Smell of dead Carcaſes, and the daily Fatigue to which they were unaccuſtomed; partly by their extreme Want of Water. For *Cæſar* had either turned the Courſe of all the Rivers and Brooks that ran into the Sea, or dammed up their Currents. And as the Country was mountainous, intermixed with deep Valleys, by driving Piles into the Earth, and covering them with Mould, he ſtopped up the Courſe of the Waters. This obliged the Enemy to ſearch for low and marſhy Places, and to dig Wells, which added to their daily Labour. The Wells too, when diſcovered, lay at a conſiderable Diſtance from ſome Parts of the Army, and were ſoon dried up by the Heat. *Cæſar*'s Army, on the contrary, was very healthy, abounded in Water, and had Plenty of all Kinds of Proviſion, Corn excepted, which they hoped to be ſoon ſupplied with, as the Seaſon was now pretty far advanced, and Harveſt approached.

XLII. In

XLII. IN this new Method of making War, new Stratagems were every Day put in practice by both Generals. *Pompey*'s Soldiers, obſerving by the Fires the Place where our Cohorts were upon Guard, ſtole thither privately by Night, and pouring upon them a Flight of Arrows, retired inſtantly to their Camp; which obliged our Men to have Fires in one Place, and keep Guard in another.

XLIII. MEAN-WHILE *P. Sylla*, whom *Cæſar*, at his Departure, had left to command the Camp, being informed of what paſſed, came to the Aſſiſtance of the Cohort with two Legions. His Arrival ſoon put the *Pompeians* to flight, who could not ſtand the very Sight and Shock of his Troops; but ſeeing their firſt Ranks broken, took to their Heels, and quitted the Place. *Sylla* checked the Ardour of his Men, whom he would not ſuffer to continue the Purſuit too far; and it was the general Belief, that had he purſued the Enemy warmly, that Day might have put an End to the War. His Conduct however cannot be juſtly cenſured; for the Difference is great between a Lieutenant and a General; the one is tied up to act according to Inſtructions; the other, free from Reſtraint, is at Liberty to lay hold of all Advantages. *Sylla*, who was left by *Cæſar* to take care of the Camp, was ſatisfied with having diſengaged his own Men; and had no Intention to hazard a general Action, which might have been attended with ill Conſequences, and would have looked like arrogating the Part of a General. The *Pompeians* found it no eaſy Matter to make good their Retreat: for having advanced from a very diſadvantageous Poſt to the Summit of the Hill, they had Reaſon to fear our Men would charge them in deſcending; and the rather, as it was very near Sun-ſet; for they had protracted the Affair almoſt till Night, in hopes of accompliſhing their Deſign. Thus *Pompey*, compelled by Neceſſity, immediately took poſſeſſion of an Eminence, at ſuch a Diſtance from our Fort, as to be ſecure from Darts and military Engines. Here he encamped, threw up an Intrenchment, and drew his Forces together to defend the Place.

XLIV. AT the ſame Time we were engaged in two

two other Places; for *Pompey* attacked ſeveral Caſtles together, to divide our Forces, and hinder the Forts from mutually ſuccouring one another. In one of theſe, *Volcatius Tullus*, with three Cohorts, ſuſtained the Charge of a whole Legion, and forced them to retire. In the other, the *Germans*, ſallying out of their Intrenchments, ſlew ſeveral of the Enemy, and returned again without Loſs.

XLV. THUS there happened no leſs than ſix Actions in one Day; three near *Dyrrhachium*, and three about the Lines. In computing the Number of the Slain, it appeared, that *Pompey* loſt about two thouſand Men, with ſeveral Volunteers and Centurions, among whom was *Valerius Flaccus*, the Son of *Lucius*, who had formerly been Prætor of *Aſia*. We gained ſix Standards, with the Loſs of no more than twenty Men in all the Attacks: but in the Fort, not a Soldier eſcaped being wounded; and four Centurions belonging to one Cohort loſt their Eyes. As a Proof of the Danger they had been expoſed to, and the Efforts they had ſuſtained, they brought and counted to *Cæſar* about thirty thouſand Arrows that had been ſhot into the Fort; and ſhewed him the Centurion *Scæva*'s Buckler, which was pierced in two hundred and thirty Places. *Cæſar*, as a Reward for his Services both to himſelf and the Republick, preſented him with two hundred thouſand Aſſes, and advanced him directly from the eighth Rank of Captains to the firſt; it appearing, that the Preſervation of the Fort was chiefly owing to his Valour. He alſo diſtributed military Rewards among the other Officers and Soldiers of that Cohort; and aſſigned them double Pay, and a double Allowance of Corn.

XLVI. POMPEY laboured all Night at his Fortifications, raiſed Redoubts the following Days, and having carried his Works fifteen Foot high, covered that Part of his Camp with Mantelets. Five Days after, taking advantage of a very dark Night, he walled up the Gates of his Camp, rendered all the Avenues impracticable; and drawing out his Troops in great Silence about Midnight, returned to his former Works.

XLVII. ÆTOLIA,

XLVII. ÆTOLIA, *Acarnania*, and *Amphilochis*, having been reduced by *Caſſius Longinus*, and *Calviſius Sabinus*, as we have related above; *Cæſar* thought it expedient to purſue his Conqueſts, and attempt to gain *Achaia*. Accordingly he diſpatched *Fufius Kalenus* thither, ordering *Sabinus* and *Caſſius* to join him, with the Cohorts under their Command. *Rutilius Lupus*, *Pompey*'s Lieutenant in *Achaia*, hearing of their Approach, reſolved to fortify the Iſthmus, and thereby hinder *Fufius* from entering the Province. *Delphos*, *Thebes*, and *Orchomenus*, voluntarily ſubmitted to *Kalenus*: ſome States he obtained by Force; and ſending Deputies to the reſt, endeavoured to make them declare for *Cæſar*. Theſe Negotiations found ſufficient Employment for *Fufius*.

XLVIII. CÆSAR, Mean-while, drew up his Army every Day, offering *Pompey* Battle upon equal Ground; and, to provoke him to accept it, advanced ſo near his Camp, that his Van was within Engine-ſhot of the Rampart. *Pompey*, to preſerve his Reputation, drew out his Legions too; but poſted them in ſuch a Manner, that his third Line touched the Rampart, and the whole Army lay under Cover of the Weapons diſcharged from thence.

XLIX. WHILST theſe Things paſſed in *Achaia* and at *Dyrrhachium*, and it was now known that *Scipio* was arrived in *Macedonia*; *Cæſar* ſtill adhering to his former Views of Peace, diſpatched *Clodius* to him, an intimate Friend of both, whom he had taken into his Service upon *Scipio*'s Recommendation. At his Departure, he charged him with Letters and Inſtructions to this Effect: "That he had tried all Ways to bring about a Peace, "but believed he had hitherto miſcarried through the "Fault of thoſe to whom his Propoſals were addreſſed, "becauſe they dreaded preſenting them to *Pompey* at an "improper Time: That he knew *Scipio*'s Authority to "be ſuch, as not only privileged him to adviſe freely, "but even to inforce his Counſels, and compel the "Obſtinate to hearken to Reaſon: That he was "poſſeſſed of an independent Command, and had an "Army at his Diſpoſal to give Weight to his Interpo-

"ſition;

"sition: That in employing it for so desirable an End, "he would gain the indisputable Praise of having "restored Quiet to *Italy*, Peace to the Provinces, and "saved the Empire." *Clodius* reported this Commission to *Scipio*, and at first met with a favourable Reception, but was afterwards denied Audience: for *Favonius* having sharply reprimanded *Scipio*, as we learnt after the Conclusion of the War, the Negotiation was discontinued, and *Clodius* returned to *Cæsar* without Success.

L. CÆSAR, the more effectually to shut up *Pompey*'s Horse at *Dyrrhachium*, and hinder them from foraging, blocked up the two narrow Passes, of which we have spoken, with strong Works, and raised Forts to defend them. *Pompey* finding his Cavalry rendered by this Means unserviceable, conveyed them some Days after by Sea to his Camp again. Forage was so scarce, that they were forced to have Recourse to the Leaves of Trees, and the Roots of green Reeds bruised: for the Corn sown within their Lines was all consumed; nor had they any Supplies, but what came a long Way about by Sea, from *Corcyra* and *Acarnania*; and even this was so inconsiderable, that to increase the Quantity, they were forced to mix it with Barley, and by these Contrivances support their Horses. At last, all Expedients being exhausted, and the Horses dying daily, *Pompey* thought it Time to attempt to force the Barricade, and set himself at liberty.

LI. AMONG the Cavalry in *Cæsar*'s Camp, were two Brothers, *Allobrogians* by Birth, named *Roscillus* and *Ægus*, the Sons of *Adbucillus*, who had long held the chief Sway in his own State; Men of singular Bravery, and who had been of signal Service to *Cæsar* in all his *Gallick* Wars. For these Reasons he had raised them to the highest Offices in their own Country, got them chosen into the Senate before they were of Age, given them Lands in *Gaul* taken from the Enemy, besides pecuniary Rewards to a great Value, insomuch that from very moderate Beginnings they had risen to vast Wealth. These Men were not only highly honoured by *Cæsar* on account of their Bravery, but in great Esteem with the whole Army. But presuming on *Cæsar*'s

Friendſhip, and fooliſhly elated with their Proſperity, they uſed the Troopers ill, defrauded them of their Pay, and ſecreted all the Plunder to their own Uſe. The *Gauliſh* Cavalry, offended at theſe Proceedings, went in a Body to *Cæſar*, and openly complained of the two Brothers; adding, among other Accuſations, that by giving in falſe Muſters they received Pay for more Men than they had. *Cæſar* not thinking it a proper Time for Animadverſion, and regarding them greatly on account of their Valour, declined all publick Notice of the Affair, and contented himſelf with reprimanding them in private; admoniſhing them to expect every Thing from his Friendſhip, and to meaſure their future Hopes by the Experience of what he had already done for them. This Rebuke, however, diſguſted them greatly, and very much leſſened their Credit with the whole Army; which they eaſily perceived, as well from the Raillery they were often forced to bear, as in conſequence of the ſecret Reproaches and Senſe of their own Minds. Thus prompted by Shame, and perhaps imagining they were not cleared, but reſerved to a more favourable Opportunity; they reſolved to deſert, try their Fortune elſewhere, and ſearch for new Friendſhips. Having imparted their Deſign to a few of their Clients, whom they judged fit Inſtruments for ſo black a Treaſon; they firſt attempted to murder *C. Voluſenus*, General of the Cavalry, (as was afterwards known, when the War was over,) that by ſo ſignal a Piece of Service they might the more effectually recommend themſelves to *Pompey*'s Favour. But finding that Deſign attended with great Hazard, and that no favourable Opportunity offered for putting it in execution; they borrowed all the Money they could, under Pretence of reimburſing the Troops, and making Reſtitution; and having bought up a great Number of Horſes, went over to *Pompey*, with thoſe whom they had made acquainted with their Deſign. As they were Perſons of noble Birth, liberally educated, came with a great Train of Horſes and Servants, had been highly honoured by *Cæſar*, and were univerſally eſteemed on account of their Valour; *Pompey* carried them oſtentatiouſly over all the Camp, triumphing in this new and unuſual Acquiſition: for till then, neither Horſe nor Foot-Soldier had deſerted from *Cæſar* to *Pompey*; whereas ſcarce a Day paſſed without ſome

Deſertion

Deſertion from *Pompey*'s Army, eſpecially among the new Levies in *Epirus*, *Ætolia*, and thoſe Countries that had declared for *Cæſar*. The Brothers being well acquainted with the Condition of *Cæſar*'s Camp, what was wanting to complete the Fortifications, where the feeble of the Lines lay, the particular Times, Diſtance of Places, Strength and Vigilance of the Guards, with the Temper and Character of the Officers who commanded in every Poſt, made an exact Report of all to *Pompey*.

LII. UPON this Intelligence, having already formed the Deſign of forcing *Cæſar*'s Lines, he ordered the Soldiers to make Coverings of Oſier for their Helmets, and provide themſelves with Faſcines. This done, he embarked by Night, in Boats and ſmall Barks, a great Number of light-armed Troops and Archers, with the Faſcines for filling up *Cæſar*'s Trenches; and having drawn together ſixty Cohorts from the greater Camp and Forts, led them about Midnight towards that Part of the Enemy's Lines neareſt the Sea, a good Diſtance from the main Camp. Thither likewiſe he diſpatched the Barks, on board of which were the light-armed Troops and Faſcines, together with all the Gallies that lay at *Dyrrhachium*, giving each their particular Inſtructions. *Lentulus Marcellinus* the Quæſtor, with the ninth Legion, had Charge of this Part of the Fortifications; and as his Health was but infirm, *Cæſar* had joined *Fulvius Poſthumus* with him in the Command.

LIII. THIS Place was guarded by a Ditch fifteen Foot broad, with a Rampart towards the Enemy ten Foot high, and of equal Thickneſs. Behind this, at the Diſtance of ſix hundred Feet, was another Rampart ſomewhat lower than the former, and fronting the contrary Way. *Cæſar* apprehending an Attack from the Sea, had raiſed this double Rampart ſome Days before, that he might be able to defend himſelf againſt the Enemy, ſhould they charge him on both Sides at once. But the Extent of the Circumvallation, and the continued Labour of ſo many Days, in incloſing a Space of eighteen Miles, had not allowed us Time to finiſh the Work. Accordingly the Line of Communication,

which ran along the Sea-ſide, and was to have joined theſe two Ramparts, was not yet completed. This *Pompey* was informed of by the *Allobrogian* Brothers, which proved of fatal Conſequence to us. For while ſome Cohorts of the ninth Legion were upon Guard near the Sea, ſuddenly the *Pompeians* arrived about Day-break, and ſurpriſed them with their unexpected Appearance. At the ſame Time the Troops that came by Sea, launched their Darts againſt the outward Rampart, and began to fill up the Ditch with Faſcines; while the legionary Soldiers, planting their Scaling-ladders againſt the inner Works, and plying thoſe that defended them with Darts and Engines, ſpread a general Terror over that Part of the Camp, which was ſtill increaſed by the Multitude of Archers that came pouring upon them from all Sides. The Oſiers they had bound round their Helmets, contributed greatly to defend them from the Stones thrown down from the Rampart, which were the only Weapons we had. At laſt, all Things going againſt us, and our Reſiſtance becoming every Moment more languid, the Enemy diſcovered the Defect before ſpoken of in our Lines; and landing their Men between the two Ramparts, where the Line of Communication towards the Sea remained unfiniſhed, they attacked our Soldiers in the Rear, and obliged them to abandon both Sides of the Works.

LIV. MARCELLINUS hearing of this Diſorder, detached ſome Cohorts to ſuſtain the flying Troops: but as the Rout was become general, they could neither perſuade them to rally, nor were able themſelves to withſtand the Enemy's Charge. The like happened to a ſecond Detachment; inſomuch that the ſeveral Supplies ſent, by catching the general Terror, ſerved only to add to the Confuſion and Danger: for the Multitude of Runaways rendered the Retreat the more difficult. In this Action the Eagle-bearer of the ninth Legion, finding himſelf dangerouſly wounded, and that his Strength began to fail, called to ſome Troopers who paſſed by, and ſaid: "I have preſerved, to the laſt Moment of "my Life, with the greateſt Care, this Eagle, with "which I have been entruſted; and now I am dying, "I return it to *Cæſar*, with the ſame Fidelity. Carry "it

" it to him, I beſeech you; nor ſuffer *Cæſar*'s Arms to " experience, in loſing it, an Ignominy with which " they have been hitherto unacquainted." Thus the Eagle was preſerved; but all the Centurions of the firſt Cohort were ſlain, except the firſt Captain of the Principes.

LV. AND now the *Pompeians*, having made great Slaughter of our Men, approached the Quarters of *Marcellinus*, to the no ſmall Terror of the reſt of the Cohorts; when *Mark Antony*, who commanded in the neareſt Redoubts, upon Notice of what paſſed, was ſeen deſcending from the higher Ground at the Head of twelve Cohorts. His Arrival put a Stop to the Enemy's Progreſs, and by enabling our Men to recover from their extreme Terror, reſtored them to their wonted Courage. Soon after *Cæſar* arrived in perſon with ſome Troops, being appriſed of the Attack by the Smoke of the Forts, the uſual Signal on theſe Occaſions: and perceiving the Loſs he had ſuſtained, and that *Pompey* had forced the Lines, being able to forage, and having an eaſy Communication with the Sea; he quitted his former Project, which had proved unſucceſsful, and encamped as near *Pompey* as he could.

LVI. WHEN the Intrenchments were finiſhed, *Cæſar* had Notice from his Scouts, that a certain Number of the Enemy's Cohorts, which to them appeared a complete Legion, were retired behind a Wood, and ſeemed to be on their March to the old Camp. The Situation of the two Armies was this: Some Days before, when *Cæſar*'s ninth Legion was ſent to oppoſe a Body of *Pompey*'s Troops, they thought proper to intrench themſelves upon an oppoſite Hill, and form a Camp there. This Camp bordered upon a Wood, and was not above four hundred Paces from the Sea. But afterwards, for certain Reaſons, *Cæſar* removed a little beyond that Poſt; and *Pompey*, a few Days after, took poſſeſſion of it. But as his Deſign was to place ſeveral Legions there; leaving the inner Rampart ſtanding, he ſurrounded it with greater Works. Thus the ſmaller Camp, incloſed within one of larger Circumference, ſerved by way of a Caſtle or Citadel. He likewiſe carried an Intrenchment from the left Angle of the Camp to the River, through a Space

of about four hundred Paces, which enabled him to water freely and without Danger. But he too, ſoon after, changed his Mind, for Reaſons which it is not needful to repeat here; and abandoned the Place, which thereby was left ſeveral Days without Troops, though the Fortifications remained entire. Hither the Scouts reported they ſaw the Standard of a Legion carried; which was likewiſe confirmed by thoſe who were ſtationed in the higher Forts. The Place was about five hundred Paces diſtant from *Pompey*'s new Camp. *Cæſar* deſirous to repair the Loſs he had ſuſtained, and hoping he might be able to ſurpriſe this Legion, left two Cohorts in his Intrenchments, to prevent any Suſpicion of his Deſign; and with thirty-three more, amongſt which Number was the ninth Legion, which had loſt many Centurions and Soldiers, marched by a different Route, as privately as he could, againſt the Legion which *Pompey* had lodged in the leſſer Camp. Neither was he deceived in his firſt Conjecture: For he arrived before *Pompey* could have Notice of his Deſign; and though the Intrenchments were ſtrong, yet charging the Enemy briſkly with his left Wing, where he himſelf commanded in perſon, he quickly drove them from the Rampart. But as the Gates were ſecured by a Barricade, they ſtill maintained the Fight here for ſome Time, our Men endeavouring to break in, and the Enemy to defend the Camp. *T. Pulcio*, who betrayed the Army of *C. Antony*, as we have related above, gave ſignal Proofs of his Valour on this Occaſion. But our Men at laſt prevailed; and having cut down the Barricade, broke firſt into the greater Camp, and afterwards into the Fort within it, whither the Legion had retired, ſome of whom were ſlain endeavouring to defend themſelves.

LVII. But Fortune, whoſe Influence is very great, as in other Things, ſo particularly in War; often effects mighty Changes from the moſt trifling Cauſes; as happened upon this Occaſion. For the Cohorts of *Cæſar*'s right Wing being unacquainted with the Situation of the Camp, and miſtaking the Rampart which led to the River for one of its Sides, marched on that Way in queſt of a Gate; but perceiving at length their Error, and that nobody defended the Intrenchment, they immediately mounted the Rampart, and were followed by the whole Cavalry.

Cavalry. This Delay ſaved the Enemy: For *Pompey* having Notice of what paſſed, brought up the fifth Legion to ſuſtain his Party; ſo that at one and the ſame inſtant, his Cavalry approached ours, and his Troops were ſeen advancing in Order of Battle, by thoſe who had taken poſſeſſion of the Camp: Which quickly changed the Face of Affairs. For *Pompey*'s Legion, encouraged by the Hope of ſpeedy Succours, ſallied by the *Decuman* Port, and briſkly charged our Cohorts. On the other hand, *Cæſar*'s Cavalry, who had entered by a narrow Breach in the Rampart, foreſeeing that a Retreat would be extremely difficult, began betimes to think of flying. The right Wing, which had no Communication with the left, obſerving the Conſternation of the Cavalry, and fearing they ſhould be overpowered within the Camp, retired the ſame Way they had entered. Many, to avoid being engaged in the narrow Paſſes, threw themſelves from the Rampart, which was ten Foot high, into the Ditch; where the firſt Ranks being trodden to Death, their Bodies afforded a ſafe Paſſage to thoſe that followed. The left Wing, who from the Rampart whence they had driven the Enemy, ſaw *Pompey* advancing againſt them, and their own Men flying; fearing to be entangled in the Defiles, as they had the Enemy upon them both within and without the Camp, retreated the ſame Way they came. Nothing was to be ſeen but Conſternation, Flying, and Diſorder; inſomuch that all *Cæſar*'s Efforts to rally his Troops were fruitleſs. If he ſeized any by the Arm, they ſtruggled till they got away. If he laid hold of the Colours, they left them in his Hands. Not a Man could be prevailed on to face about.

LVIII. In this Calamity, what ſaved the Army from entire Deſtruction was, that *Pompey* apprehending an Ambuſcade (probably becauſe the Succeſs was beyond his Hopes, as a little before he had ſeen his Men worſted and put to flight) durſt not for ſome Time approach the Intrenchments; and his Cavalry were retarded in the Purſuit by *Cæſar*'s Troops, who were poſſeſſed of all the Gates and Defiles. Be that as it will, a ſmall Matter proved of very great Conſequence to both Parties: For the Intrenchment between the Camp and the River, ſtopped the Courſe of *Cæſar*'s Victory, when he had

had already forced *Pompey*'s Lines: And the ſame, by retarding the Purſuit of the Enemy, ſaved his Army from Deſtruction.

LIX. In theſe two Actions, *Cæſar* loſt nine hundred and ſixty private Men, thirty Officers, and ſeveral Knights of Note, as *Flavius Tuticanus Gallus*, a Senator's Son; *C. Felginus*, of *Placentia*; *A. Gravius*, of *Puteoli*; and *M. Sacrativir*, of *Capua*. But the greateſt Part of theſe died without Wounds, being trodden to Death in the Ditch, about the Works, and on the Banks of the River, occaſioned by the Flight and Terror of their own Men. He loſt alſo thirty-two Colours. *Pompey* was ſaluted Emperor on this Occaſion; a Title which he bore ever after, and ſuffered himſelf to be accoſted by: But neither in the Letters which he wrote, nor in his Conſular Enſigns did he think proper to aſſume the Laurel. The Priſoners were delivered up to *Labienus* at his own Requeſt; and this Deſerter, brutal and cruel as uſual, diverted himſelf with inſulting them in their Calamity; and aſked them ſarcaſtically, if it was uſual for Veterans to run away; after which he cauſed them all to be put to death.

LX. This Succeſs gave ſuch Confidence and Spirit to the *Pompeian* Party, that they now no longer took any Concern about the Conduct of the War, but began to conſider themſelves as already victorious. They never reflected on the inconſiderable Number of our Troops, the Diſadvantage of the Ground, the narrow Paſſes we were engaged in by their having firſt Poſſeſſion of the Camp, the double Danger both within and without the Fortifications, and the Separation of the two Wings of the Army, which hindered them from mutually ſuccouring one another. They forgot that the Advantage they had gained, was not the Effect of a briſk and vigorous Attack; and that our Men had ſuffered more by crowding upon one another in the narrow Paſſes, than by the Sword of the Enemy. In fine, they never called to mind the uncertain Chance of War, and upon what minute Cauſes good or bad Succeſs often depend; how a groundleſs Suſpicion, a panick Terror, or a religious Scruple, have frequently been productive of the moſt fatal Events; when either by the Miſconduct of a General,

or

or the Error of a Tribune, ſome falſe Perſuaſion has been ſuffered to take root in an Army. But as if the Victory had been purely the Effect of their Valour, and no Change of Fortune was to be apprehended, they every where proclaimed and made publick the Succeſs of this Day.

LXI. CÆSAR ſeeing all his former Projects diſconcerted, reſolved to ſubmit to Fortune, and entirely change the Manner of the War. He therefore called in all his Forces from the Forts, gave up the Deſign of incloſing *Pompey*, and having aſſembled his Army, addreſſed them as follows: "That they ought not to be diſcouraged, "or give way to Conſternation upon what had lately "happened, but oppoſe their many ſucceſsful Engage-"ments to one ſlight and inconſiderable Check. That "Fortune had already befriended them greatly, in the "Reduction of *Italy* without Bloodſhed; in the Con-"queſt of the two *Spains*, though defended by warlike "Troops, under the Conduct of ſkilful and experienced "Leaders; and in the Subjection of the neighbouring "Provinces, whence they could be plentifully ſupplied "with Corn. In fine, they ought to call to mind, how "happily they had paſſed into *Greece*, through the Midſt "of the Enemy's Fleets, though poſſeſſed of all the "Coaſts and Havens. If they were not ſucceſsful in "every Thing, they muſt endeavour by Prudence to "overcome the Diſappointments of Fortune; and attri-"bute their late Diſaſter to the Caprice of that God-"deſs, rather than to any Fault on their Side. That "he had led them to an advantageous Ground, and "put them in the Poſſeſſion of the Enemy's Camp, "after driving them from all their Works. If either "ſome ſudden Conſternation, the miſtaking their Way, "or any other Miſhap, had ſnatched an apparent and "almoſt certain Victory out of their Hands, they ought "to exert their utmoſt Endeavours to repair that Diſ-"grace, which would turn their Misfortunes to a Be-"nefit, as happened at *Gergovia*; where thoſe who at "firſt dreaded to encounter the Enemy, demanded ear-"neſtly in the End to be led to Battle." Having made this Speech, he contented himſelf with ſtigmatiſing, and reducing to private Men, ſome of the Standard-bearers: For the whole Army were ſo grieved at their Loſs, and ſo deſirous of expunging the Stain their Glory had received,

ceived, that there was no Occaſion either for the Tribunes or Centurions to remind them of their Duty: Nay, they even undertook to puniſh themſelves by the ſevereſt Impoſitions, and demanded with great Outcries to be led againſt the Enemy; being ſeconded by ſome Centurions of the firſt Rank, who touched with their Remonſtrances, were for continuing in the Poſt they then poſſeſſed, and putting all to the Hazard of a Battle. But *Cæſar* did not think it prudent to expoſe to an Action Troops that had been juſt worſted, and in whom might remain too deep Impreſſions of their late Fright. He was for allowing them Time to recover themſelves; and having quitted his Works, thought it needful to provide for the Security of his Convoys.

LXII. ACCORDINGLY, after proper Care taken of the Sick and Wounded, and as ſoon as Night approached, he ſent all the Baggage privately towards *Apollonia*, under a Guard of one Legion, with Orders not to halt till they had reached the Place. This Affair diſpatched, he made two Legions remain in the Camp, and marching out all the reſt about Three in the Morning at ſeveral Gates, ordered them to follow the ſame Route the Baggage had taken. Soon after, that his Departure might not have the Appearance of a Flight, and yet be known to the Enemy as late as poſſible, he ordered the uſual Signal to be given; and ſetting out with the reſt of his Forces, loſt Sight of the Camp in a Moment. *Pompey* hearing of his Retreat, prepared to follow him without Delay, and hoping to ſurpriſe the Army in its March, whilſt incumbered with Baggage, and not yet recovered from its Conſternation, drew out all his Troops, and ſent his Cavalry before to retard our Rear: Which however he could not overtake, becauſe *Cæſar* marching without Baggage, had got a great way before him. But when we came to the River *Genuſus*, we found the Banks ſo ſteep and difficult, that before all the Men could get over, *Pompey*'s Cavalry came up, and fell upon our hindmoſt Battalions. *Cæſar* ſent his Horſe to oppoſe them, intermixed with ſome light-armed Troops; who charged with that Vigour and Succeſs, as to put them all to rout, leave a conſiderable Number dead upon the Field, and return without Loſs to the main Body of their Army.

LXIII.

LXIII. HAVING completed the intended March of that Day, and brought his Army over the *Genuſus*, he took up his Quarters in his old Camp at *Aſparagium*, ſuffering none of the Soldiers to ſtroll without the Rampart, and charging the Cavalry, who had been ſent out under Pretence of foraging, to return immediately by the *Decuman* Port. *Pompey* likewiſe, having completed that Day's March, encamped at his old Poſt at *Aſparagium*; where the Troops having nothing to do, becauſe the Works were ſtill entire; ſome made long Excurſions in queſt of Wood and Forage; others, who had come almoſt without any Baggage, by reaſon the March was undertaken on a Sudden, enticed by the Nearneſs of their former Camp, laid down their Arms in their Tents, quitted the Intrenchments, and went to fetch what they had left behind them. This rendering them unable to purſue, as *Cæſar* had foreſeen; about Noon, he gave the Signal for decamping, led forth his Troops, and doubling that Day's March, gained eight Miles upon *Pompey*, who could not follow him by reaſon his Troops were diſperſed.

LXIV. NEXT Day *Cæſar* decamped again at three in the Morning, having ſent away his Baggage over Night, that if he ſhould find himſelf under a Neceſſity of fighting, he might have his Army clear of all Incumbrance. The ſame he did the following Days: By which Means, though he had very difficult Ways to paſs, and ſome great Rivers to croſs, he ſuffered no Loſs during the whole March. For *Pompey*, after the firſt Day's Hindrance, endeavouring in vain by long and forced Marches to overtake *Cæſar*, gave over the Purſuit on the fourth, and began to think of taking other Meaſures.

LXV. CÆSAR was under a Neceſſity of going to *Apollonia*, to leave his wounded there, to pay his Army, confirm his Friends in their Duty, and garriſon the Towns that had ſubmitted. But he took no longer Time to theſe Affairs, than the Importance of his other Engagements would allow. For fearing that *Pompey* might ſurpriſe *Domitius Calvinus*, he put himſelf in full March to join him. The Scheme he proceeded on was this: that if *Pompey* took the ſame Route, he muſt leave the

the Sea, the Forces he had at *Dyrrhachium*, with all his Ammunition and Proviſion, which would bring them upon equal Terms: if he paſſed into *Italy*, *Cæſar* purpoſed to join *Domitius*, and March to its Defence by the Coaſt of *Illyricum*; in fine, ſhould he fall upon *Apollonia* and *Oricum*, and endeavour to exclude him from the Sea-coaſt; in that Caſe he reckoned to oblige him, by attacking *Metellus Scipio*, to leave every Thing to ſuccour him. *Cæſar* therefore diſpatched Couriers to *Domitius*, to acquaint him with his Deſign; and leaving four Cohorts at *Apollonia*, one at *Liſſus*, and three at *Oricum*, with the ſick and wounded, began his March through *Epirus* and *Acarnania*. *Pompey* on his Side, gueſſing *Cæſar*'s Deſign, made what haſte he could to join *Scipio*; that if *Cæſar* ſhould march that Way, he might prevent his being overpowered: but ſhould he ſtill keep near *Corcyra*, and the Sea, becauſe of the Legions and Cavalry he expected from *Italy*; in that Caſe, he purpoſed to fall upon *Domitius* with all his Forces.

LXVI. For theſe Reaſons both Generals ſtudied Diſpatch, as well to afford timely Succour to their Friends, as not to miſs an Opportunity of diſtreſſing their Enemies. But *Cæſar* had turned off to *Apollonia*; whereas *Pompey* took the neareſt Way through *Candavia* for *Macedonia*. It happened too very unfortunately, that *Domitius*, who for ſeveral Days had been encamped near *Scipio*, quitted that Station for the Convenience of Proviſions, and was upon his March to *Heraclea Sentica*, a City of the *Candavians*; ſo that Chance ſeemed to throw him directly in *Pompey*'s Way, which *Cæſar* had not then the leaſt Knowledge of. *Pompey* too having ſent Letters through all the States and Provinces, relating to the Action at *Dyrrhachium*, with Repreſentations that far exceeded the Truth; a Rumour began to prevail, that *Cæſar* had been defeated with the Loſs of almoſt all his Forces, and was forced to fly before *Pompey*. Theſe Reports raiſed him many Enemies on his March, and induced ſome States to throw off their Allegiance; whence it happened, that the Couriers mutually ſent by *Cæſar* and *Domitius*, were all intercepted. But the *Allobrogians* in the Track of *Ægus* and *Roſcillus*, who, as we have ſeen before, had deſerted from *Cæſar* to *Pompey*, meeting ſome of *Domitius*'s Scouts; either out of an ancient Cuſtom,

becauſe

becauſe they had ſerved together in the *Gallick* Wars; or from a Motive of Vainglory; informed them of all that had paſſed; of *Pompey*'s Victory, and *Cæſar*'s Retreat. Advice being given of this to *Calvinus*, who was not above four Hours March from the Enemy, he avoided the Danger by a timely Retreat, and joined *Cæſar* near *Ægitium*, a Town on the Borders of *Theſſaly*.

LXVII. AFTER the Junction of the two Armies, *Cæſar* arrived at *Gomphi*, the firſt Town of *Theſſaly*, as you come from *Epirus*. A few Months before, the Inhabitants had of their own Accord ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, to make an Offer of what their Country afforded, and petition for a Garriſon. But the Report of the Action at *Dyrrhachium*, with many groundleſs Additions, had by this Time reached their Ears. And therefore *Androſthenes*, Prætor of *Theſſaly*, chooſing rather to be the Companion of *Pompey*'s good Fortune, than aſſociate with *Cæſar* in his Adverſity; ordered all the People, whether Slaves or free, to aſſemble in the Town; and having ſhut the Gates againſt *Cæſar*, ſent Letters to *Scipio* and *Pompey* to come to his Aſſiſtance, intimating: "That the Town was ſtrong enough to hold out if they "uſed Diſpatch, but by no Means in Condition to "ſuſtain a long Siege." *Scipio*, on Advice of the Departure of the Armies from *Dyrrhachium*, was come to *Lariſſa* with his Legions; and *Pompey* was yet far enough diſtant from *Theſſaly*. *Cæſar* having fortified his Camp, ordered Mantelets, Hurdles, and Scaling-ladders to be prepared for a ſudden Attack; and then exhorting his Men, repreſented; "Of how great Conſequence it was "to render themſelves Maſters of an opulent City, "abounding in all Things needful for the Supply of their "Wants, and by the Terror of whoſe Puniſhment "other States would be awed into Submiſſion: and "this, he told them, muſt be done quickly, before any "Succours could arrive." Accordingly, ſeizing the Opportunity offered by the uncommon Ardor of the Troops, he attacked the Town the ſame Day about Three in the Afternoon; and having made himſelf Maſter of it before Sun-ſet, gave it up to be plundered. From *Gomphi Cæſar* marched directly to *Metropolis*, and arrived before they were acquainted with the Misfortune of their Neighbours.

LXVIII. THE

LXVIII. THE *Metropolitans* at firſt following the Example of *Gomphi*, to which they were moved by the ſame Reports, ſhut their Gates, and manned the Walls. But no ſooner came they to underſtand the Fate of their neighbour City, by ſome Priſoners whom *Cæſar* produced for that End, than immediately they admitted him into the Town. He ſuffered no Hoſtilities to be committed, nor any Harm to be done them; and ſo powerful was the Example, from the different Treatment of theſe two Cities, that not a ſingle State in *Theſſaly* refuſed to ſubmit to *Cæſar*, and receive his Orders, except *Lariſſa*, which was awed by the numerous Army of *Metellus Scipio*. As the Country was good, and covered with Corn, which was near ripe, *Cæſar* took up his Quarters there, judging it a proper Place to wait for *Pompey* in, and render the Theatre of the War.

LXIX. A few Days after *Pompey* arrived in *Theſſaly*; and joining *Metellus Scipio*, harangued both Armies. He firſt thanked his own for their late Services; and then turning to *Scipio*'s Troops, exhorted them to put in for their Share of the Booty, which the Victory already obtained gave them the faireſt Proſpect of. Both Armies being received into one Camp, he ſhared all the Honours of Command with *Scipio*, ordered a Pavilion to be erected for him, and the Trumpets to ſound before it. This Increaſe of *Pompey*'s Forces, by the Conjunction of two mighty Armies, raiſed the Confidence of his Followers, and their Aſſurance of Victory to ſuch a Degree, that all Delays were conſidered as a Hindrance of their Return to *Italy*; inſomuch that if *Pompey* on any Occaſion acted with Slowneſs and Circumſpection, they failed not to cry out: "That he induſtriouſly protracted "ed an Affair, for the Diſpatch of which one Day was "ſufficient, in the View of gratifying his Ambition for "Command, and having conſular and prætorian Sena"tors amongſt the Number of his Servants." Already they began to diſpute about Rewards and Dignities, and fixed upon the Perſons who were annually to ſucced to the Conſulſhip. Others ſued for the Houſes and Eſtates of thoſe who had followed *Cæſar*'s Party. A warm Debate aroſe in Council in relation to *L. Hirrus*, whom *Pompey* had ſent againſt the *Parthians*, whether in the next Election of Prætors, he ſhould be allowed to ſtand

ſtand Candidate for that Office in his Abſence; his Friends imploring *Pompey* to make good the Promiſe he had made him at his Departure, and not ſuffer him to be deceived by depending on the General's Honour; while ſuch as aſpired at this Office complained publickly, that a Promiſe ſhould be made to any one Candidate, when all were embarked in the ſame Cauſe, and ſhared the like Dangers. Already *Domitius*, *Scipio*, and *Lentulus Spinther*, were openly quarrelling about the High-prieſthood, which *Cæſar* was in poſſeſſion of. They even deſcended to perſonal Abuſe, and pleaded their ſeveral Pretenſions; *Lentulus* urging the Reſpect due to his Age; *Domitius*, his Dignity, and the Intereſt he had in the City; and *Scipio* his Alliance with *Pompey*. *Attius Rufus* impeached *L. Afranius* before *Pompey*, charging him with having occaſioned the Loſs of the Army in *Spain*. And *L. Domitius* moved in Council, that after the Victory, all the Senators in *Pompey*'s Army and Camps, ſhould be appointed Judges, and impowered to proceed againſt thoſe who had ſtayed in *Italy*, or who had appeared cool, or ſhewn any Indifference to the Cauſe; and that three Billets ſhould be given to theſe Judges, one for Acquittance, another for Condemnation, and a Third for a pecuniary Fine. In a Word, nothing was thought on but Honours, or Profit, or Vengeance; nor did they conſider by what Methods they were to conquer, but what Advantage they ſhould make of Victory.

LXX. CÆSAR having provided for the Subſiſtence of his Troops, who were now no longer fatigued, and had ſufficiently recovered from the Conſternation the different Actions at *Dyrrhachium* had thrown them into; thought it high Time to make trial how *Pompey* ſtood affected to an Engagement. Accordingly he drew out his Men, and formed them in Order of Battle; at firſt near his own Camp, and ſomewhat diſtant from the Enemy: but perceiving this had no Effect on *Pompey*, who ſtill maintained his Poſt on the Eminences, he each Day drew nearer, and by that Conduct animated and gave freſh Courage to his Soldiers. His Cavalry being much inferior to the Enemy's in Number, he followed the Method already mentioned; of ſingling out the ſtrongeſt and nimbleſt of his Foot-ſoldiers, and accuſtoming them to fight intermixed with the Horſe; in which Way of

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Combat they were become very expert by daily Practice. This Diſpoſition, joined to conſtant Exerciſe, ſo emboldened his Cavalry, that though but a thouſand in Number, they would upon occaſion ſuſtain the Charge of *Pompey*'s ſeven thouſand, even in an open Plain, and appear not greatly diſmayed at their Multitude: nay, they actually got the better in a Skirmiſh that happened between them, and killed *Ægus* the *Allobrogian*, one of the two Brothers who deſerted to *Pompey*, with ſeveral others of his Party.

LXXI. POMPEY, whoſe Camp was on an Eminence, drew up his Army at the Foot of the Mountain, expecting, as may be preſumed, that *Cæſar* would attack him in that advantageous Situation. But *Cæſar* deſpairing to draw *Pompey* to a Battle on equal Terms, thought it would be his beſt Courſe to decamp, and be always upon the March; in Hopes, that by frequently ſhifting his Ground, he might the better be ſupplied with Proviſions; and that as the Enemy would not fail following him, in the frequent Marches he ſhould make, he might perhaps find an Opportunity of attacking them, and forcing them to fight: at leaſt he was ſure of haraſſing *Pompey*'s Army, little accuſtomed to theſe continued Fatigues. Accordingly the Order for marching was given, and the Tents ſtruck, when *Cæſar* perceived that *Pompey*'s Army, which had quitted their Intrenchments, had advanced further towards the Plain than uſual, ſo that he might engage them at a leſs Diſadvantage: whereupon addreſſing himſelf to his Soldiers, who were juſt ready to march out of their Trenches; "Let "us no longer think, ſays he, of marching; now is the "Time for fighting, ſo long wiſhed for; let us there-"fore arm ourſelves with Courage, and not miſs ſo fa-"vourable an Opportunity." This ſaid, he immediately drew out his Forces.

LXXII. POMPEY likewiſe, as was afterwards known, had reſolved to offer Battle, in compliance with the repeated Importunities of his Friends. He even ſaid in a Council of War, held ſome Days before, that *Cæſar*'s Army would be defeated before the Infantry came to engage. And when ſome expreſſed their Surpriſe at this Speech; "I know, ſays he, that what I promiſe ap-"pears

" pears almoſt incredible: but hear the Reaſons on which " I ground my Confidence, that you may advance to " Battle with the greater Aſſurance. I have perſuaded " the Cavalry, and obtained their Promiſe for the Per- " formance, that as ſoon as the Armies are formed, " they ſhall fall upon *Cæſar*'s right Wing, which they " will eaſily be able to out-flank and ſurround. This " muſt infallibly occaſion the immediate Rout of that " Wing, and conſequently of the reſt of *Cæſar*'s Troops, " without Danger or Loſs on our Side. Nor will the " Execution be attended with any Difficulty, as we are " ſo much ſuperior to them in Horſe. Be ready therefore " for Battle; and ſince the ſo much deſired Opportu- " nity of fighting is come, take care not to fall ſhort of " the good Opinion the World entertains of your Va- " lour and Experience." *Labienus* ſpoke next; highly applauding this Scheme of *Pompey*, and expreſſing the greateſt Contempt of *Cæſar*'s Army: " Think not," ſays he, addreſſing himſelf to *Pompey*, " that theſe are " the Legions which conquered *Gaul* and *Germany*. I " was preſent in all thoſe Battles, and can of my own " Knowledge affirm, that but a very ſmall Part of that " Army now remains: great Numbers have been kil- " led, as muſt of neceſſity happen, in ſuch a Variety of " Conflicts: many periſhed during the autumnal Peſti- " lence in *Apulia:* many are returned to their own Ha- " bitations: and not a few were left behind to guard " *Italy*. Have you not heard, that the Cohorts in Gar- " riſon at *Brunduſium* are made up of Invalids? The " Forces which you now behold, are compoſed of new " Levies raiſed in *Lombardy*, and the Colonies beyond " the *Po:* for the Veterans, in whom conſiſted the main " Strength of the Army, periſhed all in the two Defeats " at *Dyrrhachium*." Having finiſhed this Speech, he took an Oath, which he proffered to all that were preſent, never to return to Camp otherwiſe than victorious. *Pompey* commended his Zeal, took the Oath himſelf, and the reſt followed his Example without Heſitation. After theſe Engagements taken publickly in Council, they all departed full of Joy and Expectation; conſidering themſelves as already victorious, and relying entirely on the Ability of their General; who, in an Affair of that Importance, they were confident would promiſe nothing without Aſſurance of Succeſs.

LXXIII. WHEN *Cæsar* approached *Pompey*'s Camp, he found his Army drawn up in this Manner. In the left Wing were the two Legions delivered by *Cæsar* at the Beginning of the Quarrel, in consequence of a Decree of the Senate; one of which was called the First, the other the Third Legion: and here *Pompey* commanded in person. *Scipio* was in the Center, with the Legions he had brought out of *Syria*. The *Cilician* Legion, joined to the *Spanish* Cohorts brought over by *Afranius*, formed the right Wing. These *Pompey* esteemed his best Troops, distributing the less expert between the Wings and the main Body. He had in all an hundred and ten Cohorts, amounting to five-and-forty thousand; besides two Cohorts of Volunteers, who had served under him in former Wars; and who, out of Affection to their old General, though their legal Time was expired, flocked to his Standard on this Occasion, and were dispersed amongst the whole Army. His other seven Cohorts were left to guard the Camp and the adjoining Forts. As the *Enipeus*, a River with very steep Banks, covered his right Wing, he placed all his Horse, Slingers, and Archers in the Left.

LXXIV. CÆSAR observing his ancient Custom, placed the Tenth Legion in the Right, and the Ninth in the left Wing. As this last had been considerably weakened by the several Actions at *Dyrrhachium*, he joined the Eighth to it in such Manner, that they formed as it were but one Legion, and had Orders mutually to relieve each other. His whole Army amounted to fourscore Cohorts, making in all twenty-two thousand Men; besides two Cohorts left to guard the Camp. *Domitius Calvinus* was in the Center, *Mark Antony* on the Left, and *P. Sylla* on the Right. *Cæsar* took his Post opposite to *Pompey*, at the Head of the Tenth Legion. And as he had observed the Disposition of the Enemy contrived to out-flank his right Wing; to obviate that Inconvenience, he made a Draught of six Cohorts from his Rear-line, formed them into a separate Body, and opposed them to *Pompey*'s Horse; instructing them in the Part they were to act; and admonishing them, that the Success of that Day would depend chiefly on their Courage. At the same Time he charged the whole Army, and in particular the third Line, not to advance

vance to Battle without Orders; which, when he ſaw it proper, he would give, by making the uſual Signal.

LXXV. WHEN he was exhorting them to Battle, as military Cuſtom required, and reminding them of the many Favours they had on all Occaſions received at his Hands, he chiefly took care to obſerve; "That they "had themſelves been Witneſſes of his earneſt Endeavours after Peace; that he had employed *Vatinius* to "ſolicit a Conference with *Labienus*, and ſent *A. Clodius* to treat with *Scipio*; that he had preſſed *Libo* in "the warmeſt Manner at *Oricum*, to grant him a Safe-"conduct for his Ambaſſadors: in a Word, that he "had left nothing unattempted to avoid waſting the "Blood of his Soldiers, and to ſpare the Commonwealth "the Loſs of one of her Armies." After this Speech, obſerving his Soldiers ardent for the Fight, he ordered the Trumpets to ſound a Charge. Among the Volunteers in *Cæſar*'s Army was one *Craſtinus*, a Man of diſtinguiſhed Courage, who the Year before had been firſt Centurion of the tenth Legion. This brave Officer, as ſoon as the Signal was given, calling to thoſe next him: "Follow me, ſaid he, you that were formerly under my "Command, and acquit yourſelves of the Duty you "owe to your General. This one Battle more will "crown the Work, by reſtoring him to his proper Dig-"nity, and us to the Enjoyment of our Freedom." At the ſame Time turning to *Cæſar*, "General, ſays he, "this Day you ſhall be ſatisfied with my Behaviour, "and whether I live or die, I will take care to deſerve "your Commendations." So ſaying, he marched up to the Enemy, and began the Attack at the Head of a hundred and twenty Volunteers.

LXXVI. BETWEEN the two Armies there was an Interval ſufficient for the Onſet: but *Pompey* had given his Troops Orders to keep their Ground, that *Cæſar*'s Army might have all that Way to come. This he is ſaid to have done by the Advice of *C. Triarius*, that the Enemy's Ranks might be broken, and themſelves put out of Breath, by having ſo far to run; of which Diſorder he hoped to make an Advantage. He was beſides of Opinion, that our Javelins would have leſs Effect, by the Troops continuing in their Poſt, than if they ſprung

forward at the very Time they were launched; and as the Soldiers would have twice as far to run as uſual, they muſt be weary and breathleſs by that Time they came up with the firſt Line. But herein *Pompey* ſeems to have acted without ſufficient Reaſon; becauſe there is a certain Alacrity and Ardor of Mind, naturally planted in every Man, which is inflamed by the Deſire of fighting; and which an able General, far from endeavouring to repreſs, will by all the Methods he can deviſe, foment and cheriſh. Nor was it a vain Inſtitution of our Anceſtors, that the Trumpets ſhould ſound on every Side, and the whole Army raiſe a Shout, in order to animate the Courage of their own Men, and ſtrike Terror into the Enemy. *Cæſar*'s Soldiers entirely defeated *Pompey*'s Hopes by their good Diſcipline and Experience. For perceiving the Enemy did not ſtir, they halted of their own Accord in the Midſt of their Career; and having taken a Moment's Breath, put themſelves a ſecond Time in Motion, marched up in good Order, flung their Javelins, and then betook themſelves to their Swords. Nor did *Pompey*'s Men act with leſs Preſence of Mind: for they ſuſtained our Attack, kept their Ranks, bore the Diſcharge of our Darts; and having launched their own, immediately had recourſe to their Swords. At this Inſtant *Pompey*'s Horſe, accompanied by the Archers and Slingers, attacked *Cæſar*'s; and having compelled them to give Ground, began to extend themſelves to the Left, in order to flank the Infantry. Whereupon *Cæſar* gave the appointed Signal to the ſix Cohorts, who fell on the Enemy's Horſe with ſuch Fury, that they not only drove them from the Field of Battle, but even compelled them to ſeek Refuge in the higheſt Mountains. The Archers and Slingers, deprived of their Protection, were ſoon after cut to Pieces. Mean-while the ſix Cohorts, not content with this Succeſs, wheeled round upon the Enemy's left Wing, and began to charge it in the Rear: whereupon *Cæſar*, perceiving the Victory ſo far advanced, to complete it, brought up his third Line, which till then had not engaged. *Pompey*'s Infantry being thus doubly attacked in Front by freſh Troops, and in Rear by the victorious Cohorts, could no longer reſiſt, but fled to their Camp. Nor was *Cæſar* miſtaken in his Conjecture, when in exhorting his Men, he declared that Victory would depend chiefly on the ſix Co-

horts, which formed the Body of Reſerve, and were ſtationed to oppoſe the Enemy's Horſe: for by them were their Cavalry defeated, their Archers and Slingers cut to pieces, and their left Wing ſurrounded and forced to fly.

LXXVII. POMPEY ſeeing his Cavalry routed, and that Part of the Army on which he chiefly depended put into Diſorder, deſpaired of being able to reſtore the Battle, and quitted the Field. Repairing immediately to his Camp, he ſaid aloud to the Centurions who guarded the Prætorian Gate, ſo as all the Soldiers might hear him: "Take care of the Camp, and defend it vigorouſly in "caſe of an Attack. I go to viſit the other Gates, and "give Orders for their Defence." This ſaid, he retired to his Tent, deſpairing of Succeſs, yet waiting the Event. *Cæſar* having forced the *Pompeians* to ſeek refuge in their Camp, and not willing to allow them Time to recover from their Conſternation, exhorted his Troops to make the beſt of their preſent Victory, and vigorouſly attack the Enemy's Entrenchments. Though the Battle had laſted till Noon, the Weather being extremely hot; yet prepared to encounter all Difficulties, they cheerfully complied with his Orders. The Camp was bravely defended for ſome Time by the Cohorts left to guard it; and particularly by a great Number of *Thracians*, and other Barbarians, who made a very ſtout Reſiſtance: for as to ſuch Troops as had there ſought Refuge from the Field of Battle, they were in too great a Conſternation to think of any Thing more than a ſafe Retreat. It was not however poſſible for the Troops poſted on the Rampart, long to ſtand the Multitude of Darts continually poured upon them; which in the End obliged them to retire covered with Wounds, and under the Conduct of their Tribunes and Centurions, ſeek Shelter in the Mountains adjoining to the Camp.

LXXVIII. ON entering *Pompey*'s Camp, we found Tables ready covered, Side-boards loaded with Plate, and Tents adorned with Branches of Myrtle; that of *L. Lentulus*, with ſome others, was ſhaded with Ivy. Every Thing gave Proofs of the higheſt Luxury, and an aſſured Expectation of Victory; whence it was eaſy to ſee, that they little dreamt of the Iſſue of that Day, ſince

intent only on voluptuous Refinements, they pretended, with Troops immerſed in Luxury, to oppoſe *Cæſar*'s Army, accuſtomed to Fatigue, and inured to the Want of Neceſſaries.

LXXIX. POMPEY finding our Men had forced his Intrenchments, mounted his Horſe, quitted his Armour for a Habit more ſuitable to his ill Fortune, and withdrawing by the *Decuman* Port, rode full ſpeed to *Lariſſa*. Nor did he ſtop there; but continuing his Flight Day and Night without Intermiſſion, he arrived at the Seaſide with thirty Horſe, and went on board a little Bark; often complaining, "That he had been ſo far deceived "in his Opinion of his Followers, as to ſee thoſe very "Men from whom he expected Victory, the firſt to fly, "and in a Manner betray him into the Hands of his "Enemies."

LXXX. CÆSAR having maſtered the Enemy's Camp, requeſted his Soldiers not to leave the Victory imperfect, by buſying themſelves about the Plunder. Finding them ready to obey, he began a Line of Circumvallation round the Mountain. The *Pompeians* quickly abandoned a Poſt, which, for Want of Water, was not tenable, and endeavoured to reach the City of *Lariſſa*: whereupon *Cæſar*, dividing his Army, left one Part in *Pompey*'s Camp, ſent back another to his own Camp, and having with four Legions taken a nearer Road than that by which the Enemy paſſed, he found Means to intercept them, and after ſix Miles March drew up in Order of Battle. But the *Pompeians* once more found Protection from a Mountain, at the Foot of which ran a Rivulet. Though *Cæſar*'s Troops were greatly fatigued by fighting the whole Day, before Night he had flung up ſome Works, ſufficient to prevent the Enemy from having any Communication with the Rivulet. As by this Step they were cut off from all Hopes of Relief, or of eſcaping, they ſent Deputies to treat about a Surrender. Affairs continued in this Situation all that Night, of which ſome few Senators, who had accompanied them, took the Advantage to make their Eſcape. At Break of Day they all, by *Cæſar*'s Order, came down into the Plain, and delivered up their Arms; humbly imploring his Goodneſs, and ſuing for Mercy. *Cæſar* ſpoke

ſpoke to them with great Mildneſs, and to alleviate their Apprehenſions, cited various Inſtances of his Clemency, which he had on ſo many Occaſions made evident. In fact, he gave them their Lives, and forbid his Soldiers to offer them any Violence, or to take any Thing from them. He then ſent for the Legions which had paſſed the Night in Camp, to relieve thoſe that had accompanied him in the Purſuit; and being determined to follow *Pompey*, began his March, and arrived the ſame Day at *Lariſſa*.

LXXXI. THIS Battle coſt *Cæſar* no more than two hundred Soldiers: but he loſt thirty Centurions, Men of ſingular Courage. Among theſe latter was *Craſtinus*, whoſe Gallantry and Intrepidity, in marching up to Battle, has been taken notice of. This brave Officer, fighting regardleſs of Danger, received a Wound in the Mouth from a Sword. Nor was he deceived in promiſing himſelf *Cæſar*'s Approbation, who was thoroughly ſenſible of his Merit, and greatly applauded his Behaviour in this Action. On *Pompey*'s Side there fell about fifteen Thouſand: but upwards of four-and-twenty thouſand were taken Priſoners: for the Cohorts that guarded the Forts ſurrendered to *Sylla*; though many eſcaped into the adjacent Countries. One hundred and eighty Colours were taken, and nine Eagles. *L. Domitius* flying towards the Mountains, and growing faint through the Fatigue, was overtaken and killed by ſome Horſemen.

LXXXII. ABOUT this Time *D. Lælius* arrived with his Fleet at *Brunduſium*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Iſland over-againſt the Harbour, as *Libo* had done before. *Vatinius*, who commanded in the Place, having equipped ſeveral Boats, endeavoured to entice ſome of *Lælius*'s Ships within the Haven, and took a five-benched Galley, with two ſmaller Veſſels, that had ventured too far into the Port: then diſpoſing his Cavalry along the Shore, he prevented the Enemy from getting freſh Water. But *Lælius* having choſen a more convenient Seaſon of the Year for ſailing, brought Water in Tranſports from *Corcyra* and *Dyrrhachium*; ſtill keeping to his Purpoſe; from which neither the Diſgrace of loſing his Ships, nor the Want of Neceſſaries could

could divert him, till he received Intelligence of the Battle of *Pharſalia*.

LXXXIII. MUCH about the ſame Time *Caſſius* arrived in *Sicily*, with the *Syrian*, *Phœnician*, and *Cilician* Fleets. And as *Cæſar*'s Fleet was divided into two Parts, in one of which *P. Sulpicius* the Prætor commanded at *Vibo* in the Straits; in the other *M. Pomponius* at *Meſſana*: *Caſſius* was arrived at *Meſſana* with his Fleet before *Pomponius* had Notice of his coming. And finding him unprepared, without Guards, Order, or Diſcipline, he took the Opportunity of a favourable Wind, and ſent ſeveral Fire-ſhips againſt him, which conſumed his whole Fleet, thirty-five in Number, twenty of which were decked. The Terror occaſioned by this Blow was ſo great, that though there was an entire Legion in Garriſon at *Meſſana*, they durſt ſcarce look the Enemy in the Face; and would doubtleſs have delivered up the Town, had not the News of *Cæſar*'s Victory reached them, by Means of the Cavalry ſtationed along the Coaſt. *Caſſius* then ſailed for *Sulpicius*'s Fleet at *Vibo*; which finding at Anchor, near the Shore, by reaſon the Conſternation was become general over the whole Iſland; he put the ſame Stratagem in practice as before. For taking the Advantage of a favourable Wind, he made forty Fire-ſhips advance againſt them, and the Flame catching hold on both Sides, quickly reduced five Gallies to Aſhes. The Conflagration continuing to ſpread, roufed the Indignation of ſome veteran Soldiers, who had been left to guard the Ships. Accordingly they went on board, weighed Anchor, and attacking the Enemy, took two Quinqueremes, in one of which was *Caſſius* himſelf; but he eſcaped in a Boat. Two three-benched Gallies were ſunk: and ſoon after he was informed of the Defeat at *Pharſalia*, by ſome of *Pompey*'s own Followers; for hitherto he had regarded it as a falſe Report, ſpread abroad by *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants and Friends. Upon this Intelligence he quitted *Sicily*, and retired with his Fleet.

LXXXIV. CÆSAR laying all other Thoughts aſide; determined to purſue *Pompey*, whitherſoever he ſhould retire, to prevent his drawing together freſh Forces, and renewing the War. He marched every Day as

as far as the Body of Cavalry he had with him could hold out, and was followed by ſhorter Marches by a ſingle Legion. *Pompey* had iſſued a Proclamation at *Amphipolis*, enjoining all the Youth of the Province, whether *Greeks* or *Romans*, to join him in Arms. But whether this was with Intent to conceal his real Deſign of retreating much farther, or to try to maintain his Ground in *Macedonia*, if no body purſued him, is hard to determine. Here he lay one Night at Anchor, ſending to what Friends he had in the Town, and raiſing all the Money he poſſibly could. But being informed of *Cæſar*'s Approach, he departed with all Expedition, and came in a few Days to *Mitylene*. Here he was detained two Days by the Badneſs of the Weather; and having increaſed his Fleet with a few Gallies, ſailed to *Cilicia*, and thence to *Cyprus*. There he was informed, that the *Antiochians*, and *Roman* Citizens trading thither, had with joint Conſent ſeized the Caſtle, and ſent Deputies to ſuch of his Followers as had taken refuge in the neighbouring States, not to come near *Antioch* at their Peril. The ſame had happened at *Rhodes* to *L. Lentulus* the Conſul of the foregoing Year, to *P. Lentulus* a conſular Senator, and to ſome other Perſons of Diſtinction; who following *Pompey* in his Flight, and arriving at that Iſland, were refuſed Admittance into the Town and Harbour, and received an Order to withdraw immediately, which they were neceſſitated to comply with; for the Fame of *Cæſar*'s Approach had now reached the neighbouring States.

LXXXV. UPON this Intelligence *Pompey* laid aſide his Deſign of going into *Syria*, ſeized all the Money he found in the publick Bank, borrowed as much more as he could of his Friends, ſent great Quantities of Braſs on board for military Uſes: and having raiſed two thouſand Soldiers, amongſt the publick Officers, Merchants, and his own Servants, ſailed for *Peluſium*. Here, by accident, was King *Ptolemy*, a Minor, warring with a great Army againſt his Siſter *Cleopatra*; whom, ſome Months before, by the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, he had expelled the Kingdom, and was then encamped not far diſtant from her. *Pompey* ſent to demand his Protection, and a ſafe Retreat in *Alexandria*, in conſideration of the Friendſhip that had ſubſiſted between him and his Father.

ther. The Meſſengers, after diſcharging their Commiſſion, began to converſe freely with the King's Troops, exhorting them to aſſiſt *Pompey*, and not deſpiſe him in his adverſe Fortune. Among theſe Troops were many of *Pompey*'s old Soldiers, whom *Gabinius* having draughted out of the *Syrian* Army, had carried to *Alexandria*, and upon the Concluſion of the War, left there with the young King's Father. The King's Miniſters, who had the Care of the Government during his Minority, being informed of this: either out of Fear, as they afterwards pretended, leſt *Pompey* ſhould debauch the Army, and thereby render himſelf Maſter of *Alexandria* and *Egypt*; or deſpiſing his low Condition, (as Friends in bad Fortune, often turn Enemies,) ſpoke favourably to the Deputies in publick, and invited *Pompey* to Court; but privately diſpatched *Achillas*, Captain of the King's Guards, a Man of ſingular Boldneſs, and *L. Septimius*, a military Tribune, with Orders to murder him. They accoſted him with an Air of Frankneſs, eſpecially *Septimius*, who had ſerved under him as a Centurion in the War with the Pirates; and inviting him into the Boat, treacherouſly ſlew him. *L. Lentulus* was likewiſe ſeized by the King's Command, and put to death in Priſon.

LXXXVI. WHEN *Cæſar* arrived in *Aſia*, he found that *T. Ampius*, having formed the Deſign of ſeizing the Treaſures of the *Epheſian Diana*, and ſummoned all the Senators in the Province to bear witneſs to the Sum taken, had quitted that Project upon *Cæſar*'s Approach, and betaken himſelf to Flight. Thus was the Temple of *Epheſus* a ſecond Time ſaved from Plunder by *Cæſar*. It was remarked in the Temple of *Minerva* at *Elis*, that the very Day *Cæſar* gained the Battle of *Pharſalia*, the Image of Victory, which before ſtood fronting the Statue of the Goddeſs, turned towards the Portal of the Temple. The ſame Day, at *Antioch* in *Syria*, ſuch a Noiſe of fighting and Trumpets was heard two ſeveral Times, that the Inhabitants ran to Arms, and manned their Walls. The like happened at *Ptolemais*. At *Pergamus*, in the inner Receſſes of the Temple, called by the *Greeks Adyta*, where none but Prieſts are allowed to enter, the Sound of Cymbals was heard. And in the Temple of Victory at *Trallis*, where a Statue was conſecrated

ſecrated to *Cæſar*, a Palm ſprouted between the joining of the Stones that arched the Roof.

LXXXVII. CÆSAR, after a ſhort Stay in *Aſia*, hearing that *Pompey* had been ſeen at *Cyprus*, and thence conjecturing that he was gone for *Egypt*, becauſe of the Intereſt he had in that Kingdom, and the Advantages it would afford him; left *Rhodes*, with a Convoy of ten *Rhodian* Gallies, and a few others from *Aſia*, having on board two Legions, one of which he had ordered to follow him from *Theſſaly*, the other detached from *Fufius's* Army in *Achaia*, and eight hundred Horſe. In theſe Legions were no more than three thouſand two hundred Men: The reſt, fatigued with the Length of the March, or weakened with Wounds, had not been able to follow him. But *Cæſar* depending on the Reputation of his former Exploits, ſcrupled not to truſt the Safety of his Perſon to a feeble Eſcort, believing no Place would dare to attempt any Thing againſt him. At *Alexandria* he was informed of *Pompey*'s Death: And upon landing, was accoſted in a clamorous Manner by the Soldiers, whom *Ptolemy* had left to garriſon the City: And he obſerved that the Mob appeared diſſatisfied to ſee the Faſces carried before him, which they interpreted a Degradation of the Sovereign Authority. Though this Tumult was appeaſed, yet each Day produced ſome freſh Diſturbance, and many of the *Roman* Soldiers were murdered in all Parts of the City.

LXXXVIII. FOR theſe Reaſons he ſent into *Aſia* for ſome of the Legions which he had raiſed out of the Remains of *Pompey*'s Army; being himſelf neceſſarily detained by the *Eteſian* Winds, which are directly contrary to any Paſſage by Sea from *Alexandria*. Meantime conſidering the Difference between *Ptolemy* and his Siſter, as ſubject to the Cogniſance of the *Roman* People, and of him as Conſul; and the rather, becauſe the Alliance with *Ptolemy* the Father had been contracted during his former Conſulſhip; he gave the King and *Cleopatra* to underſtand, that it was his Pleaſure they ſhould diſmiſs their Troops, and inſtead of having recourſe to Arms, come and plead their Cauſe before him.

LXXXIX. Po-

LXXXIX. POTHINUS the Eunuch, Governor to the young King, had the chief Management of Affairs during his Minority. This Miniſter complained bitterly to his Friends, that the King ſhould be ſummoned to plead his Cauſe before *Cæſar*: Afterwards finding among thoſe that ſided with the King, ſome who were diſpoſed to enter into his Views, he privately ſent for the Army from *Peluſium* to *Alexandria*, and conferred the chief Command upon *Achillas*, the ſame we have ſpoken of before; inciting him by Letters and Promiſes, both in the King's Name and his own, to execute ſuch Orders as he ſhould receive from him. *Ptolemy* the Father, by his Will, had appointed the eldeſt of his two Sons, and his elder Daughter, joint Heirs of the Kingdom. For the more certain Accompliſhment of his Deſign, he in the ſame Will implored the Protection of the *Roman* People; adjuring them by all the Gods, and the Treaties he had made at *Rome*, to ſee it put in Execution. A Copy of this Will was ſent by Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to be depoſited in the publick Treaſury; but the domeſtic Troubles preventing it, it was left in the Hands of *Pompey*. The Original, ſigned and ſealed, was kept at *Alexandria*.

XC. WHILE this Affair was debated before *Cæſar*, who paſſionately deſired to terminate the Matter amicably, and to the Satisfaction of both Parties; he was informed that the King's Army, with all the Cavalry, were arrived at *Alexandria*. *Cæſar*'s Forces were by no means ſufficient to give Battle without the Town; and therefore the only Courſe left was, to ſecure the moſt convenient Poſts within the City, till he ſhould get acquainted with *Achillas*'s Deſigns. Mean-time he ordered all the Soldiers to their Arms, and admoniſhed the King, to ſend ſome Perſons of the greateſt Authority to *Achillas*, to forbid his Approach. *Diſcorides* and *Serapion*, who had both been Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, and in great Credit with *Ptolemy* the Father, were deputed to this Office. But no ſooner did they come before *Achillas*, than without giving them a Hearing, or enquiring after the Meſſage they brought, he ordered them to be ſeized and put to death. One was killed upon the Spot; and the other having received a dangerous Wound, was carried off for dead by his Attendants. Upon hearing this,

Cæſar

Cæſar took care to ſecure the King's Perſon, the Authority of whoſe Name would authorize his Proceedings, and occaſion *Achillas* and his Aſſociates to be eſteemed ſeditious and rebellious.

XCI. ACHILLAS's Army was far from being contemptible, whether we regard their Number, Courage, or Experience in War. It amounted to twenty thouſand effective Men, many of whom were originally *Romans*, brought into the Country by *Gabinius*, when he came to ſettle *Auletes* on the Throne; and who having afterwards married and ſettled in *Alexandria*, were devoted to the *Ptolemean* Intereſt. There were alſo ſome Brigades raiſed in *Syria* and *Cilicia*, together with a conſiderable Number of renegade Slaves, who had deſerted their Maſters, and found Protection in *Egypt*, by entering into the Service. If any of theſe was ſeized by his Maſter, their Companions flocked to his Reſcue, regarding his Safety as a common Cauſe, becauſe they were all embarked in the like Guilt. Theſe would often take upon them to put to death the King's Miniſters, to plunder the Rich, for the ſake of increaſing their Pay, to inveſt the royal Palace, to baniſh ſome, and ſend for others home, with other Liberties of the like Nature, which the *Alexandrian* Army claims by a Kind of Preſcription. Beſides theſe, he had likewiſe two thouſand Horſe, who, during the late Troubles, and the Wars that enſued, had had Opportunities of inuring themſelves to Arms. Theſe had reſtored *Ptolemy* the Father to his Kingdom, killed *Bibulus*'s two Sons, warred againſt the *Egyptians* with Succeſs, and acquired a thorough Experience in military Affairs.

XCII. ACHILLAS truſting to the Valour of his Troops, and deſpiſing the Handful of Men that followed *Cæſar*, quickly made himſelf Maſter of *Alexandria*, the Palace only excepted, where *Cæſar* thought proper to make his Stand, and which he attacked briſkly, though without Effect. But it was on the Side of the Harbour that the greateſt Efforts were made. On that, in Effect, the Victory depended. Beſides two-and-twenty conſtant Guardſhips, there were in the Port fifty Gallies, from three to five Banks of Oars, which the Year before had been

been ſent to *Pompey*'s Aſſiſtance, and were returned ſince the Battle of *Pharſalia*. Had *Achillas* been once Maſter of theſe Veſſels, he might have cut *Cæſar* off from all Communication with the Ocean, and conſequently from all Hopes of receiving Supplies of Victuals or Forces. Thus the *Egyptians* in hopes of a complete Victory, and the *Romans* to avoid a certain Ruin, exerted themſelves with incredible Vigour. At length *Cæſar* carried his Point, and not only ſet fire to the Veſſels above-mentioned, but to all that were in the Arſenals; after which he paſſed ſome Troops into the Iſle of *Pharos*.

XCIII. THE *Pharos* is a Tower of prodigious Height, and wonderful Workmanſhip, built in an Iſland from whence it takes its Name. This Iſland lying over-againſt *Alexandria*, makes a Haven; and is joined to the Continent by a Cauſeway of nine hundred Paces, and by a Bridge. Here dwell ſeveral *Egyptians*, who have built a Town, and live by pillaging the Ships that are thrown upon their Coaſt, either by Miſtake or Tempeſt. As it is ſituate at the Entrance of the Port, which is but narrow, it abſolutely commands it. *Cæſar* knowing the Importance of this Poſt, whilſt the Enemy were engaged in the Aſſault, landed ſome Troops there, ſeized the Tower, and put a Garriſon into it; thereby ſecuring a ſafe Reception for the Supplies he had ſent for on all Sides. In the other Quarters of the Town, the Fight was maintained with equal Advantage, neither Party loſing Ground, becauſe of the Narrowneſs of the Paſſes, which enabled them eaſily to ſupport themſelves. After a few Men killed on both Sides, *Cæſar* having ſecured the moſt neceſſary Places, fortified them in the Night. In this Quarter was a ſmall Part of the King's Palace, where *Cæſar* was lodged upon his firſt Arrival; and adjoining thereto a Theatre, that ſerved inſtead of a Citadel, and had a Communication with the Port and other Arſenals. Theſe Works he increaſed afterwards, that they might ſerve inſtead of a Rampart, to prevent his being obliged to fight againſt his Will. Mean-time *Ptolemy*'s youngeſt Daughter, hoping the Throne would be vacant, fled from the Palace to *Achillas*, and joined with him in the Proſecution of the War. But they ſoon diſagreed about the Command, which increaſed the Large-

geſſes to the Soldiers, each Party endeavouring to gain them by large Preſents. During theſe Tranſactions, *Pothinus*, *Ptolemy*'s Governor, and Regent of the Kingdom, being diſcovered in a clandeſtine Correſpondence with *Achillas*, whom he encouraged to the vigorous Proſecution of his Enterpriſe, *Cæſar* ordered him to be put to death. Such was the Commencement of the *Alexandrian* War.

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A. HIRTIUS PANSA's

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

ALEXANDRIAN WAR.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. Cæſar *prepares for War.* II. *As likewiſe the* Alexandrians. III. Arſinoe, Ptolemy's *Daughter, poſſeſſes herſelf of the ſupreme Authority.* IV. *Scheme of the* Alexandrians *to deprive the* Romans *of Water.* V. Cæſar's *Speech to his Soldiers. They fall to digging of Wells, and thereby find Water.* VI. Cæſar *having brought his Tranſports to* Alexandria, *has the Advantage in ſeveral naval Encounters.* XIII. *And afterwards makes himſelf Maſter of ſome Forts that commanded the Port.* XIV. *But attempting ſome others, is repulſed and narrowly eſcapes by ſwimming.* XV. *Which Loſs ſerves only the more to animate his Soldiers.* XVI. Cæſar, *at the Requeſt of the* Alexandrians, *ſends them their King,* Ptolemy, *who immediately becomes his Enemy.* XVII. Cæſar's *Fleet has the Diſadvantage in an Engagement.* XVIII. Mithridates, Cæſar's *Friend, having made himſelf Maſter of* Peluſium, *advances towards* Alexandria *at the Head of a great Body of Troops.* XIX. *The King's Forces, endeavouring*

to oppoſe him, are repulſed with Loſs. XX. Cæſar *marching to the Aſſiſtance of* Mithridates, *and* Ptolemy *at the ſame Time to reinforce his Troops, they come to a Battle, with all their Forces, in which the King is entirely defeated.* XXII. Cæſar *ſtorms the Enemy's Camp; and the King himſelf endeavouring to make his Eſcape, is drowned.* XXIII. Cæſar *admitting the* Alexandrians *to a Surrender, reſtores Tranquillity to* Egypt. XXIV. *And ſettles the Kingdom upon* Cleopatra *and her Brother.* XXV. *Mean-time* Domitius Calvinus, *one of* Cæſar's *Generals, loſes a Battle againſt* Pharnaces *in* Armenia *the Leſſer.* XXXII. *At the ſame Time* Gabinius *receives a conſiderable Check in* Illyricum, *which had been gallantly defended by* Q. Cornificius. XXXIV. *But this Loſs is afterwards repaired by the Bravery of* Vatinius, *who recovers* Illyricum *to the Obedience of* Cæſar. XXXVIII. *About the ſame Time Commotions ariſe in* Spain, *occaſioned by the Extortions of* Caſſius Longinus. XLII. Caſſius *is wounded by the Conſpirators.* XLIII. *After which he behaves ſtill more tyrannically.* XLIV. *Whence new Diſturbances ariſe.* L. *Which are appeaſed at laſt, by the Arrival of* Lepidus, *and the Death of* Caſſius. LII. Cæſar *reſtores his Affairs in* Syria. LIII. *As likewiſe in* Cilicia *and* Cappadocia. LIV. *And in* Gallogræcia. LV. *He afterwards treats of Peace with* Pharnaces *in* Pontus. LVI. *And finding him not faithful to his Engagements, reſolves to make War upon him.* LIX. Pharnaces *raſhly hazarding a Battle, is totally routed, and his Army cut to pieces.* LXII. Pontus *being thus ſpeedily recovered, and Tranquillity reſtored to all the* Aſiatick *Provinces,* Cæſar *returns to* Italy.

A. HIRTIUS PANSA's

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

ALEXANDRIAN WAR.

I. THE War thus commencing at *Alexandria*, *Cæſar* ſent to *Rhodes*, *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, for his Fleet; to *Crete*, for Archers; and to *Malchus*, King of the *Nabatheans*, for Cavalry. He likewiſe ordered military Engines to be provided, Corn to be brought, and Forces diſpatched to him with all Diligence. Mean-while he was daily employed in augmenting his Works; and ſuch Parts of the Town as appeared leſs tenable, were ſtrengthened with Tortoiſes and Mantelets. Openings were made in the Walls, through which the Battering-rams might play; and whatever Houſes were thrown down, or taken by Force, were brought within the Intrenchments. For *Alexandria* is in a Manner ſecure from Fire, becauſe the Inhabitants uſe no Wood in their Buildings, the Houſes being all vaulted, and roofed with Tile or Pavement. *Cæſar*'s principal Aim was, to incloſe with Works the ſmalleſt Part of the Town, ſeparated from the reſt by a Moraſs towards the South. For thus the Army would lie cloſer together, be ſubject to one Command, and could readily diſpatch Relief where it was moſt wanted. Above all, he by this means made ſure of Water and Forage; which was of ſo much the more Conſequence, as he was but ill provided with the one, and wholly deſtitute of the other. The Moraſs, on the contrary, ſerved abundantly to ſupply him with both.

II. NOR were the *Alexandrians* remiſs on their Side, or leſs active in the Conduct of their Affairs. They had ſent Deputies and Commiſſioners into all Parts, where the Power and Territories of *Egypt* extend, with Orders to levy Troops. They had carried vaſt Quantities of Darts and Engines into the Town, and drawn together an innumerable Multitude of Soldiers. Yet not contented with all theſe Preparations, they eſtabliſhed Work-ſhops in every Part of the City, for the making of Arms; and inliſted all the Slaves that were of age, the richer Citizens paying and maintaining them. With theſe they guarded the remoter Parts of the Town; while the veteran Cohorts, exempt from all other Service, were quartered in the Squares and open Places; that on whatever Side an Attack ſhould be made, they might be at hand to give Relief, and march freſh and entire to the Charge. All the Avenues and Paſſes were ſhut up by a triple Wall, built of ſquare Stones, and carried to the Height of forty Feet. The lower Parts of the Town were defended by very high Towers of ten Stories: Beſides which, they had likewiſe contrived a Kind of moving Towers, which conſiſted of the ſame Number of Stories, and being fitted with Ropes and Wheels, could, by Means of Horſes, as the Streets of *Alexandria* were quite even and level, be conveyed wherever their Service was neceſſary. The City abounding in every Thing, and being very rich, furniſhed ample Materials for theſe ſeveral Works; and as the People were extremely ingenious, and quick of Apprehenſion, they ſo well copied what they ſaw done by us, that our Men ſeemed rather to imitate them. They even invented many Things themſelves, and at once inveſted our Works, and defended their own. Their Chiefs every where repreſented: "That the People of "*Rome* were endeavouring by Degrees to ſteal into the "Poſſeſſion of *Egypt*: That a few Years before *Gabi*-"*nius* had come thither with an Army: That *Pompey* "had choſen it for the Place of his Retreat: That *Cæſar* "was now among them with a conſiderable Body of "Troops, and notwithſtanding his Rival's Death, "made no Offers to return: That if they did not there-"fore find Means to expel him, they would ſoon from "a Kingdom be reduced to a *Roman* Province: That "no Time was to be loſt in this Attempt; becauſe the "Seaſon

" Seaſon of the Year having put a ſtop to Navigation, " he could receive no Supplies from beyond Sea."

III. MEAN-WHILE a Diviſion ariſing between *Achillas*, who commanded the veteran Army, and *Arſinoe*, the youngeſt Daughter of King *Ptolemy*, as has been demonſtrated above: While they mutually endeavoured to ſupplant one another, each ſtriving to ingroſs the ſupreme Authority; *Arſinoe*, by the Aſſiſtance of the Eunuch *Ganymed*, her Governor, at length prevailed, and cauſed *Achillas* to be ſlain. After his Death, being poſſeſſed of the whole Power without a Rival, ſhe raiſed *Ganymed* to the Command of the Army; who, on his Entrance into that high Office, augmented the Allowance of the Troops, and with equal Diligence diſcharged all other Parts of his Duty.

IV. ALEXANDRIA is almoſt quite hollow underneath, occaſioned by the many Aqueducts to the *Nile*, that furniſh private Houſes with Water; where being received in Ciſterns, it ſettles by Degrees, and becomes perfectly clear. This is preſerved for the Uſe of the Maſter and his Family: For the Water of the *Nile* being extremely thick and muddy, is apt to breed many Diſtempers. The common People, however, are forced to be contented with it, becauſe there is not a ſingle Spring in the whole City. The River was in that Part of the Town where the *Alexandrians* were Maſters. Hence *Ganymed* conceived, that a Way might be found to deprive the *Romans* of Water; becauſe being diſtributed into ſeveral Streets, for the more eaſy Defence of the Works, they made uſe of that which was preſerved in the Ciſterns of private Houſes. With this View he began a great and difficult Work: For having ſtopt up all the Canals by which his own Ciſterns were ſupplied, he drew vaſt Quantities of Water out of the Sea, by the Help of Wheels and other Engines, pouring it continually into the Canals of *Cæſar*'s Quarter. The Ciſterns in the neareſt Houſes ſoon began to taſte falter than ordinary, and occaſioned great Wonder among the Men, who could not think from what Cauſe it proceeded. They were even ready to diſbelieve their Senſes, when thoſe who were quartered a little lower in the Town aſſured them, that they found the Water the ſame as before. This put

them upon comparing the Cifterns one with another, and by Trial they eaſily perceived the Difference. But in a little Time the Water in the neareſt Houſes became quite unfit for Uſe, and that lower down grew daily more tainted and brackiſh; upon which ſuch a Terror enſued among the Troops, that they fancied themſelves reduced to the laſt Extremity. Some complained of *Cæſar*'s Delay, and that he did not order them immediately to repair to their Ships. Others dreaded a yet greater Misfortune, as it would be impoſſible to conceal their Deſign of retreating from the *Alexandrians*, who were ſo near them; and no leſs ſo to embark in the Face of a vigorous and purſuing Enemy. There were beſides a great Number of the Townſmen in *Cæſar*'s Quarter, whom he had not thought proper to force from their Houſes, becauſe they openly pretended to be in his Intereſt, and to have quitted the Party of their Fellow-citizens. But to offer here at a Defence either of the Sincerity or Conduct of theſe *Alexandrians*, would be only Labour in vain; ſince all who know the Genius and Temper of the People muſt be ſatisfied, that they are the fitteſt Inſtruments in the World for Treaſon.

V. CÆSAR laboured to remove his Soldiers Fears, by encouraging and reaſoning the Caſe with them. "They might eaſily," he told them, "find Water, by "digging Wells, as all Sea-coaſts naturally abounded "with freſh Springs: that if *Ægypt* was ſingular in "this Reſpect, and differed from every other Soil; yet "ſtill as the Sea was open, and the Enemy without a "Fleet, there was nothing to hinder their fetching it at "Pleaſure in their Ships, either from *Parætonium* on "the left, or *Pharos* on the right; which two Places "lying different Ways, the Wind could never exclude "them from both at the ſame Time: that a Retreat "was on no Account to be thought of, not only by thoſe "who had a Concern for their Honour, but even by "ſuch as regarded nothing but Life: that it was with "the utmoſt Difficulty they could defend themſelves "behind their Works; but if they once quitted that "Advantage, neither in Number nor Situation would "they be a Match for the Enemy: that to embark "would require much Time and be attended with "great Danger, eſpecially where it muſt be managed

"by

" by little Boats: that the *Alexandrians* on the contrary " were nimble and active, and thoroughly acquainted " with the Streets and Buildings: that flushed with " so manifest an Advantage, they would not fail to " run before, seize all the advantageous Posts, possess " themselves of the Tops of the Houses, and by annoy- " ing them in their Retreat, effectually prevent their " getting on board: that they might therefore think no " more of retiring, but place all their Hopes of Safety " in Victory." Having by this Speech re-assured his Men, he ordered the Centurions to lay aside all other Cares, and apply themselves Day and Night to the digging of Wells. The Work once begun, they pushed it on so vigorously, that the very first Night Abundance of fresh Water was found. Thus with little Labour on our Side, the mighty Projects and painful Attempts of the *Alexandrians* were entirely frustrated.

VI. DURING these Transactions, the thirty-seventh Legion, composed of *Pompey*'s Veterans that had surrendered to *Cæsar*, embarking by Order of *Domitius Calvinus*, with Arms, Darts, Provisions, and military Engines, arrived upon the Coast of *Africa*, a little above *Alexandria*. An easterly Wind, which continued to blow for several Days together, hindered their being able to gain the Port; but all along that Coast, it is very safe riding at Anchor. Being detained, however, longer than they expected, and pressed with want of Water, they gave Notice of it to *Cæsar* by a dispatch Sloop. *Cæsar*, that he might himself be able to determine what was best to be done, went on board one of the Ships in the Harbour, and ordered the whole Fleet to follow. He took none of the Land Forces with him, because he was unwilling to leave the Works unguarded during his Absence. Being arrived at that Part of the Coast known by the Name of *Cherronesus*, he sent some Mariners on Shore to fetch Water. Part of these venturing too far into the Country for the Sake of Plunder, were intercepted by the Enemy's Horse. From them the *Ægyptians* learnt, that *Cæsar* himself was on board, without any Soldiers. Upon this Information, they thought Fortune had thrown a fair Occasion in their Way, of attempting something with Success. They therefore manned all the Ships that were in Condition

to ſail, and met *Cæſar* on his Return. He declined fighting that Day for two Reaſons; becauſe he had no Soldiers on board; and it was paſt four in the Afternoon. The Night, he was ſenſible, muſt be highly advantageous to his Enemies, who were perfectly well acquainted with the Coaſt: and he would himſelf be deprived of the Benefit of encouraging his Men; which could not be done with any Effect in the dark, where Courage and Cowardice muſt remain equally unknown. He therefore drew all his Ships towards the Shore, where he imagined the Enemy would not venture to follow him.

VII. THERE was one *Rhodian* Galley in *Cæſar*'s right Wing, conſiderably diſtant from the reſt. This being obſerved by the Enemy, they came forward with four decked Ships, and ſeveral open Barks, to attack her. *Cæſar* was obliged to advance to her Relief, that he might not ſuffer the Diſgrace of ſeeing one of his Gallies ſunk before his Eyes; though, had he left her to periſh, ſhe ſeemed to deſerve it for her Raſhneſs. The Attack was ſuſtained with great Courage by the *Rhodians*; who, though at all Times diſtinguiſhed by their Valour and Experience in Engagements at Sea, yet exerted themſelves in a particular Manner on this Occaſion, that they might not draw upon themſelves the Charge of having occaſioned a Misfortune to the Fleet. Accordingly they obtained a complete Victory; took one four-benched Galley; ſunk another, diſabled a third, and ſlew all that were on board, beſides a great Number belonging to the other Ships. Nay, had not Night interpoſed, *Cæſar* would have made himſelf Maſter of their whole Fleet. During the Conſternation that followed upon this Defeat, *Cæſar* finding the contrary Winds to abate, took the Tranſports in tow, and advanced with the victorious Fleet to *Alexandria*.

VIII. THE *Alexandrians* diſheartened at this Loſs, as finding themſelves now worſted, not by the ſuperior Valour of the Soldiers, but by the Skill and Ability of the Mariners, retired to the Tops of their Houſes, and blocked up the Entrance of their Streets, as fearing our Fleet might attack them even by Land. But ſoon after, *Ganymed* aſſuring them in Council, that he would not only reſtore

reſtore the Veſſels they had loſt, but even increaſe their Number; they began to repair their old Ships with great Expectation and Confidence, and reſolved to apply more than ever to the putting their Fleet in a good Condition. And although they had loſt above an hundred and ten Ships in the Port and Arſenal, yet did not all this diſcourage them; becauſe by making themſelves Maſters at Sea, they ſaw they would have it in their Power to hinder *Cæſar*'s receiving any Reinforcements or Supplies. Beſides, being naturally Mariners, born upon the Sea-coaſt, and exerciſed from their Infancy in naval Affairs, they were deſirous to return to that wherein their true and proper Strength lay, remembering the Advantages they had formerly gained, even with their little Ships. They therefore applied themſelves with all Diligence to the equipping a Fleet.

IX. VESSELS were ſtationed at all the Mouths of the *Nile*, for receiving and gathering in the Cuſtoms. Several old Ships were likewiſe lodged in the King's private Arſenals, where they had remained unrigged for many Years. Theſe laſt they refitted, and recalled the former to *Alexandria*. To ſupply themſelves with Oars, they uncovered the Porticos, Academies, and publick Buildings, and made uſe of the Planks they furniſhed. Their natural Ingenuity, and the Abundance of all Things to be met with in the City, ſupplied every Want. In fine, they had no long Navigation to provide for, and were only ſolicitous about preſent Exigences, foreſeeing they would have no Occaſion to fight but in the Port. In a few Days therefore, contrary to all Expectation, they had fitted out twenty-two Quadriremes, and five Quinqueremes. To theſe they added a great Number of ſmall open Barks; and employing the Rowers in the Harbour, to practiſe and exerciſe themſelves, put a ſufficient Number of Soldiers on board, and prepared every Thing neceſſary for an Engagement. *Cæſar* had nine *Rhodian* Gallies (for of the ten which were ſent, one was ſhipwrecked on the Coaſt of *Egypt*;) eight from *Pontus*, five from *Lycia*, and twelve out of *Aſia*. Of theſe ten were Quadriremes, and five Quinqueremes. The reſt were of an inferior Bulk, and for the moſt Part without Decks. Yet truſting to the Valour of his Soldiers,

Soldiers, and knowing the Strength of the Enemy, he prepared for an Engagement.

X. WHEN both Sides were come to have ſufficient Confidence in their own Strength, *Cæſar* ſailed round *Pharos*, and formed in Line of Battle over-againſt the Enemy. The *Rhodian* Gallies were in his right Wing, and thoſe of *Pontus* in his left. Between theſe he left a Space of four hundred Paces to ſerve for the extending and working the Veſſels. This Diſpoſition being made, he drew up the reſt of the Fleet as a Reſerve, giving them the neceſſary Orders, and diſtributing them in ſuch Manner, that every Ship followed that to which ſhe was appointed to give Succour. The *Alexandrians* came forth with great Confidence, and drew up their Fleet; placing their twenty-two Quadriremes in front, and diſpoſing the reſt behind them in a ſecond Line, by Way of Reſerve. They had beſides a great Number of Boats and ſmaller Veſſels, that carried Fire and combuſtible Weapons, with Deſign to fright us by their Number, Cries, and flaming Darts. Between the two Fleets were certain Flats, ſeparated by very narrow Channels, and which are ſaid to be on the *African* Coaſt, as being in that Diviſion of *Alexandria* which belongs to *Africa*. Both Sides waited which ſhould firſt paſs theſe Shallows, becauſe whoever entered the narrow Channels between them, in caſe of any Misfortune, would find it very difficult either to retreat, or work the Ships to advantage.

XI. EUPHRANOR commanded the *Rhodian* Fleet, who for Valour and Greatneſs of Mind deſerved rather to be ranked among the *Romans* than the *Grecians*. The *Rhodians* had raiſed him to the Poſt of Admiral, on account of his known Courage and Experience. He perceiving *Cæſar*'s Deſign, addreſſed him to this Effect: "You ſeem afraid of paſſing the Shallows firſt, leſt you "ſhould be thereby forced to come to an Engagement "before the reſt of the Fleet can be brought up. Leave "the Matter to us; we will ſuſtain the Fight, and I hope "too without diſappointing your Expectations, till the "whole Fleet gets clear of the Shallows. It is both "diſhonourable and afflicting, that they ſhould ſo long "continue in our Sight with an Air of Triumph."

Cæſar encouraging him in his Deſign, and beſtowing many Praiſes upon him, gave the Signal for engaging. Four *Rhodian* Ships having paſſed the Shallows, the *Alexandrians* gathered round and attacked them. They maintained the Fight with great Bravery, diſengaging themſelves by their Art and Addreſs, and working their Ships with ſo much Skill, that notwithſtanding the Inequality of Number, none of the Enemy were ſuffered to run along-ſide, or break their Oars. Mean-time the reſt of the Fleet came up; when on account of the Narrowneſs of the Place, Art becoming uſeleſs, the Succeſs depended wholly upon Valour. The *Alexandrians* and *Romans* who were in the Town, laying aſide all Thoughts of Attack and Defence, mounted the Tops of the Houſes, and all the Eminences that would give a View of the Fight, addreſſing the Gods by Vows and Prayers for Victory.

XII. THE Event of the Battle was by no Means equal. A Defeat would have deprived us of all Reſource either by Land or Sea; and even Victory itſelf would not much better our Condition. The *Alexandrians*, on the contrary, by a Victory, gained every Thing; and if defeated, might yet again have recourſe to Fortune. It was likewiſe a Matter of the higheſt Concern, to ſee the Safety of all depend upon the Bravery of a few, whoſe want of Courage would expoſe their whole Party to Deſtruction. This *Cæſar* had often repreſented to his Troops during the preceding Days, that they might be thereby induced to fight with the more Reſolution, when they knew the common Safety to depend upon their Bravery. Every Man ſaid the ſame to his Comrade, Companion, and Friend, requeſting him not to diſappoint the Expectation of thoſe who had choſen him preferably to others for the Defence of the common Intereſt. Accordingly they fought with ſo much Reſolution, that neither the Art nor Addreſs of the *Egyptians*, a maritime and ſeafaring People, could ſtand them in any Stead; nor the Multitude of their Ships be of Service to them; nor the Valour of thoſe ſelected for this Engagement, ſtand in competition with the determined Courage of the *Romans*. In this Action a Quinquereme was taken, and a Bireme with all the Soldiers

and

and Mariners on board, beſides three ſunk, without any Loſs on our Side. The reſt fled towards the Town, ſheltering themſelves under the Mole and Forts, whither we durſt not purſue them.

XIII. To deprive the Enemy of this Reſource for the future, *Cæſar* thought it by all Means neceſſary to render himſelf Maſter of the Mole and Iſland: for having already, in great Meaſure completed his Works within the Town, he was in hopes of being able to defend himſelf both in the Iſland and City. This Reſolution being taken, he put into Boats and ſmall Veſſels ten Cohorts, a ſelect Body of light-armed Infantry, and ſuch of the *Gallick* Cavalry as he thought moſt for his Purpoſe, and ſent them againſt the Iſland; whilſt at the ſame Time, to occaſion a Diverſion, he attacked it on the other Side with his Fleet, promiſing great Rewards to thoſe who ſhould firſt render themſelves Maſters of it. At firſt, the Attack was briſk, and the Defence vigorous: for they both annoyed our Men from the Tops of the Houſes, and gallantly maintained their Ground along the Shore; which being ſteep and craggy, our Men could find no Way of Approach; all the more acceſſible Avenues being ſkilfully defended by ſmall Boats, and five Gallies, properly ſtationed for that Purpoſe. But when after examining the Approaches, and ſounding the Shallows, a few of our Men got upon the Shore, and were followed by others, who puſhed the Iſlanders without Intermiſſion; the *Pharians* at laſt betook themſelves to flight. Upon this, abandoning the Defence of the Port, they quitted their Ships, and retired into the Town, to provide for the Security of their Houſes. But they could not long maintain their Ground there: though, to compare ſmall Things with great, their Buildings reſembled thoſe of *Alexandria*, and their Towers were high, and joined together ſo as to form a Kind of Wall; and our Men had neither Ladders, Faſcines, nor any Weapons for Aſſault. But fear often deprives Men of Counſel and Strength, as happened upon this Occaſion. Thoſe who had ventured to oppoſe us on even Ground, terrified by the Loſs of a few Men, and the general Rout; durſt not face us from a Height of thirty Foot; but throwing themſelves from the Mole into

into the Sea, endeavoured to gain the Town, though above eight hundred Paces diſtant. Many however were ſlain, and about ſix hundred taken.

XIV. CÆSAR giving up the Plunder to the Soldiers, ordered the Houſes to be demoliſhed; but fortified the Caſtle at the End of the Bridge next the Iſland, and placed a Garriſon in it. This the *Pharians* had abandoned: but the other, towards the Town, which was conſiderably ſtronger, was ſtill held by the *Alexandrians*. *Cæſar* attacked it next Day: becauſe by getting Poſſeſſion of theſe two Forts, he would be entirely Maſter of the Port, and prevent ſudden Excurſions and Piracies. Already he had, by Means of his Arrows and Engines, forced the Garriſon to abandon the Place, and retire towards the Town. He had alſo landed three Cohorts, which was all the Place would contain; and diſpoſed the reſt of his Troops abroad to ſuſtain them. He then fortified the Bridge on the Side of the Enemy, built an Arch acroſs the Entrance of the Port, and filled it up in ſuch a Manner with Stones, that not the ſmalleſt Boat could paſs. When the Work was almoſt finiſhed, the *Alexandrians* ſallied in Crowds from the Town, and drew up in an open Place, over-againſt the Intrenchment we had caſt up at the Head of the Bridge. At the ſame Time the Veſſels, which they had been wont to make paſs under the Bridge, to ſet fire to our Ships of Burden, were ranged along the Mole. Our Men fought from the Bridge and the Mole; the Enemy from the Area over-againſt the Bridge, and from their Ships by the Side of the Mole. While *Cæſar*, attentive to what paſſed, was exhorting his Troops; a Number of Rowers and Mariners quitting their Ships, threw themſelves upon the Mole; partly out of Curioſity, partly to have a Share in the Action. At firſt, with Stones and Slings they forced the Enemy's Ships from the Mole; and ſeemed to do ſtill greater Execution with their Darts. But when ſome Time after, a few *Alexandrians* found Means to land, and attack them in flank; as they had left their Ships without Order or Diſcipline, ſo they ſoon began to fly with Precipitation. The *Alexandrians* encouraged by this Succeſs, landed in greater Numbers, and vigorouſly puſhed our Men, who were by this Time in great Confuſion. Thoſe that remained in the Gallies perceiving this,

this, drew up the Ladders, and put off from the Shore, to prevent the Enemies boarding them. The three Cohorts, who were at the Head of the Mole, to guard the Bridge, aſtoniſhed at this Diſorder, the Cries they heard behind them, and the general Rout of their Party; unable beſides to bear up againſt the Multitude of Darts which came pouring upon them, and fearing to be ſurrounded, and have their Retreat cut off, by the Departure of their Ships; abandoned the Defence of the Bridge, and ran with all the Speed they could towards the Gallies. Some getting on board the neareſt Veſſels, overloaded and ſunk them. Part making head againſt the Enemy, and uncertain what Courſe to take, were cut to pieces by the *Alexandrians*. Others more fortunate, got to the Ships that rode at Anchor; and a few, by the Help of their Bucklers, ſwam to the neareſt Veſſels. *Cæſar* endeavouring to reanimate his Men, and lead them back to the Defence of the Works, was expoſed to the ſame Danger with the reſt: when finding them univerſally to give ground, he retreated to his own Galley; whither ſuch a Multitude followed, and crowded after him, that it was impoſſible either to work or put her off. Foreſeeing what muſt happen, he flung himſelf into the Sea, and ſwam to a Ship that lay at ſome Diſtance. Hence diſpatching Boats to ſuccour his Men, he by that Means preſerved a ſmall Number. His own Ship, ſunk by the Multitude that crowded into her, periſhed with all that were on board. We loſt in this Action about four hundred legionary Soldiers, and ſomewhat above that Number of Sailors and Rowers. The *Alexandrians* ſecured the Fort by ſtrong Works, and a great Number of Engines: and having cleared away the Stones, with which *Cæſar* had blocked up the Port, enjoyed thenceforward a free and open Navigation.

XV. OUR Men, inſtead of being diſheartened at this Loſs, ſeemed rather rouſed and animated by it. They were making continual Sallies upon the Enemy, to deſtroy or check the Progreſs of their Works; fell upon them as often as they had an Opportunity; and never failed to intercept them, when they ventured to advance beyond their Fortifications. In ſhort, the Legions were ſo bent upon fighting, that they even outſtripped the Orders and Exhortations of *Cæſar*. They were inconſolable

ſolable for their late Diſgrace, and impatient to come to Blows with the Enemy; inſomuch that he found it rather neceſſary to reſtrain and check their Ardor, than incite them to Action.

XVI. THE *Alexandrians* perceiving that Succeſs confirmed the *Romans*, and that adverſe Fortune only animated them the more; as they knew of no Medium between theſe, on which to ground any farther Hopes, reſolved, either by the Advice of the Friends of their King, who were in *Cæſar*'s Quarter; or of their own Motion; or, perhaps, on an Intimation from the King himſelf, ſuggeſted to him by ſecret Emiſſaries; to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* to demand their King. They repreſented: "That the People, weary of Subjection to a Woman, "of living under a precarious Government, and ſubmitting to the cruel Laws of the Tyrant *Ganymed*, "inſtead of obeying their own lawful King, deſired "nothing ſo much as to have him amongſt them: that "in granting their Requeſt, he would pave the Way "to an Alliance, and extinguiſh all the Fears and Ob-"jections that had hitherto obſtructed it." Though *Cæſar* knew the Nation to be falſe and perfidious, ſeldom ſpeaking as they really thought, he judged it beſt however to comply with their Deſire. He even flattered himſelf, that his Condeſcenſion, in ſending back their King at their Requeſt, would prevail on them to be faithful: or, as was more agreeable to their Character, if they only wanted the King to head their Army; at leaſt it would be more for his Honour and Credit, to have to do with a Monarch, than with a Band of Slaves and Fugitives. Accordingly he ſent *Ptolemy* to them, exhorting him "to take the Government into his own "Hands, and conſult the Welfare of ſo fair and illuſ-"trious a Kingdom, defaced by hideous Ruins and "Conflagrations. That he would make his Subjects "ſenſible of their Duty, preſerve them from the De-"ſtruction that threatened them, and act with Fidelity "towards himſelf and the *Romans*, who put ſo much "Confidence in him, as to ſend him amongſt armed Ene-"mies." Then taking him by the Hand, he told him he was at liberty to depart. But the young Prince, thoroughly verſed in the Art of Diſſimulation, and no Way degenerating from the Character of his Nation, intreated

intreated *Cæſar* with Tears not to ſend him back; for that his Company was to him preferable to a Kingdom. *Cæſar*, moved at his Concern, dried up his Tears; and, telling him if theſe were his real Sentiments they would ſoon meet again, diſmiſſed him. The King, like a wild Beaſt eſcaped out of Confinement, carried on the War with ſuch Acrimony againſt *Cæſar*, that the Tears he ſhed at parting ſeemed to have been Tears of Joy. *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants, Friends, Centurions, and Soldiers, were not a little pleaſed at this; becauſe through his Eaſineſs of Temper, he had ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed upon by a Child: as if in Truth *Cæſar*'s Behaviour on this Occaſion had been the Effect of Eaſineſs of Temper, and not of the moſt conſummate Prudence.

XVII. WHEN the *Alexandrians* found that the Reſtitution of their King had neither rendered their own Party ſtronger, nor the *Romans* weaker; that the Troops deſpiſed the Youth and Weakneſs of their King; and that their Affairs were no way bettered by his Preſence; they were greatly diſcouraged: the rather, becauſe a Report ran, that a great Body of Troops was marching by Land from *Syria* and *Cilicia* to *Cæſar*'s Aſſiſtance, of which he had not as yet himſelf received Information. This however did not hinder their Deſign of intercepting the Convoys that came to him by Sea. To this End having equipped ſome Ships, they ordered them to cruiſe before the *Canopic* Branch of the *Nile*, by which they thought it moſt likely our Supplies would arrive. *Cæſar*, who was informed of it, ſent likewiſe his Fleet to Sea, under the Command of *Tiberius Nero*. The *Rhodian* Gallies made Part of this Squadron, headed by *Euphranor* their Admiral, without whom he had little Hopes of Succeſs from any maritime Expedition. But Fortune, which often reſerves the heavieſt Diſaſters for thoſe who have been loaded with her higheſt Favours, encountered *Euphranor* upon this Occaſion, with an Aſpect very different from what ſhe had hitherto worn. For when our Ships were arrived at *Canopus*, and the Fleets drawn up on each Side had begun the Engagement, *Euphranor*, according to Cuſtom, having made the firſt Attack, and pierced and ſunk one of the Enemy's Ships; as he purſued the next a conſiderable Way, without being ſufficiently ſuſtained by thoſe that followed him,

he was ſurrounded by the *Alexandrians*. None of the Fleet advanced to his Relief, either out of fear for their own Safety, or becauſe they imagined he would eaſily be able to extricate himſelf by his Courage and good Fortune. Accordingly he alone behaved well in this Action, and being abandoned by all the reſt, periſhed with his victorious Galley.

XVIII. ABOUT the ſame Time *Mithridates* of *Pergamus*, a Man of illuſtrious Deſcent, diſtinguiſhed for his Bravery and Knowledge in the Art of War, and who bore a very high Place in the Friendſhip and Confidence of *Cæſar*; having been ſent in the Beginning of the *Alexandrian* War, to raiſe Succours in *Syria* and *Cilicia*; arrived by Land at the Head of a great Body of Troops, which his Diligence, and the Affection of theſe two Provinces, had enabled him to draw together in a very ſhort Time. He conducted them firſt to *Peluſium*, a City which joins *Syria* to *Egypt*. *Achillas*, who was perfectly well acquainted with its Importance, had ſeized and put a ſtrong Garriſon into it. For *Egypt* is conſidered as defended on all Sides by ſtrong Barriers; towards the Sea by the *Pharos*, and towards *Syria* by *Peluſium*, which are accounted the two Keys of that Kingdom. He attacked it ſo briſkly with a large Body of Troops, freſh Men continually ſucceeding in the Place of thoſe that were fatigued; and urged the Aſſault with ſo much Firmneſs and Perſeverance, that he carried it the ſame Day, and placed a Garriſon in it. Thence he purſued his March to *Alexandria*, reducing all the Provinces through which he paſſed, and conciliating them to *Cæſar*, by that Authority which always accompanies Victory.

XIX. NOT far from *Alexandria* lies *Delta*, the moſt celebrated Province of *Egypt*, which borrows its Name from the *Greek* Letter ſo called. For the *Nile* dividing into two Channels, which gradually runs off as they approach the Sea, into which they at laſt diſcharge themſelves at a conſiderable Diſtance from one another, leaves an intermediate Space in Form of a Triangle. The King underſtanding that *Mithridates* approached this Place, and knowing he muſt paſs the River, ſent a great Body of Troops againſt him, ſufficient, as he thought, if not to overwhelm and cruſh him, at leaſt to

ſtop his March. For though he earneſtly deſired to ſee him defeated, yet he thought it a great Point gained, to hinder his Junction with *Cæſar*. The Troops that firſt paſſed the River, and came up with *Mithridates*, attacked him immediately, that they might alone have the Honour of the Victory. *Mithridates* at firſt confined himſelf to the Defence of his Camp, which he had with great Prudence fortified according to the Cuſtom of the *Romans*: but obſerving that they advanced inſolently and without Caution, he ſallied upon them from all Parts, and put a great Number of them to the Sword; inſomuch that but for their Knowledge of the Places, and the Neighbourhood of the Veſſels in which they had paſſed the River, they muſt have been all deſtroyed. But recovering by Degrees from their Terror, and joining the Troops that followed them, they again prepared to attack *Mithridates*.

XX. MITHRIDATES ſent to inform *Cæſar* of what had happened. The King was likewiſe informed on his Side. Thus much about the ſame Time, *Ptolemy* ſet out to cruſh *Mithridates*, and *Cæſar* to relieve him. The King made uſe of the more expeditious Conveyance of the *Nile*, where he had a large Fleet in readineſs. *Cæſar* declined the Navigation of the River, that he might not be obliged to fight the Enemy's Fleet: and coaſting along the *African* Shore, found Means to join the victorious Troops of *Mithridates*, before *Ptolemy* could attack him.

XXI. THE King had encamped in a very dangerous Place, being an Eminence ſurrounded on all Sides by a Plain. Three of its Sides were ſecured by various Defences. One adjoined to the *Nile*, the other was ſteep and inacceſſible, and the Third was defended by a Moraſs. Between *Ptolemy*'s Camp and *Cæſar*'s Route lay a narrow River with very high Banks, which diſcharged itſelf into the *Nile*. This River was about ſeven Miles from the King's Camp; who underſtanding that *Cæſar* directed his March that Way, ſent all his Cavalry, with a choice Body of light-armed Foot, to hinder *Cæſar* from paſſing, and maintain an unequal Fight from the Banks, where Courage had no Opportunity to exert itſelf, and Cowardice ran no Hazard. Our Men, both Horſe

Horſe and Foot, were extremely mortified, that the *Alexandrians* ſhould ſo long maintain their Ground againſt them. Wherefore the *German* Cavalry diſperſing in queſt of a Ford, ſome found Means to ſwim the River where the Banks were loweſt; and the Legionaries at the ſame Time cutting down ſeveral large Trees, that reached from one Bank to another, and throwing them into the Water, by their Help, got to the other Side. The Enemy unable to ſuſtain their firſt Charge, betook themſelves to flight; but in vain: for very few returned to the King, being almoſt all cut to pieces in the Purſuit.

XXII. CÆSAR, upon this Succeſs, judging that his ſudden Approach muſt ſtrike a great Terror into the *Alexandrians*, advanced towards their Camp with his victorious Army. But finding it well intrenched, ſtrongly fortified by Nature, and the Ramparts crowded with armed Soldiers, he did not think proper to attack it at that Time, as his Troops were very much fatigued, both by their March and the late Battle; and therefore encamped at a ſmall Diſtance from the Enemy. Next Day he attacked a Fort, in a Village not far off, which the King had joined to his Camp by a Line of Communication, with a View of keeping Poſſeſſion of the Village. He employed his whole Army in this Aſſault: not becauſe it would have been difficult to carry it with a few Forces: but with Deſign of falling immediately upon the Enemy's Camp, during the Alarm the Loſs of this Fort muſt give them. Accordingly the *Romans*, in continuing the Purſuit of thoſe that fled from the Fort, arrived at laſt before the *Alexandrian* Camp, where a furious Battle enſued. There were two Approaches by which it might be attacked: one by the Plain, of which we have ſpoken before; the other by a narrow Paſs, between their Camp and the *Nile*. The firſt, which was much the eaſieſt, was defended by a numerous Body of their beſt Troops: and the Acceſs on the Side of the *Nile* gave the Enemy great Advantages in diſtreſſing and wounding our Men: for they were expoſed to a double Shower of Darts: in front, from the Rampart; behind, from the River, where the Enemy had ſtationed a great Number of Ships, furniſhed with Archers and Slingers, that kept a continual Diſcharge. *Cæſar* obſerving that his Troops fought with the utmoſt Ardor, and yet made

no great Progreſs, on account of the Diſadvantage of the Ground; as he ſaw they had left the higheſt Part of their Camp unguarded, becauſe being ſufficiently fortified by Nature, they had all crowded to the other Attacks, partly to have a Share in the Action, partly to be Spectators of the Iſſue: he ordered ſome Cohorts to wheel round the Camp, and gain that Aſcent; appointing *Carſulenus* to command them, a brave Officer, and well acquainted with the Service. When they had reached the Place, where they found but very few to defend it, our Men attacked them ſo briſkly, that the *Alexandrians* terrified by the Cries they heard behind them, and ſeeing themſelves attacked both in Front and Rear, fled in the utmoſt Conſternation on all Sides. Our Men animated by the Confuſion of the Enemy, entered the Camp in ſeveral Places at the ſame Time; and running down from the higher Ground, put a great Number of them to the Sword. The *Alexandrians* endeavouring to eſcape, threw themſelves in Crowds over the Rampart next the River. The foremoſt tumbling into the Ditch, where they were cruſhed to death, furniſhed an eaſy Paſſage for thoſe that followed. The King made his Eſcape the ſame Way; but by the Crowd that followed him, the Ship to which he fled was overloaded and ſunk.

XXIII. AFTER this ſpeedy and ſucceſsful Action, *Cæſar*, in confidence of ſo great a Victory, marched the neareſt Way by Land to *Alexandria* with his Cavalry, and entered triumphant into that Part of the Town poſſeſſed by the Enemy. He was not miſtaken in thinking, that the *Alexandrians*, upon hearing of the Iſſue of the Battle, would give over all Thoughts of War. Accordingly, as ſoon as he was arrived, he reaped the juſt Fruit of his Valour and Magnanimity. For the *Alexandrians* throwing down their Arms, abandoning their Works, and aſſuming the Habit of Suppliants, came forth to ſurrender themſelves to *Cæſar*, preceded by all thoſe ſacred Symbols of Religion, wherewith they were wont to mollify their offended Kings. *Cæſar* accepting their Submiſſion, and encouraging them, advanced through the Enemy's Works into his own Quarter of the Town, where he was received with the univerſal Congratulations of his Party, who were no leſs overjoyed at his

his Arrival and Preſence, than at the happy Iſſue of the War.

XXIV. CÆSAR having thus made himſelf Maſter of *Alexandria* and *Egypt*, lodged the Government in the Hands of thoſe to whom *Ptolemy* had bequeathed it by Will, appointing the People of *Rome* his Executors, and requeſting them to confirm his Choice. For the eldeſt of his two Sons being dead, he ſettled the Kingdom upon the youngeſt, in conjunction with his Siſter *Cleopatra*, who had always continued faithful to the *Romans*. The younger *Arſinoe*, in whoſe Name *Ganymed*, as we have ſeen, reigned for ſome Time, he thought proper to baniſh the Kingdom, that ſhe might not raiſe any new Diſturbance, before the King's Authority ſhould be firmly eſtabliſhed. Things thus ſettled, he carried the ſixth Legion with him into *Syria*, leaving the reſt to ſupport the Authority of the King and Queen: who neither ſtood well in the Affections of their Subjects, on account of their Attachment to *Cæſar*; nor could be ſuppoſed to have given any fixed Foundation to their Power, in an Adminiſtration of only a few Days continuance. It was alſo for the Honour and Intereſt of the Republick, that if they continued faithful, our Forces ſhould protect them; if otherwiſe, would be in a condition to reſtrain them. Having thus ſettled the Kingdom, he marched by Land into *Syria*.

XXV. WHILE theſe Things paſſed in *Egypt*, King *Dejotarus* applied to *Domitius Calvinus*, to whom *Cæſar* had intruſted the Government of *Aſia* and the neighbouring Provinces, beſeeching him, "Not to ſuffer "*Pharnaces* to ſeize and lay waſte the Leſſer *Armenia*, "which was his Kingdom; or *Cappadocia*, which be-"longed to *Ariobarzanes*; becauſe unleſs they were de-"livered from theſe Inſults, it would be impoſſible for "them to execute *Cæſar*'s Orders, or raiſe the Money "they ſtood engaged to pay." *Domitius*, who was not only ſenſible of the Neceſſity of Money to defray the Expences of the War, but likewiſe thought it diſhonourable to the People of *Rome* and *Cæſar*, as well as infamous to himſelf, to ſuffer the Dominions of Allies and Friends to be uſurped by a foreign Prince; ſent Ambaſſadors to *Pharnaces* to acquaint him, "That he

" muſt withdraw immediately out of *Armenia* and *Cap-*
" *padocia*, and no longer inſult the Majeſty and Right
" of the *Roman* People, engaged in a Civil War." But believing that his Deputation would have greater Weight, if he was ready to ſecond it himſelf at the Head of an Army; he repaired to the Legions which were then in *Aſia*, ordering two of them into *Egypt* at *Cæſar*'s Deſire, and carrying the Thirty-ſixth along with him. To this *Dejotarus* added two more, which he had trained up for ſeveral Years according to our Diſcipline; and an hundred Horſe. The like Number of Horſe were furniſhed by *Ariobarzanes*. At the ſame Time he ſent *P. Sextius* to *C. Plætorius* the Quæſtor, for the Legion which had been lately levied in *Pontus*; and *Quinctius Patiſius* into *Cilicia*, to draw thence a Body of auxiliary Troops. All theſe Forces had Orders to rendezvous, as ſoon as poſſible, at *Comana*.

XXVI. MEAN-WHILE his Ambaſſadors returned with *Pharnaces*'s Anſwer: " That he had quitted *Cappadocia*;
" but kept Poſſeſſion of the Leſſer *Armenia*, as his own
" by Right of Inheritance: however, was willing to
" ſubmit all to the Deciſion of *Cæſar*, to whoſe Com-
" mands he would pay immediate Obedience." *C. Domitius*, ſenſible that he had quitted *Cappadocia*, not voluntarily, but out of Neceſſity; becauſe he could more eaſily defend *Armenia*, which lay contiguous to his own Kingdom, than *Cappadocia*, which was more remote; and becauſe believing at firſt that *Domitius* had brought all the three Legions along with him, upon hearing that two were gone to *Cæſar*, he ſeemed more determined to keep poſſeſſion: inſiſted " upon his quitting *Armenia*
" likewiſe, the Reaſon in both Caſes being the ſame;
" nor was it juſt to demand that the Matter ſhould be
" poſtponed till *Cæſar*'s Return, unleſs Things were
" put in the Condition in which they were at firſt."
Having returned this Anſwer, he advanced towards *Armenia* with the Forces abovementioned, directing his March along the Hills. For from *Pontus*, by the Way of *Comana*, runs a woody Ridge of Hills, that extends as far as *Armenia* the Leſs, dividing it from *Cappadocia*. The Advantages he had in view by ſuch a March were; that he would thereby effectually prevent all Surpriſes, and be plentifully furniſhed with Proviſions from *Cappadocia*.

XXVII. MEAN-

XXVII. MEAN-TIME *Pharnaces* was perpetually ſending Ambaſſadors to *Domitius* with Preſents, and to treat of Peace. All theſe he firmly rejected, telling the Deputies; "That nothing was more ſacred with him, "than the Majeſty of the *Roman* People, and the "Rights of their Allies." After a long March he reached *Nicopolis*, a City of *Armenia* the Leſs, ſituated in a Plain, having Mountains however on its two Sides, at a conſiderable Diſtance. Here he encamped about ſeven Miles from the Town. Between his Camp and *Nicopolis* lay a difficult and narrow Paſs, where *Pharnaces* placed a choſen Body of Foot, and all his Horſe in Ambuſcade. He ordered a great Number of Cattle to be diſperſed in this Paſs, and the Townſmen and Peaſants to ſhow themſelves; that if *Domitius* entered the Defile as a Friend, he might have no Suſpicion of an Ambuſcade, when he ſaw the Men and Flocks diſperſed without Apprehenſion in the Fields; or if he ſhould come as an Enemy, that the Soldiers quitting their Ranks to pillage, might fall an eaſy Prey to his Troops.

XXVIII. WHILE this Deſign was going forward, he never ceaſed ſending Ambaſſadors to *Domitius*, with Propoſals of Peace and Amity, as fancying by this Means the more eaſily to inſnare him. The Expectation of Peace kept *Domitius* in his Camp, ſo that *Pharnaces*, diſappointed of his Hopes, and fearing the Ambuſcade might be diſcovered, drew off his Troops. Next Day *Domitius* approached *Nicopolis*, and encamped near the Town. While our Men were working at the Trenches, *Pharnaces* drew up his Army in Order of Battle, forming his Front into one Line, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, and ſecuring his Wings with a triple Body of Reſerves. *Domitius* ordering Part of the Troops to continue under Arms before the Rampart, completed the Fortifications of his Camp.

XXIX. NEXT Night *Pharnaces* having intercepted the Couriers, who brought *Domitius* an Account of the Poſture of Affairs at *Alexandria*; underſtood that *Cæſar* was in great Danger, and requeſted *Domitius* to ſend him Succours ſpeedily, and come himſelf to *Alexandria* by the Way of *Syria*. *Pharnaces*, upon this Intelligence, imagined that protracting the Time would be equiva-

lent to a Victory; becauſe *Domitius*, he ſuppoſed, muſt very ſoon depart. He therefore dug two Ditches four Foot deep, at a moderate Diſtance from each other, on that Side where lay the eaſieſt Acceſs to the Town, and our Forces might with moſt Advantage attack him; reſolving not to advance beyond them. Between theſe he conſtantly drew up his Army, placing all his Cavalry upon the Wings without them, which greatly exceeded ours in Number, and would otherwiſe have been uſeleſs.

XXX. DOMITIUS, more concerned at *Cæſar*'s Danger than his own, and believing he could not retire with Safety, ſhould he now deſire the Conditions he had rejected, or march away without any apparent Cauſe; drew his Forces out of the Camp, and ranged them in Order of Battle. He placed the thirty-ſixth Legion on the Right, that of *Pontus* on the Left, and thoſe of *Dejotarus* in the main Body; drawing them up with a very narrow Front, and poſting the reſt of the Cohorts to ſuſtain the Wings. The Armies thus drawn up on each Side, they prepared for Battle; and the Signal being given at the ſame Time by both Parties, the Engagement began. The Conflict was ſharp and various: for the thirty-ſixth Legion falling upon the King's Cavalry, that was drawn up without the Ditch, charged them ſo ſucceſsfully, that they drove them to the very Walls of the Town, paſſed the Ditch, and attacked their Infantry behind. But on the other Side, the Legion of *Pontus* having given way; the ſecond Line, which advanced to ſuſtain them, fetching a Compaſs round the Ditch, in order to attack the Enemy in flank, was overwhelmed and borne down by a Shower of Darts, in endeavouring to paſs it. The Legions of *Dejotarus* ſcarce made any Reſiſtance; ſo that the victorious right Wing and main Body of the King's Army fell upon the thirty-ſixth Legion, which yet made a brave Stand; and though ſurrounded by the Forces of the Enemy, with wonderful Preſence of Mind caſt themſelves into an Orb, and retired to the Foot of a Mountain, whither *Pharnaces* did not think fit to purſue them, becauſe of the Diſadvantage of the Place. Thus the Legion of *Pontus* being almoſt wholly cut off, with great Part of thoſe of *Dejotarus*, the thirty-ſixth Legion retreated

retreated to an Eminence, with the Loſs of about two hundred and fifty Men. Several *Roman* Knights of illuſtrious Rank fell in this Battle. *Domitius*, after this Defeat, rallied the Remains of his broken Army, and retreated by ſafe Ways through *Cappadocia* into *Aſia*.

XXXI. PHARNACES elated with this Succeſs, and hoping that *Cæſar* would never be able to extricate himſelf at *Alexandria*, entered *Pontus* with all his Forces. There acting as Conqueror and King, and promiſing himſelf a happier Deſtiny than his Father, he ravaged their Towns, ſeized the Effects of the *Roman* Citizens and Natives, inflicted Puniſhments worſe than Death upon ſuch as were diſtinguiſhed by their Age or Beauty; and having made himſelf Maſter of all *Pontus*, as there was no one to oppoſe his Progreſs, boaſted that he had recovered his Father's Kingdom.

XXXII. ABOUT the ſame Time we received a conſiderable Check in *Illyricum*; which Province *Q. Cornificius*, *Cæſar*'s Quæſtor, had defended the preceding Months, not only without Inſult, but even with Honour, and a Conduct worthy of Praiſe. *Cæſar* had ſent him thither the Summer before with two Legions; and though it was of itſelf little able to ſubſiſt an Army, and at that Time in particular almoſt totally ruined by the Neighbourhood of ſo many Wars; yet by his Prudence, Vigilance, and uncommon Care, he defended and kept Poſſeſſion of it. For he made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Forts built on Eminences, whoſe advantageous Situation tempted the Inhabitants to make Deſcents and Inroads upon the Country; and gave the Plunder of them to his Soldiers: which though but inconſiderable, yet as they were no Strangers to the Diſtreſs and ill Condition of the Province, did not ceaſe to be grateful; the rather, as it was the Fruit of their own Valour. And when after the Battle of *Pharſalia*, *Octavius* had retreated to that Coaſt with a large Fleet; *Cornificius*, with ſome Veſſels of the *Judertini*, who had always continued faithful to the Commonwealth, made himſelf Maſter of the greateſt Part of his Ships, which joined to thoſe of the *Judertini*, rendered him capable of ſuſtaining even a naval Engagement. And while *Cæſar*, victorious, was purſuing *Pompey* to the remoteſt Parts of the Earth;

upon

upon Advice that the Enemy had for the moſt Part retired into *Illyricum*, on account of its neighbourhood to *Macedonia*, and were there uniting into a Body, he wrote to *Gabinius*, "To repair directly thither with the new "raiſed Legions, and join *Cornificius*, that in caſe of "any Danger to the Province, they might be the bet-"ter able to protect it: but if leſs Forces ſufficed, to "march into *Macedonia*, which he foreſaw would never "be free from Commotions, ſo long as *Pompey* lived."

XXXIII. GABINIUS, whether he imagined the Province better provided than it really was, or depended much upon the auſpicious Fortune of *Cæſar*, or confided in his own Valour and Abilities, having often terminated with Succeſs difficult and dangerous Wars; marched into *Illyricum* in the Middle of Winter, and the moſt difficult Seaſon of the Year: where not finding ſufficient Subſiſtence in the Province, which was partly ruined, partly ill-affected; and having no Supplies by Sea, becauſe the Seaſon of the Year had put a ſtop to Navigation; he found himſelf compelled to carry on the War, not according to his own Inclination, but as Neceſſity allowed. As he was therefore obliged to lay ſiege to Forts and Caſtles in a very rude Seaſon, he received many Checks, and fell under ſuch Contempt with the Barbarians, that retiring to *Salona*, a maritime City, inhabited by a ſet of brave and faithful *Romans*, he was attacked upon his March; and after the Loſs of two thouſand Soldiers, thirty-eight Centurions, and four Tribunes, got to *Salona* with the reſt; where his Wants continually increaſing, he died a few Days after. His Misfortunes and ſudden Death gave *Octavius* great Hopes of maſtering the Province. But Fortune, whoſe Influence is ſo great in Matters of War, joined to the Diligence of *Cornificius*, and the Valour of *Vatinius*, ſoon put an End to his Triumphs.

XXXIV. FOR *Vatinius*, who was then at *Brunduſium*, having Intelligence of what paſſed in *Illyricum*, by Letters from *Cornificius*, who preſſed him to come to the Aſſiſtance of the Province, and informed him, that *Octavius* had leagued with the Barbarians, and in ſeveral Places attacked our Garriſons, partly by Sea with his Fleet, partly by Land with the Troops of the Barbari-

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ans: *Vatinius*, I say, upon Notice of these Things, though extremely weakened by Sickness, insomuch that his Strength of Body no way answered his Resolution and Greatness of Mind: yet by his Valour surmounted all Opposition, the Force of his Distemper, the Rigour of the Season, and the Difficulties of a sudden Preparation. For having himself but a very few Gallies, he wrote to *Q. Kalenus* in *Achaia*, to furnish him with a Squadron of Ships. But these not coming with that Dispatch which the Danger our Army was in required, because *Octavius* pressed hard upon them; he fastened Beaks to all the Barks and Vessels that lay in the Port, whose Number was considerable enough, though they were not sufficiently large for an Engagement. Joining these to what Gallies he had, and putting the veteran Soldiers aboard, whereof he had a great Number, who had been left sick at *Brundusium* when the Army went over to *Greece*; he sailed for *Illyricum*: where having subjected several maritime States that had declared for *Octavius*; and neglecting such as continued obstinate in their Revolt, because he would suffer nothing to retard his Design of meeting the Enemy; he came up with *Octavius* before *Epidaurus*; and obliging him to raise the Siege, which he was carrying on with great Vigour by Sea and Land, joined the Garrison to his own Forces.

XXXV. OCTAVIUS understanding that *Vatinius*'s Fleet consisted mostly of small Barks, and confiding in the Strength of his own, stopped at the Isle of *Tauris*. *Vatinius* followed him thither, not imagining he would halt at that Place, but because he was determined to pursue him wherever he went. *Vatinius*, who had no Suspicion of an Enemy, and whose Ships were moreover dispersed by a Tempest, perceived, as he approached the Isle, a Vessel filled with Soldiers, that advanced towards him with full Sails. Upon this he gave Orders for furling the Sails, lowering the Sail-yards, and arming the Soldiers: and hoisting a Flag as a Signal of Battle, intimated to the Ships that followed to do the same. Our Men prepared themselves in the best Manner their sudden Surprise would allow, while *Octavius* advanced in good Order from the Port. The two Fleets drew up. *Octavius* had the Advantage as to Disposition, and *Vatinius* in the Bravery of his Troops.

XXXVI. VA-

XXXVI. VATINIUS finding himſelf inferior to the Enemy, both in the Number and Largeneſs of his Ships, reſolved to commit the Affair to Fortune, and therefore in his own Quinquereme, attacked *Octavius* in his Four-benched Galley. This he did with ſuch Violence, and the Shock was ſo great, that the Beak of *Octavius*'s Galley was broke. The Battle raged with great Fury likewiſe in other Places, but chiefly round the two Admirals: for as the Ships on each Side advanced to ſuſtain thoſe that fought, a cloſe and furious Conflict enſued in a very narrow Sea, where the nearer the Veſſels approached, the more had *Vatinius*'s Soldiers the Advantage. For with admirable Courage they leaped into the Enemy's Ships, and forcing them by this Means to an equal Combat, ſoon maſtered them by their ſuperior Valour. *Octavius*'s Galley was ſunk. Many others were taken, or ſuffered the ſame Fate. The Soldiers were partly ſlain in the Ships, partly thrown overboard into the Sea. *Octavius* got into a Boat, which ſinking under the Multitude that crowded after him, he himſelf, though wounded, ſwam to his Brigantine; where being taken up, and Night having put an End to the Battle; as the Wind blew very ſtrong, he ſpread all his Sails and fled. A few of his Ships, that had the good Fortune to eſcape, followed him.

XXXVII. VATINIUS, ſeeing the Enemy entirely defeated, ſounded a Retreat, and entered victorious the Port whence *Octavius* had ſailed to fight him, without the Loſs of a ſingle Veſſel. He took in this Battle one Quinquereme, two Triremes, eight two-benched Gallies, and a great Number of Rowers. The next Day was employed in repairing his own Fleet, and the Ships he had taken from the Enemy; after which he ſailed for the Iſland of *Iſſa*, imagining *Octavius* would retire thither after his Defeat. In this Iſland was a flouriſhing City well affected to *Octavius*, which however ſurrendered to *Vatinius* upon the firſt Summons. Here he underſtood that *Octavius*, attended by a few ſmall Barks, had ſailed with a fair Wind for *Greece*, whence he intended to paſs on to *Sicily*, and afterwards to *Africa*. *Vatinius* having in ſo ſhort a Space ſucceſsfully terminated the Affairs of *Illyricum*, reſtored the Province in a peaceable Condition to *Cornificius*, and driven the Enemy's Fleet

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out of thoſe Seas, returned victorious to *Brunduſium*, with his Army and Fleet in good Condition.

XXXVIII. WHILE *Cæſar* beſieged *Pompey* at *Dyrrhachium*, triumphed at *Pharſalia*, and carried on the War with ſo much Danger at *Alexandria*, *Caſſius Longinus*, who had been left in *Spain* as Prætor of the Farther Province; either through his natural Diſpoſition, or out of a Hatred he had contracted to the Province, becauſe of a Wound he had treacherouſly received there when Quæſtor, drew upon himſelf the general Diſlike of the People. He diſcerned this Temper among them, partly from a Conſciouſneſs that he deſerved it, partly from the manifeſt Indications they gave of their Diſcontent. To ſecure himſelf againſt their Diſaffection, he endeavoured to gain the Love of the Soldiers; and having for this Purpoſe aſſembled them together, promiſed them an hundred Seſterces a Man. Soon after, having made himſelf Maſter of *Medobrega*, a Town in *Luſitania*, and of Mount *Herminius*, whither the *Medobregians* had retired; and being upon that Occaſion ſaluted Imperator by the Army, he gave them another hundred Seſterces each. Theſe, accompanied with other conſiderable Largeſſes in great Number, ſeemed for the preſent to increaſe the Goodwill of the Army, but tended gradually and imperceptibly to the Relaxation of military Diſcipline.

XXXIX. CASSIUS having ſent his Army into Winter-quarters, fixed his Reſidence at *Cordova* for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. Being greatly in Debt, he reſolved to pay it by laying heavy Impoſitions upon the Province; and according to the Cuſtom of Prodigals, made his Liberalities a Pretence to juſtify the moſt exorbitant Demands. He taxed the Rich at Diſcretion, and compelled them to pay without the leaſt Regard to their Remonſtrances; frequently improving light and trifling Offences, as an Handle for all Manner of Extortions. All Methods of Gain were purſued, whether great and apparent, or mean and ſordid. None that had any Thing to loſe could eſcape Accuſation; inſomuch that the Plunder of their private Fortunes was aggravated by the Dangers they were expoſed to from pretended Crimes.

XL. THUS *Longinus*, acting the ſame Part when Proconſul, which he had done when Quæſtor, drew upon himſelf the like Conſpiracies againſt his Life. Even his own Dependents concurred in the general Hatred; who though the Miniſters of his Rapine, yet hated the Man by whoſe Authority they committed thoſe Crimes. The Odium ſtill increaſed upon his raiſing a fifth Legion, which added to the Expence and Burden of the Province. The Cavalry was augmented to three Thouſand, with coſtly Ornaments and Equipage; nor had the People any Reſpite from his Extortions.

XLI. MEAN-WHILE he received Orders from *Cæſar*, to tranſport his Army into *Africa*, and march through *Mauritania* towards *Numidia*, becauſe King *Juba* had ſent conſiderable Succours to *Pompey*, and was preparing to ſend more. Theſe Letters filled him with an inſolent Joy, by the Opportunity they offered him of pillaging new Provinces, and a wealthy Kingdom. He therefore haſtened into *Luſitania*, to aſſemble his Legions, and draw together a Body of Auxiliaries; appointing certain Perſons to provide Corn, Ships, and Money, that nothing might retard him at his Return; which was much ſooner than expected: for when Intereſt called, *Caſſius* wanted neither Induſtry nor Vigilance.

XLII. HAVING got his Army together, and encamped near *Cordova*, he made a Speech to the Soldiers, wherein he acquainted them with the Orders he had received from *Cæſar*, and promiſed them a hundred Seſterces each, when they ſhould arrive in *Mauritania*. The fifth Legion, he told them, was to remain in *Spain*. Having ended his Speech, he returned to *Cordova*. The ſame Day about Noon, as he went to the Hall of Juſtice, one *Minutius Silo*, a Client of *L. Racilius*, preſented him with a Paper, in a Soldier's Habit, as if he had ſome Requeſt to make. Then retiring behind *Racilius* (who walked beſide *Caſſius*,) as if waiting for an Anſwer, he inſenſibly drew near; and a favourable Opportunity offering, ſeized *Caſſius* with his left Hand, and wounded him twice with a Dagger in his Right. The Noiſe this occaſioned was as a Signal to the Conſpirators, who all ruſhed upon him in a Body.

Body. *Munatius Plancus* killed the Lictor that was next *Longinus*, and wounded *Q. Caſſius* his Lieutenant. *T. Vaſſius*, and *L. Mergilio*, ſeconded their Countryman *Plancus*; for they were all *Italians*. *L. Licinius Squillus* flew upon *Longinus* himſelf, and gave him ſeveral ſlight Wounds as he lay upon the Ground. By this Time his Guards came up to his Aſſiſtance, (for he always had a Body of Veterans armed with Darts to attend him,) and ſurrounded the reſt of the Conſpirators who were advancing to complete the Aſſaſſination. Of this Number were *Calphurnius Salvianus*, and *Manilius Tuſculus*. *Caſſius* was carried Home; and *Minutius Silo* ſtumbling upon a Stone as he endeavoured to make his eſcape, was taken and brought to him. *Racilius* retired to the neighbouring Houſe of a Friend, till he ſhould have certain Information of the Fate of *Caſſius*. *L. Laterenſis* not doubting but he was diſpatched, ran in a Tranſport of Joy to the Camp, to congratulate the Second and the new-raiſed Legions upon it, who, he knew, bore a particular Hatred to *Caſſius*; and who immediately upon this Intelligence, placed him on the Tribunal, and proclaimed him Prætor. For there was not a Native of the Province, nor a Soldier of the new-raiſed Legion, nor a Perſon who by long Reſidence was naturalized to the Province, of which Kind the ſecond Legion conſiſted, who did not join in the general Hatred of *Caſſius*. Mean-time *Laterenſis* was informed that *Caſſius* was ſtill alive; at which being rather grieved than diſconcerted, he immediately ſo far recovered himſelf, as to go and wait upon him. By this Time the thirtieth Legion having Notice of what had paſſed, marched to *Cordova*, to the Aſſiſtance of their General. The Twenty-firſt and Fifth followed their Example. As only two Legions remained in the Camp, the Second fearing they ſhould be left alone, and thereby have their Sentiments known, did the ſame. But the new-raiſed Legion continued firm, nor could be induced by any Motives of Fear, to ſtir from its Place. *Caſſius* ordered all the Accomplices of the Conſpiracy to be ſeized, and ſent back the fifth Legion to the Camp, retaining the other three. By the Confeſſion of *Minutius* he learnt, that *L. Racilius*, *L. Laterenſis*, and *Annius Scapula*, a Man of great Authority and Credit in the Province, and equally in his Confidence with *Laterenſis* and *Racilius*,

Racilius, were concerned in the Plot: nor did he long defer his Revenge, but ordered them to be put to death. He delivered *Minutius* to be racked by his Freed-men; likewiſe *Calphurnius Salvianus*; who turning Evidence, increaſed the Number of the Conſpirators; juſtly, as ſome think; but others pretend that he was forced. *L. Mergilio* was likewiſe put to the Torture. *Squillus* impeached many others, who were all condemned to die, except ſuch as redeemed their Lives by a Fine: for he pardoned *Calphurnius* for Ten, and *Q. Sextius* for fifty thouſand Seſterces; who, though deeply guilty, yet having in this Manner eſcaped Death, ſhewed *Caſſius* to be no leſs covetous than cruel.

XLIII. SOME Days after, he received Letters from *Cæſar*, with an Account of *Pompey*'s Defeat and Flight: which News equally affected him with Joy and Sorrow. *Cæſar*'s Succeſs gave him Pleaſure; but the Concluſion of the War would put an End to his Rapines: inſomuch that he was uncertain which to wiſh for, Victory, or unbounded Licentiouſneſs. When he was cured of his Wounds, he ſent for all who were indebted to him in any Sums, and inſiſted upon immediate Payment. Such as were taxed too low, had Orders to furniſh larger Sums. Such *Roman* Citizens as had been levied in the ſeveral Colonies of the Province, and were alarmed at the Thoughts of a foreign Expedition, obtained their Diſcharge for a certain Sum. This brought in a vaſt Revenue, but greatly increaſed the general Hatred. He afterwards reviewed the Army, ſent the Legions and Auxiliaries deſigned for *Africa* towards the Straits of *Hercules*, and went himſelf to *Seville*, to examine the Condition of the Fleet. He ſtayed there ſome Time, in conſequence of an Edict he had publiſhed, ordering all who had not paid the Sums in which they were amerced, to repair to him thither; which created an univerſal Murmuring and Diſcontent.

XLIV. IN the Mean-time *L. Titius*, a military Tribune of the new-raiſed Legion, ſent him Notice of a Report, that the thirtieth Legion, one of thoſe he was carrying with him to *Africa*, had mutinied at *Ilurgis*, killed ſome of the Centurions that oppoſed them, and were gone over to the ſecond Legion, who marched another

another Way towards the Straits. Upon this Intelligence, he ſet out by Night with five Cohorts of the twenty-firſt Legion, and came up with them in the Morning. He ſtayed there that Day, to conſult what was proper to be done, and then went to *Carmona*, where he found the thirtieth and twenty-firſt Legions, with four Cohorts of the fifth, and all the Cavalry aſſembled. Here he learnt, that the new-raiſed Legion had ſurpriſed four Cohorts near *Obucula*, and forced them along with them to the ſecond Legion; where all joining, they had choſen *T. Thorius* an *Italian* for their General. Having inſtantly called a Council, he ſent *Marcellus* to *Cordova*, to ſecure that Town, and *Q. Caſſius*, his Lieutenant, to *Seville*. A few Days after, News was brought that *Cordova* had revolted, and that *Marcellus*, either voluntarily, or through Force, (for the Reports were various) had joined them; as likewiſe the two Cohorts of the fifth Legion that were in Garriſon there. *Caſſius* provoked at theſe Mutinies decamped, and the next Day came to *Segovia*, upon the River *Xenil*. There ſummoning an Aſſembly, to ſound the Diſpoſition of the Troops, he found; that it was not out of any Regard to him, but to *Cæſar*, though abſent, that they continued faithful, and were ready to undergo any Danger for the Recovery of the Province.

XLV. MEAN-WHILE *Thorius* marched the veteran Legions to *Cordova*; and that the Revolt might not appear to ſpring from a ſeditious Inclination in him or the Soldiers; as likewiſe to oppoſe an equal Authority to that of *Q. Caſſius*, who was drawing together a great Force in *Cæſar*'s Name; he publickly gave out, that his Deſign was to recover the Province for *Pompey*. Nay, perhaps he was really influenced by a Love for *Pompey*, whoſe Name was dear to thoſe Legions that had ſerved under *Varro*. Be this as it will, *Thorius* at leaſt made it his Pretence; and the Soldiers were ſo infatuated with the Thought, that they had *Pompey*'s Name inſcribed upon their Bucklers. The Citizens of *Cordova*, Men, Women, and Children, came out to meet the Legions; "begging they would not enter *Cordova* as Ene-
"mies, ſeeing they joined with them in their Averſion
"to *Caſſius*, and only deſired they might not be obliged
"to act againſt *Cæſar*."

XLVI. THE Soldiers moved by the Prayers and Tears of ſo great a Multitude, and ſeeing they ſtood in no need of *Pompey*'s Name and Memory to ſpirit up a Revolt againſt *Caſſius*, as he was equally odious to the Partizans of both Parties: neither being able to prevail with *Marcellus*, or the People of *Cordova*, to declare againſt *Cæſar*; they eraſed *Pompey*'s Name from their Bucklers, choſe *Marcellus* their Commander, joined the Citizens of *Cordova*, and encamped near the Town. Two Days after, *Caſſius* encamped on an Eminence on this Side the *Bætis*, about four Miles from *Cordova*, and within View of the Town; whence he ſent Letters to *Bogud* in *Mauritania*, and *M. Lepidus*, Proconſul of Hither *Spain*, to come to his Aſſiſtance as ſoon as poſſible for *Cæſar*'s Sake. Mean-while he ravaged the Country, and ſet fire to the Buildings round *Cordova*.

XLVII. The Legions under *Marcellus*, provoked at this Indignity, ran to him, and begged to be led againſt the Enemy, that they might have an Opportunity of fighting them, before they could have Time to deſtroy with Fire and Sword, the rich and noble Poſſeſſions of the *Cordovians*. *Marcellus*, though averſe to a Battle, which, whoever was victorious, muſt turn to *Cæſar*'s Detriment; yet unable to reſtrain the Legions, croſſed the *Bætis*, and drew up his Men. *Caſſius* did the ſame upon a Riſing-ground: but as he would not quit his advantageous Poſt, *Marcellus* perſuaded his Men to return to their Camp. He had already begun to retire, when *Caſſius*, knowing himſelf to be ſtronger in Cavalry, fell upon the Legionaries with his Horſe, and made a conſiderable Slaughter in their Rear, upon the Banks of the River. This Check making *Marcellus* ſenſible of the Miſtake he had committed in paſſing the River, he removed his Camp to the other Side, where both Armies frequently drew up, but did not engage, on account of the Inequality of the Ground.

XLVIII. MARCELLUS was ſtronger in Foot, for he commanded veteran Legions, of great Experience in War. *Caſſius* depended more on the Fidelity than the Courage of his Troops. The two Camps being very near each other, *Marcellus* ſeized a Spot of Ground where he built a Fort, very convenient for depriving the Enemy

Enemy of Water. *Longinus* apprehending he ſhould be beſieged in a Country where all were againſt him, quitted his Camp in the Night, and by a quick March reached *Ulla*, a Town on which he thought he could rely. There he encamped ſo near the Walls, that both by the Situation of the Place, (for *Ulla* ſtands on an Eminence) and the Defences of the Town, he was on all Sides ſecure from an Attack. *Marcellus* followed him, and encamped as near the Town as poſſible. Having taken a View of the Place, he found himſelf reduced by Neceſſity to do what was moſt agreeable to his own Inclination; and neither engage *Caſſius*, which the Ardour of his Soldiers would have forced him to, had it been poſſible; nor ſuffer him by his Excurſions to infeſt the Territories of other States, as he had done thoſe of *Cordova*. He therefore raiſed Redoubts in proper Places, and continued his Works quite round the Town, incloſing both *Ulla* and *Caſſius* within his Lines. But before they were finiſhed, *Caſſius* ſent out all his Cavalry; who he imagined might do him great Service, by cutting off *Marcellus*'s Proviſions and Forage; and could only be an uſeleſs Incumbrance upon him, by conſuming his Proviſions, if he was ſhut up in his Camp.

XLIX. A FEW Days after, King *Bogud* having received *Caſſius*'s Letters, came and joined him with all his Forces, conſiſting of one Legion, and ſeveral auxiliary Cohorts. For as commonly happens in civil Diſſenſions, ſome of the States of *Spain* at that Time favoured *Caſſius*, but a yet greater Number, *Marcellus*. *Bogud* came up to the advanced Works of *Marcellus*, where many ſharp Skirmiſhes happened with various Succeſs: however, *Marcellus* ſtill kept poſſeſſion of his Works.

L. MEAN-WHILE *Lepidus*, from the hither Province, with thirty-five legionary Cohorts, and a great Body of Horſe and Auxiliaries, came to *Ulla*, with Deſign to adjuſt the Differences between *Caſſius* and *Marcellus*. *Marcellus* ſubmitted without Heſitation: but *Caſſius* kept within his Works, either becauſe he thought his Cauſe the juſteſt, or from an Apprehenſion that his Adverſary's Submiſſion had prepoſſeſſed *Lepidus* in his Favour. *Lepidus* encamped with *Marcellus* at *Ulla*, prevented a Battle, invited *Caſſius* into his Camp, and engaged his

Honour to act without Prejudice. *Caſſius* heſitated long, but at laſt deſired that the Circumvallation ſhould be levelled, and free Egreſs given him. The Truce was not only concluded, but the Works demoliſhed, and the Guards drawn off, when King *Bogud* attacked one of *Marcellus*'s Forts, that lay neareſt to his Camp, unknown to any (unleſs perhaps *Longinus*, who was not exempt from Suſpicion on this Occaſion) and ſlew a great Number of his Men. And had not *Lepidus* interpoſed, much Miſchief would have been done.

LI. A FREE Paſſage being now made for *Caſſius*, *Marcellus* joined Camps with *Lepidus*; and both together marched for *Cordova*, while *Caſſius* retired to *Carmona*. At the ſame Time *Trebonius*, the Proconſul, came to take poſſeſſion of the Province. *Caſſius* having Notice of his Arrival, ſent his Legions and Cavalry into Winter-quarters, and haſtened with all his Effects to *Malaca*, where he embarked immediately, though it was the Winter-Seaſon; that he might not, as he pretended, come into the Power of *Marcellus*, *Lepidus* and *Trebonius*; as his Friends gave out, to avoid paſſing through a Province, great Part of which had revolted from him; but as was more generally believed, to ſecure the Money he had amaſſed by his numberleſs Extortions. The Wind favouring him as far as could be expected at that Seaſon of the Year, he put into the *Iberus*, to avoid ſailing in the Night; and thence continuing his Voyage, which he thought he might do with Safety, though the Wind blew conſiderably freſher; he was encountered by ſuch a Storm at the Mouth of the River, that being neither able to return, becauſe of the Stream, nor ſtem the Fury of the Waves, the Ship and all that were in her periſhed.

LII. CÆSAR arriving in *Syria* from *Ægypt*, and underſtanding by thoſe who attended him there from *Rome*, and the Letters he received at the ſame Time; that the Government there was upon a very bad Footing, and all the Affairs of the Commonwealth managed indiſcreetly; that the Conteſts of the Tribunes were producing perpetual Seditions, and the Remiſſneſs of the Officers of the Legions deſtroying military Diſcipline; all which required his ſpeedy Preſence to redreſs them: thought

thought it yet firſt incumbent upon him, to ſettle the State of the Provinces through which he paſſed; that freeing them from domeſtick Contentions, and the Fear of a foreign Enemy, the Laws might have a free Courſe. This he hoped ſoon to effect in *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Aſia*, becauſe theſe Provinces were not involved in War. In *Bythinia* and *Pontus* indeed he expected more Trouble, becauſe he underſtood *Pharnaces* ſtill continued in *Pontus*, and was not likely to quit it eaſily, being fluſhed with the Victory he had obtained over *Domitius Calvinus*. He made a ſhort Stay in moſt States of Note, diſtributing Rewards both publickly and privately to ſuch as deſerved them, determining old Controverſies, and receiving into his Protection the Kings, Princes, and Potentates, as well of the Provinces, as of the neighbouring Countries. And having ſettled the neceſſary Regulations for the Defence of the Country, he diſmiſſed them fully ſatisfied with himſelf and the Republick.

LIII. AFTER a Stay of ſome Days in thoſe Parts, he named *Sextus Cæſar*, his Friend and Relation, to the Command of *Syria*, and the Legions appointed to guard it; and ſailed himſelf for *Cilicia*, with the Fleet he had brought from *Egypt*. He ſummoned the States to aſſemble at *Tarſus*, the ſtrongeſt and fineſt City of the Province; where having ſettled every Thing that regarded either it or the neighbouring Countries, his warlike Ardour would not ſuffer him to tarry longer; but marching through *Cappadocia* with the utmoſt Expedition, where he ſtopped two Days at *Mazaca*, he arrived at *Comana*, renowned for the ancient and ſacred Temple of *Bellona*, where ſhe is worſhipped with ſo much Veneration, that her Prieſt is accounted next in Power and Dignity to the King. He conferred this Dignity on *Lycomedes* of *Bithynia*, deſcended of the ancient Kings of *Cappadocia*, who demanded it in Right of Inheritance; his Anceſtors having loſt it upon occaſion of the Scepter's being transferred to another Line. As for *Ariobarzanes*, and his Brother *Ariarates*, who had both deſerved well of the Commonwealth, he confirmed the firſt in his Kingdom, and put the other under his Protection; after which, he purſued his March with the ſame Diſpatch.

LIV. UPON his approaching *Pontus*, and the Frontiers of *Gallogræcia*; *Dejotarus*, Tetrarch of that Province, (whose Title however was disputed by the neighbouring Tetrarchs) and King of the Lesser *Armenia*, laying aside the regal Ornaments, and assuming the Habit not only of a private Person, but even of a Criminal, came in a suppliant Manner to *Cæsar*, "To beg Forgiveness for "obeying and assisting *Pompey*, at a Time when *Cæsar* "could afford him no Protection: Urging, that it was "his Business to obey the Governors who were present, "without pretending to judge of the Disputes of the "People of *Rome*." *Cæsar*, after putting him in mind, "of the many Services he had done him, and the Decrees he had procured in his Favour when Consul; "that his Defection could claim no Excuse from Want "of Information, because one of his Industry and Prudence could not but know who was Master of *Italy* "and *Rome*; where the Senate, the People, and the "Majesty of the Republick resided; who in fine was "Consul after *Marcellus* and *Lentulus*; told him, that "he would notwithstanding forgive his present Fault, "in consideration of his past Services, the former "Friendship that had subsisted between them, the Respect due to his Age, and the Solicitation of those "who interceded in his Behalf: Adding, that he would "refer the Controversy relating to the Tetrarchate to "another Time." He restored him the Royal Habit, and commanded him to join him with all his Cavalry, and the Legion he had trained up after the *Roman* Manner.

LV. WHEN he was arrived in *Pontus*, and had drawn all his Forces together, which were not very considerable either for their Number or Discipline; (for except the sixth Legion, composed of veteran Soldiers, which he had brought with him from *Alexandria*, and which by its many Labours and Dangers, the Length of its Marches and Voyages, and the frequent Wars in which it had been engaged, was reduced to less than a thousand Men; he had only the Legion of *Dejotarus*, and two more that had been in the late Battle between *Domitius* and *Pharnaces*:) Ambassadors arrived from *Pharnaces*, "To in-"treat that *Cæsar* would not look upon him as an

" Enemy, he being ready to submit to all his Com
" mands." Particularly they represented, " That
" *Pharnaces* had granted no Aid to *Pompey*, as *Dejo-*
" *tarus* had done, whom he had nevertheless pardoned."
Cæsar replied, " That *Pharnaces* should meet with the
" utmost Justice, if he performed his Promises : But at
" the same Time admonished the Ambassadors in gentle
" Terms, to forbear mentioning *Dejotarus*, and not to
" over-rate the having refused Aid to *Pompey*. He told
" them, he was always ready to forgive the Suppliant,
" but would never look upon private Services to him-
" self, as an Atonement for publick Injuries done the
" Province : That *Pharnaces*'s Refusal of aiding *Pom-*
" *pey* had turned chiefly to his own Advantage, as he
" had thereby avoided all Share in the Disaster of *Phar-*
" *salia :* That he was however willing to forgive the
" Injuries done to the *Roman* Citizens in *Pontus*, be-
" cause it was now too late to think of redressing them ;
" as he could neither restore Life to the Dead, or Man-
" hood to those he had deprived of it, by a Punishment
" more intolerable to the *Romans* than Death itself.
" But that he must quit *Pontus* immediately, send back
" the Farmers of the Revenues, and restore to the *Ro-*
" *mans* and their Allies, what he unjustly detained from
" them. These Things performed, he might then send
" the Presents which successful Generals were wont to
" receive from their Friends :" (For *Pharnaces* had sent
him a Golden Crown.) With this Answer he dismissed
the Ambassadors.

LVI. PHARNACES promised every Thing : But hop-
ing that *Cæsar*, who was in haste to be gone, would give
easy Credit to whatever he said, that he might the sooner
set out upon more urgent Affairs ; (for every Body knew
that his Presence was much wanted at *Rome*,) he per-
formed but slowly, wanted to protract the Day of his
Departure, demanded other Conditions, and in fine en-
deavoured to elude his Engagements. *Cæsar* perceiving
his Drift, did now out of Necessity, what he was usually
wont to do through Inclination, and resolved to decide
the Affair as soon as possible by a Battle.

LVII. ZIELA is a Town of *Pontus*, well fortified,
though situated in a Plain. For a natural Eminence,

as if raiſed by Art, ſuſtains the Walls on all Sides. All around are a great Number of large Mountains, interſected by Valleys. The higheſt of theſe, famed by the Victory of *Mithridates*, the Defeat of *Triarius*, and the Deſtruction of our Army, is not above three Miles from *Ziela*, and has a Ridge that almoſt extends to the Town. Here *Pharnaces* lodged himſelf with all his Forces, repairing the Fortifications of a Camp which had proved ſo fortunate to his Father.

LVIII. CÆSAR encamped about five Miles from the Enemy; and obſerving that the Valleys which defended the King's Camp, would likewiſe defend his own at the ſame Diſtance, if the Enemy, who were much nearer, did not ſeize them before him; he ordered a great Quantity of Faſcines to be brought within the Intrenchments. This being quickly performed; next Night, at the fourth Watch, leaving all the Baggage in the Camp, he ſet out with the Legions; and arriving at Day-break unſuſpected by the Enemy, poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſame Poſt where *Mithridates* had defeated *Triarius*. Hither he commanded all the Faſcines to be brought, employing the Servants of the Army for that Purpoſe, that the Soldiers might not be called off from the Works; becauſe the Valley, which divided the Eminence where he was intrenching himſelf, from the Enemy, was not above a Mile over.

LIX. PHARNACES perceiving this next Morning, ranged all his Troops in Order of Battle before his Camp. But the Approach towards us was ſo dangerous, that *Cæſar* concluded it to be no more than a Review; or done with Deſign to retard his Works, by keeping a great Number of his Men under Arms; or perhaps for Oſtentation, to ſhew that he truſted no leſs to his Army, than the Advantage of his Poſt. Therefore keeping only his firſt Line in Order of Battle, he commanded the reſt of the Army to go on with the Works. But *Pharnaces*, either prompted by the Place itſelf, which had been ſo fortunate to his Father; or induced by favourable Omens, as we were afterwards told; or deſpiſing the ſmall Number of our Men that were in Arms; for he took all that were employed in carrying Materials to the Works to be Soldiers; or confiding in his veteran Army, who va-

lued

lued themſelves upon having defeated the twenty-ſecond Legion; and at the ſame Time contemning our Troops, whom he had worſted under *Domitius*; was determined upon a Battle, and to that End began to croſs the Valley. *Cæſar* at firſt laughed at his Oſtentation, in crowding his Army into ſo narrow a Place, where no Enemy in his right Senſes would have ventured; while in the Mean-time *Pharnaces* continued his March, and began to aſcend the ſteep Hill on which *Cæſar* was poſted.

LX. CÆSAR aſtoniſhed at his incredible Raſhneſs and Confidence, and finding himſelf ſuddenly and unexpectedly attacked, called off his Soldiers from the Works, ordered them to Arms, oppoſed the Legions to the Enemy, and ranged his Troops in Order of Battle. The Suddenneſs of the Thing occaſioned ſome Terror at firſt; and the Chariots armed with Scythes, falling in with our Ranks before they were completed, diſordered them conſiderably: However, the Multitude of Darts diſcharged againſt them, ſoon put a Stop to their Career. The Enemy's Army followed them cloſe, and began the Battle with a Shout. Our advantageous Situation, but eſpecially the Aſſiſtance of the Gods, who preſide over all the Events of War, and more particularly thoſe where human Conduct can be of no Service, favoured us greatly on this Occaſion.

LXI. AFTER a ſharp and obſtinate Conflict, Victory began to declare for us on the right Wing, where the ſixth Legion was poſted. The Enemy there was totally overthrown; but in the Center and Left the Battle was long and doubtful: However, with the Aſſiſtance of the ſame Gods, we at laſt prevailed there alſo, and drove them with the utmoſt Precipitation down the Hill, which they had ſo eaſily aſcended before. Great Numbers being ſlain, and many cruſhed by the Flight of their own Troops, ſuch as had the good Fortune to eſcape were nevertheleſs obliged to throw away their Arms; ſo that having croſſed the Valley, and got upon the oppoſite Aſcent, they could yet, becauſe unarmed, derive no Benefit from the Advantage of the Ground. Our Men flushed with Victory made no Scruple to follow them, and even attack their Camp; which they ſoon forced, notwithſtanding the Reſiſtance made by the Cohorts left

by

by *Pharnaces* to guard it. Almoſt the whole Army was cut to Pieces or made Priſoners. *Pharnaces* himſelf eſcaped with a few Horſe; and had not our Soldiers been detained ſome Time by the Aſſault of the Camp, he muſt certainly have fallen alive into *Cæſar*'s Hands.

LXII. THOUGH *Cæſar* was accuſtomed to Victory, yet the preſent Succeſs gave him no ſmall Joy; becauſe he had ſo ſpeedily put an End to a very great War. The Remembrance too of the Danger to which he had been expoſed, enhanced the Pleaſure, as he had obtained an eaſy Victory in a very difficult Conjuncture. Having thus recovered *Pontus*, and abandoned the Plunder of the Enemy's Camp to the Soldiers, he ſet out next Day with a Guard of light Horſe. The ſixth Legion had Orders to return to *Italy*, to receive the Honours and Rewards they had merited: The auxiliary Troops of *Dejotarus* were ſent home: And *Cælius Vincianus* was left with two Legions to protect the Kingdom of *Pontus*.

LXIII. THROUGH *Gallogræcia* and *Bithynia* he went into *Aſia*, ſettling all the Controverſies of the Provinces as he paſſed, and eſtabliſhing the Limits and Juriſdictions of the ſeveral Kings, States, and Tetrarchs. *Mithridates* of *Pergamus*, who had ſo ſpeedily and ſucceſsfully ſerved him in *Egypt*, as we have related above, a Man of royal Deſcent and Education, (for *Mithridates*, King of all *Aſia*, out of Regard to his Birth, had carried him along with him when very young, and kept him in his Camp ſeveral Years,) was appointed King of *Boſphorus*, which had belonged to *Pharnaces*. And thus were the Provinces of the *Roman* People ſcreened from the Attempts of barbarous and hoſtile Kings, by the Interpoſition of a Prince ſteadily attached to the Intereſts of the Republick. To this was added the Tetrarchate of *Gallogræcia*, which belonged to him of Right, though it had been poſſeſſed for ſome Years by *Dejotarus*. Thus *Cæſar*, ſtaying no where longer than the Neceſſity of Affairs required, and having ſettled all Things relating to the Provinces with the utmoſt Succeſs and Diſpatch, returned to *Italy* much ſooner than was expected.

A. HIR-

A. HIRTIUS PANSA's

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

AFRICAN WAR.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. Cæſar *ſets out for* Africa. III. *And lands at* Adrumetum. IV. *He treats with* Conſidius *about the Surrender of that Town: But in vain.* V. *Thence he removes his Camp to* Ruſpina. VI. *And again to* Leptis, *which he immediately takes poſſeſſion of.* VII. *Here he draws together his auxiliary Troops.* VIII. *And afterwards returns to* Ruſpina, *to provide himſelf with Corn.* IX. *Whence preparing to ſail in queſt of his Tranſports, they unexpectedly appear before the Port.* XI. *Skirmiſhes between* Cæſar *and* Labienus *near* Ruſpina. XVII. Petreius *and* Piſo *advance to ſupport* Labienus, *but they are nevertheleſs all repulſed.* XVIII. *The Number of* Labienus's *Troops, and his Preſumption.* XIX. Scipio *joins* Labienus. Cæſar *fortifies his Camp.* XXI. *Young* Pompey, *by* Cato's *Advice, prepares for War, but without Succeſs.* XXII. Cæſar *ſuffers greatly for want of Corn.* XXIII. *King* Juba *marching to the Aſſiſtance of* Scipio, *is forced to return to defend his own Kingdom againſt* Bogud. XXIV. Cæſar *reſolving to fight the Enemy, draws Troops together from all Parts.* XXV. *The Manner of training* Scipio's *Elephants.* XXVI. *One of* Cæſar's *Ships taken by the Enemy.* XXVII. Labienus *attacks* Leptis *in vain.* XXVIII. Scipio *draws out his Troops.* Cæſar *keeps within his Camp.* XXIX. *A great Number of* Numidians *and* Getulians *deſert to* Cæſar. XXX. *The Town of* Acilla *demands a Garriſon from* Cæſar, *and is immediately inveſted by the Enemy.* XXXI. Cæſar *receives a Supply of Troops and Corn by Sea.* XXXII. *A Body of* Getulians, *ſent out as Scouts by* Scipio, *deſert to* Cæſar. XXXIII. Cato *ſends Supplies to* Scipio. *The City of* Tiſdra *demands a Garriſon of* Cæſar. XXXIV. Cæſar *makes choice of a new Camp, and ſtrengthens it with Works; which the Enemy advancing to retard, are repulſed with great Slaughter.* XXXVIII. *Upon which* Cæſar *draws out his Army; but the Enemy keep within their Camp.* XL. *The Siege of* Acilla *raiſed.* XLI. *The ſurpriſing Fortitude of one of* Cæſar's *Centurions, taken Priſoner by* Scipio; *and the Cruelty of that General.* XLII. *The great Miſchief done by a ſudden Storm of Rain.* XLIII.

XLIII. *King* Juba *arrives in* Scipio's *Camp at the Head of a great Body of Troops.* XLIV. Cæſar *having diſlodged* Labienus, *ſeizes the Hill on which he was poſted.* XLV. Cæſar's *Works for the Security of his Camp.* XLVI. Juba *and* Labienus *attacking a Party of* Cæſar's *Men, as they returned from the Works, are repulſed with great Slaughter.* XLVII. *Two Legions arrive to* Cæſar's *Aid.* XLVIII. Cæſar's *Steadineſs in maintaining military Diſcipline.* XLIX. *The* Getulians *revolting from* Juba, *oblige him to divide his Forces.* L. Cæſar *feigns a Deſign upon* Uzita, *whence a great many Perſons of illuſtrious Rank join him.* LI. Juba's *Pride.* LII. *Both Armies drawn up.* LIII. *The Order of Battle on each Side.* LIV. *After a few Skirmiſhes between the Horſe, both retire to their Camps.* LV. *Some of* Cæſar's *Ships burnt by the Enemy, and others taken.* LVI. Cæſar *embarking in perſon, follows the Enemy, defeats them, and returns to his Camp.* LVII. Cæſar *in want of Corn.* LVIII. *Which compels him to leave his Camp.* Scipio *purſues him.* LIX. *He poſſeſſes himſelf of* Zeta, *a Town beyond the Enemy's Camp.* LX. *The Enemy attacking him as he returns laden with Plunder, are repulſed.* LXI. *Difficulty of fighting with the* Numidians: Cæſar's *Contrivance for that Purpoſe.* LXII. *The Town of* Vacca, *demanding a Garriſon of* Cæſar, *is plundered by King* Juba. LXIII. *The Enemy declining a Battle,* Cæſar *decamps, and repulſes the Troops ſent to ſet upon him in his March.* LXIV. *But not caring to beſiege* Sarſura, *he returns to his old Camp.* LXV. *The* Thabenenſes *demand* Cæſar's *Protection.* LXVI. Cæſar *receives freſh Succours.* LXVII. *A Battle of the Cavalry, in which* Cæſar *has the Advantage.* LXVIII. *The Enemy ſtill declining an Engagement,* Cæſar *beſieges* Thapſus. LXIX. Scipio *attempts to relieve it.* LXX. Cæſar *encouraging his Men, and finding them full of Alacrity, attacks the Enemy.* LXXII. *The ſurpriſing Bravery of a private Soldier.* LXXIII. Scipio's *Army defeated, and almoſt totally cut off.* LXXIV. Cæſar *marches for* Utica. LXXV. *Whither* Scipio's *Cavalry had retired.* LXXVI. Cato

THE ARGUMENT.

Cato *kills himſelf.* Utica *ſurrenders.* LXXVII. Cæſar *in his March to* Utica *poſſeſſes himſelf of* Uſceta *and* Adrumetum. LXXVIII. *He pardons the* Uticans. LXXIX. Juba *flying to* Zama, *is refuſed Admittance.* LXXX. Zama, *and ſeveral of the King's Generals ſurrender to* Cæſar. LXXXI. Conſidius *ſurrenders* Tiſdra, *and* Vergilius Thapſus. LXXXII. *The Death of* Juba *and* Petreius. LXXXIII. *Alſo of* Fauſtus *and* Afranius. LXXXIV. *And of* Scipio. LXXXV. Cæſar *converts* Juba's *Kingdom into a Province.* LXXXVI. *And returns to* Rome.

A. HIRTIUS PANSA's COMMENTARIES OF THE *AFRICAN* WAR.

I. *CÆSAR* ſetting out for *Rome*, advanced by moderate Journeys towards *Sicily*; and continuing his March without Intermiſſion, arrived on the nineteenth of *December* at *Lilybæum*. Deſigning to embark immediately, though he had only one Legion of new Levies, and not quite ſix hundred Horſe, he ordered his Tent to be pitched ſo near the Sea-ſide, that the Waves flowed up to the very Foot of it. This he did with a View to take away all Hopes of Delay, and keep his Men in readineſs at a Day or an Hour's Warning. The Wind at that Time proving contrary, he nevertheleſs ſuffered none of the Soldiers or Mariners to come on Shore, that he might loſe no Opportunity of ſailing; the rather, becauſe the Inhabitants of the Province were perpetually talking of the mighty Forces of the Enemy; a Cavalry not to be numbered; four Legions headed by *Juba*, together with a great Body of light-armed Troops; ten Legions under the Command of *Scipio*; an hundred and twenty Elephants, and Fleets in Abundance. Yet all theſe Reports alarmed him not, nor aught abated his Reſolution and Confidence. Mean-time the Number of Gallies and Tranſports increaſed daily; the new levied Legions flocked in to him from all Parts; among the reſt the Fifth, a veteran Legion, and about two thouſand Horſe.

II. HAVING

II. HAVING got together ſix Legions, and about two thouſand Horſe; he embarked the Legions as faſt as they arrived, in the Gallies; and the Cavalry in the Tranſports. Then ſending the greateſt Part of the Fleet before, with Orders to ſail for the Iſland of *Aponiana*, not far from *Lilybæum*; he himſelf continued a little longer in *Sicily*, to expoſe to publick Sale ſome confiſcated Eſtates. Leaving all other Affairs to the Care of *Allienus* the Prætor, who then commanded in the Iſland; and ſtrictly charging him to uſe the utmoſt Expedition in embarking the Remainder of the Troops; he ſet ſail the twenty-ſeventh of *December*, and ſoon came up with the reſt of the Fleet. As the Wind was favourable, and afforded a quick Paſſage, he arrived the fourth Day within Sight of *Africa*, attended by a few Gallies: for the Tranſports, being moſtly diſperſed and ſcattered by the Winds, were driven different Ways. Paſſing *Clupea* and *Neapolis* with the Fleet, he continued for ſome Time to coaſt along the Shore, leaving many Towns and Caſtles behind him.

III. WHEN he came before *Adrumetum*, where the Enemy had a Garriſon commanded by *C. Conſidius*; and where *Cn. Piſo* appeared upon the Shore towards *Clupea*, with the Cavalry of *Adrumetum*, and about two thouſand *Moors*; having ſtopt a While facing the Port, till the reſt of the Fleet ſhould come up, he landed his Men, though their Number at that Time did not exceed three thouſand Foot, and an hundred and fifty Horſe. There encamping before the Town, he continued quiet in his Intrenchments, without offering any Act of Hoſtility, or ſuffering his Men to plunder the Country. Mean-time the Inhabitants manned the Walls, and aſſembled in great Numbers before the Gates, to defend the Town, whoſe Garriſon amounted to two Legions. *Cæſar* having taken a View of the Place, and thoroughly examined its Situation on all Sides, returned to his Camp. Some blamed his Conduct on this Occaſion, and charged him with a conſiderable Overſight, in not appointing a Place of Rendezvous to the Pilots and Captains of the Fleet, or at leaſt not delivering them ſealed Inſtructions, according to his uſual Cuſtom, which being opened at a certain Time, might have directed them where to aſſemble. But in this *Cæſar*

acted not without Design: for as he knew of no Port in *Africa* that was clear of the Enemy's Forces, and where the Fleet might rendezvous in Security, he chose to rely entirely upon Fortune, and land where Occasion offered.

IV. In the Mean-time *L. Plancus*, one of *Cæsar*'s Lieutenants, desired leave to treat with *Considius*, and try, if possible, to bring him to Reason. Leave being granted accordingly, he wrote him a Letter, and sent it into the Town by a Messenger. When the Messenger arrived, and presented the Letter, *Considius* demanding whence it came, and being told from *Cæsar*, the *Roman* General, answered: that he knew no General of the *Roman* Forces but *Scipio*. Then commanding the Messenger to be immediately slain in his Presence, he delivered the Letter unopened to a trusty Partizan, with Orders to carry it directly to *Scipio*.

V. Cæsar had now continued a Day and a Night before the Town, without receiving any Answer from *Considius*; the rest of the Forces were not yet arrived; his Cavalry was very inconsiderable; the Troops he had with him were mostly new Levies, and not sufficiently numerous to invest the Place; neither did he think it adviseable, upon his first landing, to expose the Army to Wounds and Fatigue; more especially, as the Town was strongly fortified, extremely difficult of Access, and the Garrison full of Spirits, in Expectation of a great Body of Horse, who were said to be upon their March to join them. For all these Reasons he determined not to attempt a Siege; lest, while he pursued that Design, the Enemy's Cavalry should come behind and surround him. But as he was drawing off his Men, the Garrison made a sudden Sally; and *Juba*'s Horse, whom he had sent to receive their Pay, happening just then to come up, they jointly took possession of the Camp *Cæsar* had left, and began to harass his Rear. This being perceived, the Legionaries immediately halted; and the Cavalry, though few in Number, boldly charged the vast Multitude of the Enemy. On this Occasion it was, that less than thirty *Gallick* Horse, by an incredible and astonishing Effort of Valour, repulsed two thousand *Moors*, and drove them quite within the Town. Having

thus compelled the Enemy to retire, and ſhelter themſelves behind their Walls, *Cæſar* reſumed his intended March: but obſerving that they often repeated their Sallies, renewing the Purſuit from Time to Time, and again flying when attacked by the Horſe; he poſted ſome veteran Cohorts, with Part of the Cavalry in the Rear, to cover his Retreat, and ſo proceeded ſlowly on his March. The farther he advanced from *Adrumetum*, the leſs eager were the *Numidians* to purſue. Mean-time Deputies arrived from the ſeveral Towns and Caſtles on the Road, offering to furniſh him with Corn, and receive his Commands. Towards the Evening of that Day, which was the firſt of *January*, he reached *Ruſpina*, and there fixed his Camp.

VI. THENCE he removed, and came before *Leptis*, a free City, and governed by its own Laws. Here he was alſo met by Deputies from the Town, who came in the Name of the Inhabitants, to make an Offer of their Submiſſion and Services. Whereupon placing Centurions and a Guard before the Gates, to prevent the Soldiers from entering, or offering Violence to any of the Inhabitants; he himſelf encamped towards the Shore, not far diſtant from the Town. Hither by Accident arrived ſome of the Gallies and Tranſports, by whom he was informed, that the reſt of the Fleet, uncertain what Courſe to purſue, had been ſteering for *Utica*. This obliged him to keep with the Army near the Sea, and avoid marching into the inland Provinces, that he might be at hand to join his Troops upon their Arrival. He likewiſe ſent the Cavalry back to their Ships, probably to hinder the Country from being plundered, and ordered freſh Water to be carried to them on board. Mean-while the Rowers, who were employed in this Service, were ſuddenly and unexpectedly attacked by the *Mooriſh* Horſe, who killed ſome, and wounded many with their Darts. For the Manner of theſe Barbarians is, to lie in ambuſh with their Horſes among the Valleys, and ſuddenly launch upon an Enemy; they ſeldom chooſing to engage Hand to Hand in a Plain.

VII. IN the Mean-time *Cæſar* diſpatched Letters and Meſſengers into *Sardinia*, and the neighbouring Provinces, with Orders, as ſoon as the Letters came to hand,

hand, to ſend Supplies of Men, Corn, and warlike Stores; and having unloaded Part of the Fleet, detached it with *Rabirius Poſthumus* into *Sicily*, to bring over the ſecond Embarkation. At the ſame Time he ordered out ten Gallies, to get Intelligence of the Tranſports that had miſſed their Way, and maintain the Freedom of the Sea. *C. Salluſtius Criſpus*, the Prætor, was likewiſe ſent out at the Head of a Squadron, to ſeize *Cercina*, then in the Hands of the Enemy, becauſe he heard there was great Store of Corn in that Iſland: In giving theſe Orders and Inſtructions, he uſed all poſſible Endeavours to leave no Room for Excuſe or Delay. Mean-while having informed himſelf, from the Deſerters and Natives, of the Condition of *Scipio* and his Followers; and underſtanding that they were at the whole Charge of maintaining *Juba*'s Cavalry; he could not but pity the Infatuation of Men, who thus rather choſe to be Tributaries to the King of *Numidia*, than ſecurely enjoy their Fortunes at home with their Fellow-Citizens.

VIII. THE third of *January* he decamped; and leaving ſix Cohorts at *Leptis*, under the Command of *Saſerna*, returned with the reſt of the Forces to *Ruſpina*, whence he had come the Day before. Here he depoſited the Baggage of the Army; and marching out with a light Body of Troops to forage, ordered the Inhabitants to follow with their Horſes and Carriages. Having by this Means got together a great Quantity of Corn, he came back to *Ruſpina*. His Deſign was, as far as I can judge, that by keeping poſſeſſion of the maritime Cities, and providing them with Garriſons, he might ſecure a Retreat for his Fleet.

IX. LEAVING therefore *P. Saſerna*, the Brother of him who commanded at *Leptis*, to take charge of the Town with one Legion, and ordering all the Wood that could be found to be carried into the Place; he ſet out from *Ruſpina* with ſeven Cohorts, part of the veteran Legions, who had behaved ſo well in the Fleet under *Sulpicius* and *Vatinius*; and marching directly for the Port, which lies at about two Miles diſtance, embarked with them in the Evening, without imparting his Intentions to the Army, who were extremely inquiſitive concerning the General's Deſign. His Departure occaſioned

ſioned the utmoſt Sadneſs and Conſternation among the Troops: for being few in Number, moſtly new Levies, and thoſe not all ſuffered to land; they ſaw themſelves expoſed upon a foreign Coaſt, to the mighty Forces of a crafty Nation, ſupported by an innumerable Cavalry. Nor had they any Reſource in their preſent Circumſtances, or Expectation of Safety in their own Conduct; but derived all their Hope from the Alacrity, Vigour, and wonderful Cheerfulneſs, that appeared in the General's Countenance; for he was of an intrepid Spirit, and behaved with undaunted Reſolution and Confidence. On his Conduct therefore they entirely relied, and promiſed themſelves to a Man, that under ſo able and experienced a Leader, all Difficulties would vaniſh before them.

X. CÆSAR having continued the whole Night on board, about Day-break prepared to ſet ſail; when all on a Sudden, the Part of the Fleet that had given ſo much Concern, appeared unexpectedly in View. Wherefore ordering his Men to quit their Ships immediately, and receive the reſt of the Troops in Arms upon the Shore, he made the new Fleet enter the Port with the utmoſt Diligence; and landing all the Forces, Horſe and Foot, returned again to *Ruſpina*. Here he eſtabliſhed his Camp; and taking with him thirty Cohorts without Baggage, advanced into the Country to forage. Thus was *Cæſar*'s Purpoſe at length diſcovered: that he meant, unknown to the Enemy, to have ſailed to the Aſſiſtance of the Tranſports that had miſſed their Way, leſt they ſhould unexpectedly fall in with the *African* Fleet. Nor would he even impart his Deſign to his own Soldiers left behind in Garriſon; from an Apprehenſion, that when they came to reflect upon their own Weakneſs, and the Strength of the Enemy, they might too much give way to Fear.

XI. CÆSAR had not marched above three Miles from his Camp, when he was informed by his Scouts, and ſome advanced Parties of Horſe, that the Enemy's Forces were in View. At the ſame Time a great Cloud of Duſt began to appear. Upon this Intelligence, *Cæſar* ordered all his Horſe, of which he had at that Time but a very ſmall Number, to advance; as likewiſe his Archers, only a few of whom had followed him from the Camp; and the Legions to march after him in Order

of

of Battle: while he went forward at the Head of a ſmall Party. Soon after, having diſcovered the Enemy at ſome Diſtance, he commanded the Soldiers to repair to their Arms, and prepare for Battle. Their Number in all did not exceed thirty Cohorts, with about four hundred Horſe, and the Archers.

XII. MEAN-WHILE the Enemy, under the Command of *Labienus*, and the two *Pacidii*, drew up with a very large Front, conſiſting moſtly of Horſe, whom they intermixed with light-armed *Numidians* and Archers; forming themſelves in ſuch cloſe Order, that *Cæſar*'s Army at a Diſtance miſtook them all for Infantry; and ſtrengthening their right and left with many Squadrons of Horſe. *Cæſar* drew up his Army in one Line, obliged to it by the Smallneſs of his Numbers; covering his Front with the Archers, and placing his Cavalry in the two Wings, with particular Inſtructions not to ſuffer themſelves to be ſurrounded by the Enemy's numerous Horſe; for he imagined that he was to have to do only with Infantry.

XIII. As both Sides ſtood in Expectation of the Signal, and *Cæſar* choſe to continue without ſtirring from his Poſt, as being ſenſible, that with ſuch few Troops, againſt ſo great a Force, he muſt depend more on Conduct and Contrivance than Strength; on a Sudden the Enemy began to extend themſelves, ſpread out upon the Hills on every Side, and prepare to ſurround our Horſe, who were hardly able to maintain their Ground againſt them. Mean-while both the main Bodies advancing to engage, the Enemy's Cavalry, intermixed with ſome light-armed *Numidians*, ſuddenly ſprung forward, and attacked the Legions with a Shower of Darts. Our Men preparing to return the Charge, their Horſe retreated a little, while the Foot continued to maintain their Ground, till the others having rallied, came on again with freſh Vigour to ſuſtain them.

XIV. CÆSAR perceiving that his Ranks were in danger of being broken by this new Way of fighting, (for our Foot, in purſuing the Enemy's Horſe as they retreated, being forced to advance a conſiderable Way beyond their Colours, were flanked by the light-armed

Numidians; while at the ſame Time they could do but little Execution againſt the Cavalry, by reaſon of the Quickneſs wherewith they retired,) gave expreſs Orders, that no Soldier ſhould advance above four Foot beyond the Enſigns. Mean-while *Labienus*'s Cavalry confiding in their Numbers, endeavoured to ſurround thoſe of *Cæſar*; who being few in Number, and overpowered by the Multitude of the Enemy, were forced to give ground a little, their Horſes being almoſt all wounded. The Enemy encouraged by this, preſſed on more and more; ſo that in an Inſtant the Legions being ſurrounded on all Sides, were obliged to caſt themſelves into an Orb, and fight as if incloſed with Barriers.

XV. LABIENUS with his Head uncovered, advanced on Horſeback to the Front of the Battle to encourage his Men. Sometimes addreſſing *Cæſar*'s Legions: "Soho "you raw Soldiers there, ſays he, why ſo fierce? Has "he infatuated you too with his Words? Truly he has "brought you into a fine Condition: I pity you ſincerely." Upon this one of the Soldiers: "I am "none of your raw Warriors, but a Veteran of the "tenth Legion." "Where's your Standard?" replied *Labienus*. "I'll ſoon make you ſenſible who I am," anſwered the Soldier. Then pulling off his Helmet to diſcover himſelf, he threw a Javelin with all his Strength at *Labienus*, which wounding his Horſe ſeverely in the Breaſt: "Know, *Labienus*, ſays he, that this Dart "was thrown by a Soldier of the tenth Legion." However, the whole Army was not a little daunted, eſpecially the new Levies; and began to caſt their Eyes upon *Cæſar*, minding nothing for the preſent but to defend themſelves from the Enemy's Darts.

XVI. CÆSAR Mean-while perceiving the Enemy's Deſign, endeavoured to extend his Order of Battle as much as poſſible, directing the Cohorts to face about alternately to the right and left. By this Means he broke the Enemy's Circle with his right and left Wings; and attacking one Part of them thus ſeparated from the other, with his Horſe and Foot, at laſt put them to flight. He purſued them but a little Way, fearing an Ambuſcade, and returned again to his own Men. The ſame was done by the other Diviſion of *Cæſar*'s Horſe and Foot;

ſo

ſo that the Enemy being driven back on all Sides, he retreated towards his Camp in Order of Battle.

XVII. MEAN-TIME *M. Petreius*, and *Cn. Piſo*, with eleven hundred ſelect *Numidian* Horſe, and a conſiderable Body of Foot, arrived to the Aſſiſtance of the Enemy: who recovering from their Terror upon this Reinforcement, and again reſuming Courage, fell upon the Rear of the Legions as they retreated, and endeavoured to hinder them from reaching their Camp. *Cæſar* perceiving this, ordered his Men to wheel about and renew the Battle. As the Enemy ſtill purſued their former Plan, and avoided a cloſe Engagement; *Cæſar* conſidering that the Horſes had not yet recovered the Fatigue of their late Voyage; that they were beſides weakened with Thirſt, Wearineſs, and Wounds, and of courſe unfit for a vigorous and long Purſuit, which even the Time of the Day would not allow, ordered both Horſe and Foot to fall at once briſkly upon the Enemy, and not ſlacken the Purſuit till they had driven them quite beyond the fartheſt Hills, and taken poſſeſſion of them themſelves. Accordingly upon a Signal given, the Enemy fighting in a faint and careleſs Manner, he ſuddenly charged them with his Horſe and Foot; who in a Moment driving them from the Field, and over the adjoining Hill, kept poſſeſſion of that Poſt for ſome Time, and then retired ſlowly in Order of Battle to their Camp. The Enemy, who in this laſt Attack had been very rudely handled, thought proper likewiſe to do the ſame.

XVIII. THE Action being over, a great Number of Deſerters of all Kinds flocked to *Cæſar*'s Camp, beſides Multitudes of Horſe and Foot that were made Priſoners. By them we learnt, that it was the Deſign of the Enemy to have aſtoniſhed our raw Troops with their new and uncommon Manner of fighting, and after ſurrounding them with their Cavalry, to have cut them to pieces, as they had done *Curio*; and that they had marched againſt us expreſsly with that Intention. *Labienus* had even ſaid in the Council of War, that he would lead ſuch a numerous Body of Troops againſt us, as ſhould fatigue us with the very Slaughter, and defeat us even in the Boſom of Victory; for he relied more on the Number than the Valour of his Troops. He had heard of the Mutiny

of the veteran Legions at *Rome*, and their Refusal to go into *Africa*; and was likewise well assured of the Fidelity of his Troops, who had served three Years under him in *Africa*. He had a great Number of *Numidian* Cavalry and light-armed Troops, besides the *Gallick* and *German* Horse, whom he had drawn together out of the Remains of *Pompey*'s Army, and carried over with him from *Brundusium*; he had likewise the Freed-men raised in the Country, and trained to fight on Horse-back; and the Multitude of *Juba*'s Forces, his hundred and twenty Elephants, his innumerable Cavalry and Legionaries, amounting to above twelve Thousand. Emboldened by the Hope such mighty Forces raised in him; on the fourth of *January*, six Days after *Cæsar*'s Arrival, he came against him with sixteen hundred *Gallick* and *German* Horse, nine hundred under *Petreius*, eight thousand *Numidians*, four times that Number of light-armed Foot, with a Multitude of Archers and Slingers. The Battle lasted from eleven till Sun-set, during which *Petreius* receiving a dangerous Wound, was obliged to quit the Field.

XIX. MEAN-TIME *Cæsar* fortified his Camp with much greater Care, reinforced the Guards, and threw up two Intrenchments; one from *Ruspina*, quite to the Sea; the other from his Camp to the Sea likewise; to secure the Communication, and receive Supplies without Danger. He landed a great Number of Darts and military Engines, armed Part of the Mariners, *Gauls*, *Rhodians*, and others, that after the Example of the Enemy, he might have a Number of light-armed Troops to intermix with his Cavalry. He likewise strengthened his Army with a great Number of *Syrian* and *Iturean* Archers, whom he drew from the Fleet into his Camp: for he understood, that within three Days *Scipio* was expected with all his Forces, consisting of eight Legions, and four thousand Horse. At the same Time he established Work-shops, made a great Number of Darts and Arrows, provided himself with leaden Bullets and Palisades, wrote to *Sicily* for Hurdles and Wood to make Rams, because he had none in *Africa*, and likewise gave Orders for sending Corn; for the Harvest in that Country was like to be inconsiderable, the Enemy having taken all the Labourers into their Service the Year before, and stored

ſtored up the Grain in a few fortified Towns, after demoliſhing the reſt, forcing the Inhabitants into their garriſoned Places, and laying waſte the whole Country.

XX. In this Neceſſity, by ſoothing the People, he obtained a ſmall Supply, and huſbanded it with Care. Mean-time he was very exact in viſiting the Works, and relieving the Guards. *Labienus* ſent his Sick and Wounded, of which the Number was very conſiderable, in Waggons to *Adrumetum*. Mean-while *Cæſar*'s Tranſports, unacquainted with the Coaſt, or where their General had landed, wandered up and down in great Uncertainty; and being attacked one after another by the Enemy's Coaſters, were for the moſt Part either taken or burnt. *Cæſar* being informed of this, ſtationed his Fleet along the Coaſt and Iſlands, for the Security of his Convoys.

XXI. Mean-while *M. Cato*, who commanded in *Utica*, never ceaſed urging and exhorting young *Pompey*, in Words to this Effect: "Your Father, when "he was at your Age, and obſerved the Commonwealth "oppreſſed by wicked and daring Men, and the honeſt "Party either ſlain, or driven by Baniſhment from their "Country and Relations; incited by the Greatneſs of "his Mind, and the Love of Glory; though then very "young, and only a private Man, had yet the Courage "to rally the remains of his Father's Army, and deliver "*Rome* from the Yoke of Slavery and Tyranny under "which it groaned. He alſo recovered *Sicily*, *Africa*, "*Numidia*, *Mauritania*, with amazing Diſpatch; and "by that Means gained an illuſtrious and extenſive Re-"putation among all Nations, and triumphed at three-"and-twenty while but a *Roman* Knight. Nor did he "enter upon the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, diſ-"tinguiſhed by the ſhining Exploits of his Father, or the "Fame and Reputation of his Anceſtors, or the Honours "and Dignities of the State. You, on the contrary, "poſſeſſed of theſe Honours, and the Reputation ac-"quired by your Father; ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed by "your own Induſtry and Greatneſs of Mind; will you "not beſtir yourſelf, join your Father's Friends, and vin-"dicate your own Liberty, that of the Commonwealth, "and of every good and honeſt Man." The Youth, roufed

rouſed by the Remonſtrances of that grave and worthy Senator, got together about thirty Sail of all Sorts, of which ſome few were Ships of War, and ſailing from *Utica* to *Mauritania*, invaded the Kingdom of *Bogud*. And leaving his Baggage behind him, with an Army of two thouſand Men, partly Freemen, partly Slaves, ſome armed, ſome not, approached the Town of *Aſcurum*, in which the King had a Garriſon. The Inhabitants ſuffered him to advance to the very Walls and Gates; when ſallying out all on a Sudden, they drove him quite back to his Ships. This ill Succeſs determined him to leave that Coaſt; nor did he afterwards land in any Place, but ſteered directly for the *Balearean* Iſles.

XXII. MEAN-TIME *Scipio*, leaving a ſtrong Garriſon at *Utica*, began his March with the Forces we have deſcribed above, and encamped firſt at *Adrumetum*; when after a Stay of a few Days, ſetting out in the Night, he joined *Petreius* and *Labienus*, lodging all the Forces in one Camp, about three Miles diſtant from *Cæſar*'s. Their Cavalry were making continual Excurſions to our very Works, intercepted thoſe who ventured too far in queſt of Wood or Water, and obliged us to keep within our Intrenchments. This ſoon occaſioned a great Scarcity of Proviſions among *Cæſar*'s Men, becauſe no Supplies had yet arrived from *Sicily* or *Sardinia*. The Seaſon too was dangerous for Navigation, and he did not poſſeſs above ſix Miles every Way in *Africa*, which alſo greatly ſtraitened him for want of Forage. The veteran Soldiers and Cavalry, who had been engaged in many Wars both by Sea and Land, and often ſtruggled with Wants and Misfortunes of this Kind, gathering Sea-weed, and waſhing it in freſh Water, by that Means ſubſiſted their Horſes and Cattle.

XXIII. WHILE Things were in this Situation, King *Juba* being informed of *Cæſar*'s Difficulties, and the few Troops he had with him, reſolved not to allow him Time to remedy his Wants, or increaſe his Army. Accordingly he left his Kingdom at the Head of a great Body of Horſe and Foot, and marched to join his Allies. Mean-time *P. Sitius*, and King *Bogud*, having Intelligence of *Juba*'s March, joined their Forces, entered *Numidia*, and laying Siege to *Cirta*, the

moſt opulent City in the Country, carried it in a few Days, with two others belonging to the *Getulians*. They had offered the Inhabitants Leave to depart in Safety, if they would peaceably deliver up the Towns: But theſe Conditions being rejected, they were taken by Storm, and the Citizens all put to the Sword. They then fell to ravaging the Country, and laying all the Cities under Contribution: Of which *Juba* having Intelligence; though he was upon the point of joining *Scipio* and the other Chiefs, he determined to return to the Relief of his own Kingdom, rather than run the Hazard of being driven from it while he was aſſiſting others, and perhaps after all miſcarry too in his Deſigns againſt *Cæſar*. He therefore retired with his Troops, leaving only thirty Elephants behind him, and marched to the Relief of his own Cities and Territories.

XXIV. MEAN-WHILE *Cæſar*, knowing that the Province ſtill doubted of his Arrival, and imagined that not himſelf in perſon, but ſome of his Lieutenants had come over with the Forces lately ſent; diſpatched Letters to all the ſeveral States, to inform them of his Preſence. Upon this many Perſons of Rank fled to his Camp, complaining of the Barbarity and Cruelty of the Enemy. Hitherto he had continued quiet in his Poſt; but touched with their Fears, and a Senſe of their Sufferings, he reſolved to take the Field as ſoon as the Weather would permit, and he could draw his Troops together. He immediately diſpatched Letters into *Sicily*, to *Allienus* and *Rabirius Poſthumus* the Prætors, that without Delay or Excuſe, either of the Winter or the Winds, they muſt ſend over the reſt of the Troops, to ſave *Africa* from utter Ruin; becauſe without ſome ſpeedy Remedy, not a ſingle Houſe would be left ſtanding, nor any Thing eſcape the Fury and Ravages of the Enemy. But ſuch was his Impatience, and ſo long did the Time appear, that from the Day the Letters were ſent, he complained without ceaſing of the Delay of the Fleet, and had his Eyes Night and Day turned towards the Sea. Nor ought we to wonder at his Behaviour on this Occaſion: For he ſaw the Villages burnt, the Country laid waſte, the Cattle deſtroyed, the Towns plundered, the principal Citizens either ſlain or put in Chains, and their Children dragged into Servitude under the Name of Hoſtages;

nor

nor could he, amidſt all this Scene of Miſery, afford any Relief to thoſe who implored his Protection, becauſe of the ſmall Number of his Forces. He kept the Soldiers however at work upon the Intrenchments, built Forts and Redoubts, and carried on his Lines quite to the Sea.

XXV. MEAN-WHILE *Scipio* made uſe of the following Contrivance for training and diſciplining his Elephants. He drew up two Parties in Order of Battle; one of Slingers, who were to act as Enemies, and diſcharge ſmall Stones againſt the Elephants; and fronting them, the Elephants themſelves, in one Line, with his whole Army behind them in Battle-array; that when the Enemy, by their Diſcharge of Stones, had frightened the Elephants, and forced them to turn upon their own Men, they might again be made to face the Enemy, by the Vollies of Stones from the Army behind them. The Work however went on but ſlowly, becauſe theſe Animals, after many Years teaching, are often no leſs prejudicial to thoſe who bring them into the Field, than to the Enemy againſt whom they were intended.

XXVI. WHILST the two Generals were thus employed near *Ruſpina*, *C. Virgilius Prætorius*, who commanded in *Thapſus*, a maritime City, obſerving ſome of *Cæſar*'s Tranſports that had miſſed their Way, uncertain where he had landed or held his Camp; and thinking that a fair Opportunity offered of deſtroying them, manned a Galley that was in the Port with Soldiers and Archers, and joining with it a few armed Barks, began to purſue *Cæſar*'s Ships. Though he was repulſed on ſeveral Occaſions, he ſtill purſued his Deſign, and at laſt fell in with one, on board of which were two young *Spaniards*, of the Name of *Titus*, who were Tribunes of the fifth Legion, and whoſe Father had been made a Senator by *Cæſar*. There was with them a Centurion of the ſame Legion, *T. Salienus* by Name, who had inveſted the Houſe of *M. Meſſala*, *Cæſar*'s Lieutenant, at *Meſſana*, and expreſſed himſelf in very ſeditious Language, nay, even ſeized the Money and Ornaments deſtined for *Cæſar*'s Triumph, and for that Reaſon dreaded his Reſentment. He, conſcious of his Demerits, perſuaded the young Men to ſurrender themſelves to *Virgilius*, by whom they were ſent under a ſtrong Guard to *Scipio*, and three

Days

Days after put to death. It is ſaid that the elder *Titus* begged of the Centurions who were charged with the Execution, that he might be firſt put to death; which being eaſily granted, they both ſuffered according to their Sentence.

XXVII. THE Cavalry that mounted Guard in the two Camps were continually ſkirmiſhing with one another. Sometimes too the *German* and *Gallick* Cavalry of *Labienus* entered into Diſcourſe with thoſe of *Cæſar*. Mean-time *Labienus*, with a Party of Horſe, endeavoured to ſurpriſe the Town of *Leptis*, which *Saſerna* guarded with three Cohorts; but was eaſily repulſed, becauſe the Town was ſtrongly fortified, and well provided with warlike Engines. But at ſeveral Times he renewed the Attempt; one Day, as a ſtrong Squadron of the Enemy had poſted themſelves before the Gate, their Officer being ſlain by an Arrow diſcharged from a Scorpion, the reſt were terrified and took to flight; by which Means the Town was delivered from any further Attempts.

XXVIII. AT the ſame Time *Scipio* daily drew up his Troops in Order of Battle, about three hundred Paces from his Camp; and after continuing in Arms the greateſt Part of the Day, retreated again to his Camp in the Evening. This he did ſeveral Times, no one meanwhile offering to ſtir out of *Cæſar*'s Camp, or approach his Forces; which Forbearance and Tranquillity gave him ſuch a Contempt of *Cæſar* and his Army, that drawing out all his Forces, and his thirty Elephants with Towers on their Backs, and extending his Horſe and Foot as wide as poſſible, he approached quite up to *Cæſar*'s Intrenchments. Upon this *Cæſar* quietly, and without Noiſe or Confuſion, recalled to his Camp all that were gone out either in queſt of Forage, Wood, or to work upon the Fortifications: He likewiſe ordered the Cavalry that were upon Guard, not to quit their Poſt till the Enemy were within reach of Dart; and if they then perſiſted to advance, to retire in good Order within the Intrenchments. The reſt of the Cavalry were enjoined to hold themſelves in Readineſs upon the firſt Notice. Theſe Orders were not given by himſelf in perſon, or after viewing the Diſpoſition of the Enemy from

from the Rampart; but ſitting in his Tent, and informing himſelf of their Motions by his Scouts, ſuch was his conſummate Knowledge in the Art of War, that he gave all the neceſſary Directions by his Officers. He very well knew, that, whatever Confidence the Enemy might have in their Numbers, they would yet never dare to attack the Camp of a General, who had ſo often repulſed, terrified, and put them to flight; who had frequently pardoned and granted them their Lives; and whoſe very Name had Weight and Authority enough to intimidate their Army. He was beſides well intrenched with a high Rampart and deep Ditch, the Approaches to which were rendered ſo difficult, by the ſharp Spikes which he had diſpoſed in a very artful Manner, that they were even ſufficient of themſelves to keep off the Enemy. He was likewiſe well provided with military Engines, and all Sorts of Weapons neceſſary for a vigorous Defence, which compenſated in ſome meaſure for the Fewneſs of his Troops, and the Inexperience of his new Levies. His Forbearance therefore did not proceed from Fear, or any Diſtruſt of the Valour of his Troops; but becauſe he was unwilling to purchaſe a bloody Victory over the ſhattered Remains of his diſperſed Enemies, after ſuch a Series of great Actions, Conqueſts and Triumphs; and therefore reſolved to bear their Inſults and Bravadoes, till the Arrival of his veteran Legions by the ſecond Embarkation.

XXIX. SCIPIO, after a ſhort Stay before the Intrenchments, as if in Contempt of *Cæſar*, withdrew ſlowly to his Camp; and having called the Soldiers together, enlarged upon the Terror and Deſpair of the Enemy: When encouraging his Men, he aſſured them of a complete Victory in a ſhort Time. *Cæſar* made his Soldiers again return to the Works, and under pretence of fortifying his Camp, inured the new Levies to Labour and Fatigue. Mean-time the *Numidians* and *Getulians* deſerted daily from *Scipio*'s Camp. Part returned Home; Part came over to *Cæſar*, becauſe they underſtood he was related to *C. Marius*, from whom their Anceſtors had received conſiderable Favours. Of theſe he ſelected ſome of diſtinguiſhed Rank, and ſent them Home with Letters to their Countrymen, exhorting them to levy Troops for their own Defence, and not liſten to the Suggeſtions of his Enemies.

XXX.

XXX. While theſe Things paſs near *Ruſpina*, Deputies from *Acilla*, and all the neighbouring Towns, arrive in *Cæſar*'s Camp, with Offers of Submiſſion, and to ſupply him with Corn and other Neceſſaries, if he would ſend Garriſons to protect them from the Enemy. *Cæſar* readily complied with their Demands, and having aſſigned a Garriſon, ſent *C. Meſſius*, who had been Ædile, to command in *Acilla*. Upon Intelligence of this, *Conſidius Longus*, who was at *Adrumetum* with two Legions and ſeven hundred Horſe, leaving a Garriſon in that City, poſted to *Acilla* at the Head of eight Cohorts: But *Meſſius* having accompliſhed his March with great Expedition, arrived firſt at the Place. When *Conſidius* therefore approached, and found *Cæſar*'s Garriſon in poſſeſſion of the Town, not daring to make any Attempt, he returned again to *Adrumetum*. But ſome Days after, *Labienus* having ſent him a Reinforcement of Horſe, he found himſelf in a Condition to renew the Siege.

XXXI. Much about the ſame Time *C. Salluſtius Criſpus*, who, as we have ſeen, had been ſent a few Days before to *Cercina* with a Fleet, arrived in that Iſland. Upon which *C. Decimus* the Quæſtor, who, with a ſtrong Party of his own Domeſticks, had charge of the Magazines erected there, went on board a ſmall Veſſel and fled. *Salluſtius* mean-while was well received by the *Cercinates*, and finding great Store of Corn in the Iſland, loaded all the Ships then in the Port, whoſe Number was very conſiderable, and diſpatched them to *Cæſar*'s Camp. At the ſame Time *Allienus* the Proconſul, put on board the Tranſports at *Lilybæum* the thirteenth and fourteenth Legions, with eight hundred *Gallick* Horſe, and a thouſand Archers and Slingers, and ſent them over into *Africa*. This Fleet meeting with a favourable Wind, arrived in four Days at *Ruſpina*, where *Cæſar* had his Camp. Thus he experienced a double Pleaſure on this Occaſion, receiving at one and the ſame Time, both a Supply of Proviſions, and a Reinforcement of Troops; which animated the Soldiers, and delivered them from the Apprehenſions of Want. Having landed the Legions and Cavalry, he allowed them ſome Time to recover from the Fatigue and Sickneſs of their Voyage, and then diſtributed them into the Forts, and along the Works.

XXXII. Scipio

XXXII. SCIPIO and the other Generals were greatly surpriſed at *Cæſar*'s Conduct, and could not conceive how one, who had always been forward and active in War, ſhould all of a ſudden change his Meaſures, which they therefore ſuſpected muſt proceed from ſome very powerful Reaſons. Uneaſy and diſturbed to ſee him ſo patient, they made choice of two *Getulians*, on whoſe Fidelity they thought they could rely; and promiſing them great Rewards, ſent them under the Name of Deſerters, to get Intelligence of *Cæſar*'s Deſigns. When they were brought before him, they begged they might have Leave to ſpeak without Offence; which being granted: "It is now a long Time, great General, ſaid "they, ſince many of us *Getulians*, Clients of *C. Marius*, "and almoſt all *Roman* Citizens of the fourth and ſixth "Legions, have wiſhed for an Opportunity to come "over to you; but have hitherto been prevented by the "Guards of *Numidian* Horſe. Now we gladly embrace "the Occaſion, being ſent by *Scipio* under the Name "of Deſerters, to diſcover what Ditches and Traps you "have prepared for his Elephants, how you intend to "oppoſe theſe Animals, and what Diſpoſitions you are "making for Battle." *Cæſar* commended them, rewarded them liberally, and ſent them to the other Deſerters. We had ſoon a Proof the Truth of what they had advanced; for next Day a great many Soldiers of theſe Legions mentioned by the *Getulians*, deſerted to *Cæſar*'s Camp.

XXXIII. WHILST Affairs were in this Poſture at *Ruſpina*, *M. Cato*, who commanded in *Utica*, was daily enliſting Freed-men, *Africans*, Slaves, and all that were of Age to bear Arms, and ſending them without Intermiſſion to *Scipio*'s Camp. Mean-while Deputies from the Town of *Tiſdra* came to *Cæſar*, to inform him, that ſome *Italian* Merchants had brought three hundred thouſand Buſhels of Corn into that City; and to demand a Garriſon, as well for their own Defence, as to ſecure the Corn. *Cæſar* thanked the Deputies, promiſed to ſend the Garriſon they deſired; and having encouraged them, ſent them back to their Fellow-citizens. Mean-time *P. Sitius* entered *Numidia* with his Troops, and made himſelf Maſter of a Caſtle ſituated on a Mountain, where *Juba* had laid up a great Quantity of Proviſions,

Proviſions, and other Things neceſſary for carrying on the War.

XXXIV. CÆSAR having increaſed his Forces with two veteran Legions, and all the Cavalry and light-armed Troops that had arrived in the ſecond Embarkation, detached ſix Tranſports to *Lilybæum*, to bring over the reſt of the Army. On the twenty-ſeventh of *January*, ordering the Scouts and Lictors to attend him at ſix in the Evening, he drew out all the Legions at Midnight, and directed his March towards *Ruſpina*, where he had a Garriſon, and which had firſt declared in his Favour, no one knowing or having the leaſt Suſpicion of his Deſign. Thence he continued his Route by the Left of the Camp along the Sea, and paſſed a little Declivity, which opened into a fine Plain, extending fifteen Miles, and bordered upon a Chain of Mountains of moderate Height, that formed a Kind of Theatre. In this Ridge were ſome Hills that roſe higher than the reſt, where Forts and Watch-towers had formerly been erected, and at the fartheſt of which *Scipio*'s Out-guards were poſted.

XXXV. CÆSAR having gained the Ridge, began to raiſe Redoubts upon the ſeveral Eminences, which he executed in leſs than half an Hour. When he was near the laſt, which bordered on the Enemy's Camp, and where, as we have ſaid, *Scipio* had his Out-guard of *Numidians*; he ſtopped a Moment: And having taken a View of the Ground, and poſted his Cavalry in the moſt commodious Situation, he ordered the Legions to throw up an Intrenchment along the Middle of the Ridge, from the Place at which he was arrived, to that whence he ſet out. This being obſerved by *Scipio* and *Labienus*, they drew all their Cavalry out of the Camp, formed them in Order of Battle; and advancing about a thouſand Paces, poſted their Infantry by way of a ſecond Line, ſomewhat leſs than half a Mile from their Camp.

XXXVI. CÆSAR unmoved by the Appearance of the Enemy's Forces, encouraged his Men to go on with the Work. But when he perceived that they were within fifteen hundred Paces of the Intrenchment, and that their Deſign was to interrupt and diſturb the Soldiers,

and oblige him to draw them off from the Work; he ordered a Squadron of *Spaniſh* Cavalry, ſuſtained by ſome light-armed Infantry, to attack the *Numidian* Guard upon the neareſt Eminence, and drive them from that Poſt. They eaſily poſſeſſed themſelves of the Place, the *Numidians* being partly killed, and partly made Priſoners. This being perceived by *Labienus*, that he might the more effectually ſuccour the Fugitives, he wheeled off almoſt the whole right Wing of the Horſe. *Cæſar* waited till he was at a conſiderable Diſtance from his own Men, and then detached his left Wing to intercept his Return.

XXXVII. IN the Plain where this happened was a large Villa with four Turrets, which prevented *Labienus* from ſeeing that he was ſurrounded. He had therefore no Apprehenſion of the Approach of *Cæſar*'s Horſe, till he found himſelf charged in the Rear; which ſtruck ſuch a ſudden Terror into the *Numidian* Cavalry, that they immediately betook themſelves to Flight. The *Gauls* and *Germans* who ſtood their Ground, being ſurrounded on all Sides, were entirely cut off. This being perceived by *Scipio*'s Legions, who were drawn up in Order of Battle before the Camp, they fled in the utmoſt Terror and Confuſion. *Scipio* and his Forces being driven from the Plain and the Hills, *Cæſar* ſounded a Retreat, and ordered all the Cavalry to retire behind the Works. When the Field was cleared, he could not forbear admiring the huge Bodies of the *Gauls* and *Germans*, who partly induced by the Authority of *Labienus*, had followed him out of *Gaul*; partly had been drawn over by Promiſes and Rewards. Some being made Priſoners in the Battle with *Curio*, and having their Lives granted them, continued faithful out of Gratitude. Their Bodies of ſurpriſing Shape and Largeneſs, lay ſcattered all over the Plain.

XXXVIII. NEXT Day *Cæſar* drew all his Forces together, and formed them in Order of Battle upon the Plain. *Scipio* diſcouraged by ſo unexpected a Check, and the Numbers of his wounded and ſlain, kept within his Lines. *Cæſar* with his Army in Battalia, marched along the Roots of the Hills, and gradually approached his Trenches. The Legions were by this Time got within

within a Mile of *Uzita*, a Town poſſeſſed by *Scipio*, whence he had his Water, and other Conveniences for his Army. Reſolving therefore to preſerve it at all Hazards, he brought forth his whole Army, and drew them up in four Lines, forming the firſt of Cavalry, ſupported by Elephants with Caſtles on their Backs. *Cæſar* believing that *Scipio* approached with Deſign to give Battle, continued where he was poſted not far from the Town. *Scipio* mean-while having the Town in the Center of his Front, extended his two Wings, where were his Elephants, in full View of our Army.

XXXIX. WHEN *Cæſar* had waited till Sun-ſet, without finding that *Scipio* ſtirred from his Poſt; who ſeemed rather diſpoſed to defend himſelf by his advantageous Situation, than hazard a Battle in the open Field; he did not think proper to advance farther that Day, becauſe the Enemy had a ſtrong Garriſon of *Numidians* in the Town, which beſides covered the Center of their Front; and he foreſaw great Difficulty in forming at the ſame Time an Attack upon the Town, and oppoſing their Right and Left with the Advantage of the Ground: Eſpecially as the Soldiers had continued under Arms, and faſted ſince Morning. Having therefore led back his Troops to their Camp, he reſolved next Day to extend his Lines nearer the Town.

XL. MEAN-TIME *Conſidius*, who beſieged eight mercenary Cohorts of *Numidians* and *Getulians* in *Acilla*, where *C. Meſſius* commanded; after continuing long before the Place, and ſeeing all his Works burnt and deſtroyed by the Enemy, upon the Report of the late Battle of the Cavalry; ſet fire to his Corn, deſtroyed his Wine, Oil, and other Stores; and abandoning the Siege of *Acilla*, divided his Forces with *Scipio*, and retired through the Kingdom of *Juba* to *Adrumetum*.

XLI. MEAN-WHILE one of the Tranſports belonging to the ſecond Embarkation, in which were *Q. Cominius* and *L. Ticida* a *Roman* Knight, being ſeparated from the reſt of the Fleet in a Storm, and driven to *Thapſus*, was taken by *Virgilius*, and all the Perſons on board ſent to *Scipio*. A three-benched Galley likewiſe, belonging to the ſame Fleet, being forced by the Winds

& *Ægimurum*, was intercepted by the Squadron under *Varus* and *M. Octavius*. In this Veſſel were ſome veteran Soldiers, with a Centurion, and a few new Levies; whom *Varus* treated reſpectfully, and ſent under a Guard to *Scipio*. When they came into his Preſence, and appeared before his Tribunal: "I am ſatisfied, ſaid he, it "is not by your own Inclination, but at the Inſtigation "of your wicked General, that you impiouſly wage War "on your Fellow-citizens, and on the honeſteſt Part of "the Republick. If therefore, now that Fortune has "put you in our Power, you will take this Opportunity "to unite with the good Citizens, in the Defence of "the Commonweal, I not only promiſe you your "Life, but you may expect to be rewarded. Let me "know what you think of the Propoſal." *Scipio* having ended his Speech, and expecting a thankful Return to ſo gracious an Offer, permitted them to reply: When the Centurion, who on this Occaſion was Spokeſman, thus addreſſed him: "*Scipio*, ſays he, (for I cannot give you "the Appellation of General) I return you my hearty "Thanks for the good Treatment you are willing to "ſhow to Priſoners of War; and perhaps I might ac- "cept of your Kindneſs, were it not to be purchaſed at "the Expence of an horrible Crime. What! ſhall I "carry Arms and fight againſt *Cæſar* my General, un- "der whom I have ſerved as Centurion; and againſt "his victorious Army, to whoſe Renown I have ſo many "Years endeavoured to contribute by my Valour? It "is what I will never do; and even adviſe you not to "puſh the War any farther. You know not what "Troops you have to deal with, nor the Difference be- "twixt them and yours; of which, if you pleaſe, I "will give you an indiſputable Inſtance. Do you pick "out the beſt Cohort you have in your Army; and "give me only ten of my Comrades, which are now "your Priſoners, to engage them. You ſhall ſee, by "the Succeſs, what you are to expect from your Sol- "diers." When the Centurion had made this Reply, *Scipio* incenſed at his Boldneſs, and reſenting the Affront, made a Sign to ſome of his Officers to kill him on the Spot, which was immediately put in Execution. At the ſame Time ordering the other veteran Soldiers to be ſeparated from the new Levies: "Carry away, ſaid he, "theſe Villains, pampered with the Blood of their "Fellow-

" Fellow-citizens." Accordingly they were conducted without the Rampart, and cruelly maſſacred. The new-raiſed Soldiers were diſtributed among his Legions; and *Cominius* and *Ticida* forbid to appear in his Preſence. *Cæſar*, concerned for this Misfortune, broke with Ignominy the Officers, whoſe Inſtructions being to ſecure the Coaſt, and advance to a certain Diſtance into the main Sea, to protect and facilitate the Approach of the Tranſports, had been negligent on that important Station.

XLII. About this Time a moſt incredible Accident befel *Cæſar*'s Army. For the Pleiades being ſet; about nine at Night a terrible Storm aroſe, attended with Hail of an uncommon Size. But what contributed to render this Misfortune the greater was that *Cæſar* had not, like other Generals, put his Troops into Winter-quarters; but was every three or four Days changing his Camp, to gain Ground on the Enemy: Which keeping the Soldiers continually employed, they were utterly unprovided of any Conveniencies to protect them from the Inclemency of the Weather. Beſides, neither Officer nor Soldier had been permitted to take their Equipages or Utenſils with them, nor ſo much as a Veſſel, or a ſingle Slave, when they parted from *Sicily*: And ſo far had they been from acquiring or providing themſelves with any Thing in *Africa*, that by reaſon of the great Scarcity of Proviſions, they had even conſumed their former Stores. Impoveriſhed by theſe Accidents, very few of them had Tents: The reſt had made themſelves a Kind of Covering, either by ſpreading their Clothes, or with Mats and Ruſhes. But theſe being ſoon penetrated by the Storm and Hail, the Soldiers had no Reſource left, but wandered up and down the Camp, covering their Heads with their Bucklers, to ſhelter them from the Weather. In a ſhort Time the whole Camp was under Water, the Fires extinguiſhed, and all their Proviſions waſhed away or ſpoiled. The ſame Night, the Shafts of the Javelins belonging to the fifth Legion of their own Accord took fire.

XLIII. In the Mean-time King *Juba*, having received Advice of the Horſe-engagement with *Scipio*, and being earneſtly ſolicited by Letters from that General to come to his Aſſiſtance; left *Sabura* at Home with Part of the

Army to carry on the War againſt *Sitius*: And imagining his Name and Preſence ſufficient to free *Scipio*'s Troops from the Dread they had of *Cæſar*, began his March with three Legions, eight hundred Horſe, a Body of *Numidian* Cavalry, great Numbers of light-armed Infantry, and thirty Elephants. When he arrived, he lodged himſelf with all his Forces in a ſeparate Camp, at no great Diſtance from that of *Scipio*. *Cæſar*'s Army had for ſome Time paſt been poſſeſſed with no ſmall Terror of *Juba*'s Forces; and the Report of his Approach had increaſed the Inquietude, and produced a general Suſpenſe and Expectation among the Troops. But his Arrival, and the Appearance of his Camp, ſoon diſpelled all theſe Apprehenſions; and they as much deſpiſed the King of *Mauritania*, now he was preſent, as they had feared him, when at a Diſtance. It was eaſy to be ſeen, however, that the Reinforcement brought by the King, greatly raiſed the Courage and Confidence of *Scipio*. For next Day, drawing out all his own and the Royal Forces, with ſixty Elephants; he ranged them in Order of Battle with great Oſtentation, advanced a little beyond his Intrenchments, and after a ſhort Stay retreated to his Camp.

XLIV. CÆSAR knowing that *Scipio* had received all the Supplies he expected, and judging he would no longer decline coming to an Engagement; began to advance along the Ridge with his Forces, extend his Lines, ſecure them with Redoubts, and poſſeſs himſelf of the Eminences between him and *Scipio*. The Enemy confiding in their Numbers, ſeized a neighbouring Hill, and thereby prevented the Progreſs of our Works. *Labienus* had formed the Deſign of ſecuring this Poſt, and as it lay neareſt his Quarters, ſoon got thither. *Cæſar* had the ſame Project in view: but before he could reach the Place, was neceſſitated to paſs a broad and deep Valley, of rugged Deſcent, broken with Caves, and beyond which was a thick Grove of Olives. *Labienus* perceiving that *Cæſar* muſt march this Way, and having a perfect Knowledge of the Country, placed himſelf in Ambuſh with the light-armed Foot, and part of the Cavalry. At the ſame Time he diſpoſed ſome Horſe behind the Hills, that when he ſhould fall unexpectedly upon *Cæſar*'s Foot, they might ſuddenly advance from behind the Mountain. Thus the Enemy, attacked in Front and Rear, ſurrounded

rounded with Danger on all Sides, and unable either to retreat or advance, would, he imagined, fall an eaſy Prey to his victorious Troops. *Cæſar*, who had no Suſpicion of the Ambuſcade, ſent his Cavalry before; and arriving at the Place, *Labienus*'s Men, either forgetting or neglecting the Orders of their General, or fearing to be trampled to death in the Ditch by our Cavalry, began to iſſue in ſmall Parties from the Rock, and aſcend the Hill. *Cæſar*'s Horſe, purſuing them, ſlew ſome, and took others Priſoners: then making towards the Hill, drove thence *Labienus*'s Detachment, and immediately took poſſeſſion. *Labienus*, followed by a ſmall Party of Horſe, eſcaped with great Difficulty.

XLV. THE Cavalry having thus cleared the Mountain, *Cæſar* reſolved to intrench himſelf there, and diſtributed the Work to the Legions. He then ordered two Lines of Communication to be drawn from the greater Camp, croſs the Plain on the Side of *Uzita*, which ſtood between him and the Enemy, and was garriſoned by a Detachment of *Scipio*'s Army. Theſe Lines were ſo contrived, as to meet at the right and left Angles of the Town. His Deſign in this Work was, that when he approached the Town with his Troops, and began to attack it, theſe Lines might ſecure his Flanks, and hinder the Enemy's Horſe from ſurrounding him, and compelling him to abandon the Siege. It likewiſe gave his Men more frequent Opportunities of converſing with the Enemy, and facilitated the Means of Deſertion to ſuch as favoured his Cauſe; many of whom had already come over, though not without great Danger to themſelves. He wanted alſo, by drawing nearer the Enemy, to ſee how they ſtood inclined to a Battle. Add to all theſe Reaſons, that the Place itſelf being very low, he might there ſink ſome Wells, whereas before, he had a long and troubleſome Way to ſend for Water. While the Legions were employed in theſe Works, part of the Army ſtood ready drawn up before the Trenches, and had frequent Skirmiſhes with the *Numidian* Horſe and light-armed Foot.

XLVI. IN the Evening, when *Cæſar* was drawing off his Legions from the Works; *Juba*, *Scipio*, and *Labienus*, at the Head of all their Horſe and light-armed Foot, fell furiouſly upon his Cavalry; who overwhelmed

by the ſudden and general Attack of ſo great a Multitude, were forced to give ground a little. But the Event was very different from what the Enemy expected: for *Cæſar* leading back his Legions to the Aſſiſtance of his Cavalry, they immediately rallied, turned upon the *Numidians*, and charging them vigorouſly whilſt they were diſperſed and diſordered with the Purſuit, drove them with great Slaughter to the King's Camp. And had not Night intervened, and the Duſt raiſed by the Wind obſtructed the Proſpect; *Juba* and *Labienus* would both have fallen into *Cæſar*'s Hands, and their whole Cavalry and light-armed Infantry been cut off. Mean-while *Scipio*'s Men, of the fourth and ſixth Legions, left him in Crowds, ſome deſerting to *Cæſar*'s Camp, others flying to ſuch Places as were moſt convenient for them. *Curio*'s Horſe likewiſe, diſtruſting *Scipio* and his Troops, followed the ſame Counſel.

XLVII. WHILE theſe Things paſſed near *Uzita*, the ninth and tenth Legions ſailing in Tranſports from *Sicily*; when they came before *Ruſpina*, obſerving *Cæſar*'s Ships that lay at Anchor about *Thapſus*, and fearing it might be the Enemy's Fleet ſtationed there to intercept them, they imprudently ſtood out to Sea; and after being long toſſed by the Winds, Proviſions and Water failing them, at laſt arrived at *Cæſar*'s Camp.

XLVIII. SOON after they were landed, *Cæſar* calling to mind their licentious Behaviour in *Italy*, and the Rapines of ſome of their Officers, ſeized the Pretence furniſhed by *C. Avienus*, a military Tribune of the tenth Legion, who, when he ſet out from *Sicily*, filled a Ship entirely with his own Equipage and Attendants, without taking on board one ſingle Soldier. Wherefore ſummoning all the military Tribunes and Centurions to appear before his Tribunal next Day, he addreſſed them in theſe Terms: "I could have wiſhed that thoſe, "whoſe Inſolence and former licentious Character have "given me Cauſe of Complaint, had been capable of "Amendment, and of making a good Uſe of my Mild-"neſs, Patience, and Moderation. But ſince they "know not how to confine themſelves within Bounds, "I intend to make an Example of them, according to "the Law of Arms, in order that others may be taught "a bet-

"a better Conduct. You *C. Avienus*, when you was "in *Italy*, inſtigated the Soldiers of the *Roman* People "to revolt from the Republick; you have been guilty "of Rapines and Plunders in the municipal Towns; "and you have never been of any real Service, either "to the Commonwealth, or to your General: laſtly, "in lieu of Soldiers, you have crowded the Tranſ- "ports with your Slaves and Equipage; ſo that, through "your Fault, the Republick fails in Soldiers, who at "this Time are not only uſeful, but neceſſary. For "all theſe Cauſes, I break you with Ignominy, and "order you to leave *Africa* this very Day. In like "Manner I break you, *A. Fonteius*, becauſe you have "behaved yourſelf as a ſeditious Officer, and as a bad "Citizen. You, *T. Salienus*, *M. Tiro*, *C. Cluſinus*, "have attained the Rank of Centurions, through my "Indulgence, and not through your own Merit; and "ſince you have been inveſted with that Rank, have "neither ſhewn Bravery in War, nor good Conduct in "Peace. Inſtead of endeavouring to act according to "the Rules of Modeſty and Decency, your whole Study "has been to ſtir up the Soldiers againſt your General. "I therefore think you unworthy of continuing Cen- "turions in my Army: I break you, and order you to "quit *Africa* as ſoon as poſſible." Having concluded this Speech, he delivered them over to ſome Centurions, with Orders to confine them ſeparately on board a Ship, allowing each of them a ſingle Slave to wait on them.

XLIX. MEAN-TIME the *Getulian* Deſerters, whom *Cæſar* had ſent Home with Letters and Inſtructions, as we have related above, arrived among their Country- men; who partly ſwayed by their Authority, partly by the Name and Reputation of *Cæſar*, revolted from *Juba*; and ſpeedily and unanimouſly taking up Arms, ſcrupled not to act in oppoſition to their King. *Juba* having thus three Wars to ſuſtain, was compelled to detach ſix Cohorts from the Army deſtined to act againſt *Cæſar*, and ſend them to defend the Frontiers of his Kingdom againſt the *Getulians*.

L. CÆSAR having finiſhed his Lines of Communi- cation, and puſhed them ſo near the Town, as to be juſt without Reach of Dart, intrenched himſelf there. He cauſed

cauſed warlike Engines in great Numbers to be placed in the Front of his Works, wherewith he played perpetually againſt the Town; and to increaſe the Enemy's Apprehenſions, drew five Legions out of his other Camp. This Opportunity gave ſeveral Perſons of Rank in both Armies, a Deſire to ſee and converſe with their Friends, which *Cæſar* foreſaw would turn to his Advantage. For the chief Officers of the *Getulian* Horſe, with other illuſtrious Men of that Nation, whoſe Fathers had ſerved under *C. Marius*, and from his Bounty obtained conſiderable Eſtates in their Country, but after *Sylla*'s Victory had been made Tributaries to King *Hiempſal*; taking the Opportunity of the Night, when the Fires were lighted, with their Horſes and Servants, to the Number of about a Thouſand, came over to *Cæſar*'s Camp near *Uzita*.

LI. As this Accident could not but diſturb *Scipio* and his Followers; they perceived, much about the ſame Time, *M. Aquinius* in Diſcourſe with *C. Saſerna*. *Scipio* ſent him word, that he did not do well to correſpond with the Enemy. *Aquinius* paid no Attention to this Reprimand, but purſued his Diſcourſe. Soon after, one of *Juba*'s Guards came to him and told him, in the Hearing of *Saſerna*, The King forbids you to continue this Converſation. He no ſooner received this Order, than immediately he retired, for fear of offending the King. One cannot wonder enough at this Step in a *Roman* Citizen, who had already attained to conſiderable Honours in the Commonwealth; that though neither baniſhed his Country, nor ſtripped of his Poſſeſſions, he ſhould pay a more ready Obedience to the Orders of a foreign Prince, than thoſe of *Scipio*; and chooſe rather to behold the Deſtruction of his Party, than return into the Boſom of his Country. Nor was *Juba*'s Arrogance confined to *M. Aquinius*, a new Man, and an inconſiderable Senator; but reached even *Scipio* himſelf, a Man of illuſtrious Birth, diſtinguiſhed Honours, and high Dignity in the State. For as *Scipio*, before the King's Arrival, always wore a purple Coat of Mail; *Juba* is reported to have told him, that he ought not to wear the ſame Habit as he did. Accordingly *Scipio* changed his purple Robe for a white one, ſubmitting to the Caprice of a haughty Barbarian Monarch.

LII. NEXT

LII. NEXT Day they drew out all their Forces from both Camps; and forming them on an Eminence not far from *Cæſar*'s Camp, continued thus in Order of Battle. *Cæſar* likewiſe drew out his Men and diſpoſed them in Battle-array before his Lines; not doubting but the Enemy, who exceeded him in Number of Troops, and had been ſo conſiderably reinforced by the Arrival of King *Juba*, would advance to attack him. Wherefore having rode through the Ranks, encouraged his Men, and given them the Signal of Battle, he ſtayed expecting the Enemy's Charge. For he did not think it adviſeable to remove far from his Lines; becauſe the Enemy having a ſtrong Garriſon in *Uzita*, which was oppoſite to his right Wing, he could not advance beyond that Place, without expoſing his Flank to a Sally from the Town. Beſides, the Acceſs to *Scipio*'s Army was rough and difficult, and would have diſordered his Troops before they gave the Onſet.

LIII. AND here it may not be improper to deſcribe the Order of Battle of both Armies: *Scipio*'s Troops were drawn up in this Manner: He poſted his own Legions, and thoſe of *Juba*, in the Front: behind them the *Numidians*, as a Body of Reſerve; but in ſo very thin Ranks, and ſo far extended in Length, that to ſee them at a Diſtance, you would have taken the main Battle for a ſimple Line of Legionaries, which was doubled only upon the Wings. The Elephants were placed at equal Diſtances on the right and left, and ſuſtained by the Light-armed Troops, and auxiliary *Numidians*. All the bridled Cavalry were on the Right; for the Left was covered by the Town of *Uzita*, nor had the Cavalry Room to extend themſelves on that Side. Accordingly he ſtationed the *Numidian* Horſe, with an incredible Multitude of light-armed Foot, about a thouſand Paces from his Right, towards the Foot of a Mountain, conſiderably removed from his own and the Enemy's Troops. His Deſign in this was, that during the Progreſs of the Battle, the Cavalry having Room to extend themſelves, might wheel round upon *Cæſar*'s Left, and diſorder it with their Darts. Such was *Scipio*'s Diſpoſition. *Cæſar*'s Order of Battle, to deſcribe it from Left to Right, was as follows: The ninth and ſeventh Legions formed the left Wing; the thirteenth, fourteenth,

fourteenth, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ſixth, the Main Body; and the thirtieth and twenty-ninth, the Right. His ſecond Line on the Right, conſiſted partly of the Cohorts of thoſe Legions we have already mentioned, partly of new Levies. His third Line was poſted to the Left, extending as far as the middle Legion of the Main Body, and ſo diſpoſed, that the left Wing formed a triple Order of Battle. The Reaſon of this Diſpoſition was; becauſe his right Wing being defended by the Works, it behoved him to make his Left the Stronger, that they might be a Match for the numerous Cavalry of the Enemy; for which Reaſon he had placed all his Horſe there, intermixed with light-armed Foot; and as he could not rely much upon them, had detached the fifth Legion to ſuſtain them. The Archers were diſperſed up and down the Field, but principally in the two Wings.

LIV. THE two Armies thus facing one another in Order of Battle, with a Space of no more than three hundred Paces between, continued ſo poſted from Morning till Night without fighting, of which perhaps there never was an Inſtance before. But when *Cæſar* began to retreat within his Lines, ſuddenly all the *Numidian* and *Getulian* Horſe without Bridles, who were poſted behind the Enemy's Army, made a Motion to the Right, and began to approach *Cæſar*'s Camp on the Mountain; while the regular Cavalry under *Labienus*, continued in their Poſt, to keep our Legions in check. Upon this, Part of *Cæſar*'s Cavalry, with the light-armed Foot, advancing haſtily, and without Orders againſt the *Getulians*, and venturing to paſs the Moraſs, found themſelves unable to deal with the ſuperior Multitude of the Enemy; and being abandoned by the light-armed Troops, were forced to retreat in great Diſorder, after the Loſs of one Trooper, twenty-ſix light-armed Foot, and many of their Horſes wounded. *Scipio*, overjoyed at this Succeſs, returned towards Night to his Camp. But as Fortune's Favours are ſeldom permanent to thoſe engaged in the Trade of War; the Day after a Party of Horſe ſent by *Cæſar* to *Leptis* in queſt of Proviſions, falling in unexpectedly with ſome *Numidian* and *Getulian* Stragglers, killed or made Priſoners about a Hundred of them. *Cæſar*, Mean-while, omitted not every Day

to

to draw out his Men, and labour at the Works; carrying a Ditch and Rampart quite croſs the Plain, to prevent the Incurſions of the Enemy. Nor was *Scipio* leſs active in forwarding his Works, and ſecuring his Communication with the Mountain. Thus both Generals were buſied about their Intrenchments, yet ſeldom a Day paſſed, without ſome Skirmiſh between the Cavalry.

LV. In the Mean-time *Varus*, upon Notice that the ſeventh and eighth Legions had ſailed from *Sicily*, ſpeedily equipped the Fleet he had brought to winter at *Utica*; and manning it with *Getulian* Rowers and Mariners, went out a cruiſing; and came before *Adrumetum* with fifty-five Ships. *Cæſar*, who knew nothing of his Arrival, ſent *L. Ciſpius*, with a Squadron of twenty-ſeven Sail, to cruiſe about *Thapſus*, for the Security of his Convoys; and likewiſe diſpatched *Q. Aquila* to *Adrumetum*, with thirteen Gallies, upon the ſame Errand. *Ciſpius* ſoon reached the Station appointed him: but *Aquila* being attacked by a Storm, could not double the Cape, which obliged him to put into a Creek at ſome Diſtance, that afforded convenient Shelter. The reſt of the Fleet anchored before *Leptis*, where the Mariners went on Shore, ſome to refreſh themſelves, others to buy Proviſions in the Towns, and left their Ships quite defenceleſs. *Varus* having Notice of this from the Deſerters, and reſolving to take Advantage of the Enemy's Negligence, left *Adrumetum* about nine at Night, and arriving early next Morning with his whole Fleet before *Leptis*, burnt all the Tranſports that were out at Sea, and took without Oppoſition two five-benched Gallies, in which were none to defend them.

LVI. Cæsar had an Account brought him of this unlucky Accident, as he was inſpecting the Works of his Camp. Whereupon he immediately took Horſe, went full ſpeed to *Leptis*, which was but two Leagues diſtant, and going on board a Brigantine, ordered all the Ships in the Port to follow him, and in this Manner put to Sea. He ſoon came up with *Aquila*, whom he found diſmayed and terrified at the Number of Ships he had to oppoſe; and continuing his Courſe, began to purſue the Enemy's Fleet. Mean-time *Varus*, aſtoniſhed at *Cæſar's*

Cæſar's Boldneſs and Diſpatch, tacked about with his whole Fleet, and made the beſt of his Way for *Adrumetum*. But *Cæſar* after four Miles ſail came up with him, recovered one of his Gallies, with the Crew, and an hundred and thirty Men left to guard her: and took a three-benched Galley belonging to the Enemy, with all the Soldiers and Mariners on board. The reſt of the Fleet doubled the Cape, and made the Port of *Adrumetum*. *Cæſar* could not double the Cape with the ſame Wind, but keeping the Sea all Night, appeared early next Morning before *Adrumetum*. He ſet fire to all the Tranſports without the Haven, took what Gallies he found there, or forced them into the Harbour; and having waited ſome Time to offer the Enemy Battle, returned again to his Camp. On board the Ship he had taken was *P. Veſtrius*, a *Roman* Knight, and *P. Ligarius Afranianus*, the ſame who had proſecuted the War againſt him in *Spain*, and who inſtead of acknowledging the Conqueror's Generoſity, in granting him his Liberty, had joined *Pompey* in *Greece*; and after the Battle of *Pharſalia*, had gone into *Africa* to *Varus*, there to continue in the Service of the ſame Cauſe. *Cæſar*, to puniſh his Perfidy and Breach of Oath, gave immediate Orders for his Execution. But he pardoned *P. Veſtrius*, becauſe his Brother had paid his Ranſom at *Rome*, and he made it appear, that being taken in *Naſidius's* Fleet, and condemned to die, *Varus* had ſaved his Life, ſince which no Opportunity had offered of making his eſcape.

LVII. It is uſual for the People of *Africa* to depoſit their Corn privately in Vaults under Ground, to ſecure it in Time of War, and guard it from the ſudden Incurſions of an Enemy. *Cæſar* having Intelligence of this from a Spy, drew out two Legions with a Party of Cavalry at Midnight, and ſent them about ten Miles off, whence they returned loaden with Corn to the Camp. *Labienus* being informed of it, marched about ſeven Miles through the Mountains *Cæſar* had paſſed the Day before, and there encamped with two Legions; where expecting that *Cæſar* would often come the ſame Way in queſt of Corn, he daily lay in Ambuſh with a great Body of Horſe and light-armed Foot. *Cæſar* having Notice of this from the Deſerters, ſuffered ſome Days to paſs,

paſs, till the Enemy, by repeating the Practice often, had abated a little of their Circumſpection. Then iſſuing unexpectedly one Morning by the *Decuman* Port, with eight veteran Legions, and a Party of Horſe, he ordered the Cavalry to march before; who coming ſuddenly upon the Enemies light-armed Foot that lay in Ambuſh among the Valleys, ſlew about five Hundred, and put the Reſt to Flight. Mean-time *Labienus* advanced with all his Cavalry to ſupport the Runaways, and was on the Point of overpowering our ſmall Party with his Numbers, when ſuddenly *Cæſar* appeared with the Legions in Order of Battle. This Sight checked the Ardour of *Labienus*, who thought proper to ſound a Retreat. The Day after, *Juba* ordered all the *Numidians* who had deſerted their Poſt and fled to the Camp, to be crucified.

LVIII. MEAN-WHILE *Cæſar* being ſtraitened for want of Corn, recalled all his Forces to the Camp; and having left Garriſons at *Leptis*, *Ruſpina*, and *Acilla*; ordered *Ciſpius* and *Aquila* to cruiſe with their Fleets, the one before *Adrumetum*, the other before *Thapſus*; and ſet fire to his Camp at *Uzita*: He ſet out in Order of Battle at Three in the Morning, diſpoſed his Baggage in the Left, and came to *Agar*, a Town that had been often vigorouſly attacked by the *Getulians*, and as valiantly defended by the Inhabitants. There encamping in the Plain before the Town, he went with Part of his Army round the Country in queſt of Proviſions; and having found Store of Barley, Oil, Wine, and Figs, with a ſmall Quantity of Wheat; after allowing the Troops ſome Time to refreſh themſelves, he returned to his Camp. *Scipio*, mean-while, hearing of *Cæſar*'s Departure, followed him along the Hills with all his Forces, and poſted himſelf about ſix Miles off in three different Camps.

LIX. THE Town of *Zeta* lying on *Scipio*'s Side of the Country, was not above ten Miles from his Camp: But might be about eighteen from that of *Cæſar*. *Scipio* had ſent two Legions thither to forage; which *Cæſar* having Intelligence of from a Deſerter, removed his Camp from the Plain to a Hill, for the greater Security; and leaving ſome Troops to guard it, marched at Three

in

in the Morning with the reſt of his Forces, paſſed the Enemy's Camp, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Town. *Scipio*'s Legions were gone farther into the Country to forage; againſt whom ſetting out immediately, he found the whole Army come up to their Aſſiſtance, which obliged him to give over the Purſuit. He took on this Occaſion *C. Mutius Reginus*, a *Roman* Knight, *Scipio*'s intimate Friend, and Governor of the Town; alſo *P. Atrius*, a *Roman* Knight likewiſe, of the Province of *Utica*; with twenty-two Camels belonging to King *Juba*. Then leaving a Garriſon in the Place, under the Command of *Oppius* his Lieutenant, he ſet out upon his Return to his own Camp.

LX. As he drew near *Scipio*'s Camp, by which he was neceſſitated to paſs; *Labienus* and *Afranius*, who lay in Ambuſcade among the neareſt Hills, with all their Cavalry and light-armed Infantry, ſtarted up and attacked his Rear. *Cæſar* detaching his Cavalry to receive their Charge, ordered the Legions to throw all their Baggage into a Heap, and face about upon the Enemy. No ſooner was this Order executed, than upon the firſt Charge of the Legions, the Enemy's Horſe and light-armed Foot began to give way, and were with incredible Eaſe driven from the higher Ground. But when *Cæſar*, imagining them ſufficiently deterred from any further Attempts, began to purſue his March, they again iſſued from the Hills; and the *Numidians*, with the light-armed Infantry, who are wonderfully nimble, and accuſtom themſelves to fight intermixed with the Horſe, with whom they keep an equal Pace either in advancing or retiring, fell a ſecond Time upon our Foot. As they repeated this often, preſſing upon our Rear when we marched, and retiring when we endeavoured to engage, always keeping at a certain Diſtance, and with ſingular Care avoiding a cloſe Fight, as holding it enough to wound us with their Darts; *Cæſar* plainly ſaw that their whole Aim was, to oblige him to encamp in that Place, where no Water was to be had; that his Soldiers, who had taſted nothing from Three in the Morning till Four in the Afternoon, might periſh with Hunger, and the Cattle with Thirſt. Sun-ſet now approached; when *Cæſar*, finding he had not gained an hundred Paces complete in four Hours, and that by keeping his Cavalry in the Rear,

Rear, he loſt many Horſe, ordered the Legions to fall behind, and cloſe the March. Proceeding thus with a ſlow and gentle Pace, he found the Legions fitter to ſuſtain the Enemy's Charge. Mean-time the *Numidian* Horſe, wheeling round the Hills to the Right and Left, threatened to incloſe *Cæſar*'s Forces with their Numbers, while Part continued to haraſs his Rear: And if but three or four veteran Soldiers faced about, and darted their Javelins at the Enemy, no leſs than two thouſand of them would take to Flight; but ſuddenly rallying, returned to the Fight, and charged the Legionaries with their Darts. Thus *Cæſar*, one while marching forward, one while halting, and going on but ſlowly, reached his Camp ſafe about ſeven that Evening, having only ten Men wounded. *Labienus* too retreated to his Camp, after having thoroughly fatigued his Troops with the Purſuit; in which, beſides a great Number wounded, his Loſs amounted to about three hundred Men. And *Scipio* withdrew his Legions and Elephants, whom for the greater Terror, he had ranged before his Camp within View of *Cæſar*'s Army.

LXI. CÆSAR having ſuch an Enemy to deal with, was neceſſitated to inſtruct his Soldiers, not like a General of a veteran Army, which had been victorious in ſo many Battles; but like a Fencing-maſter training up his Gladiators: With what Foot they muſt advance or retire; when they were to oppoſe and make good their Ground, when to counterfeit an Attack; at what Place, and in what Manner to launch their Javelins. For the Enemy's light-armed Troops gave wonderful Trouble and Diſquiet to our Army; becauſe they not only deterred the Cavalry from the Encounter, by killing their Horſes with their Javelins, but likewiſe wearied out the legionary Soldiers by their Swiftneſs: For as often as theſe heavy-armed Troops advanced to attack them, they evaded the Danger by a quick Retreat. This gave *Cæſar* no ſmall Trouble; becauſe as often as he engaged with his Cavalry, without being ſuſtained by the Infantry, he found himſelf by no means a Match for the Enemy's Horſe, ſupported by their light-armed Foot; and as he had no Experience of the Strength of their Legions, he foreſaw ſtill greater Difficulties when theſe ſhould be united, as the Shock muſt then be wonderful.

The Number too and Size of the Elephants, greatly increaſed the Terror of the Soldiers; for which however he found a Remedy, in cauſing ſome of thoſe Animals to be brought over from *Italy*, that his Men might be accuſtomed to the Sight of them, know their Strength and Courage, and in what Part of the Body they were moſt eaſily to be wounded. For as the Elephants are covered with Trappings and Ornaments, it was neceſſary to inform them what Parts of the Body remained naked, that they might direct their Darts thither. It was likewiſe needful to familiarize his Horſes to the Cry, Smell, and Figure of theſe Animals; in all which he ſucceeded to a Wonder: For the Soldiers quickly came to touch them with their Hands, and to be ſenſible of their Tardineſs; and the Cavalry attacked them with blunted Darts, and by Degrees brought their Horſes to endure their Preſence. For theſe Reaſons already mentioned, *Cæſar* was not without his Anxieties, and proceeded with more Slowneſs and Circumſpection than uſual, abating conſiderably of his wonted Expedition and Celerity. Nor ought we to wonder: For in *Gaul* his Troops had been accuſtomed to fight in a champaign Country, againſt an open undeſigning Enemy, who deſpiſed Artifice, and valued themſelves only on their Bravery. But now he was to habituate his Soldiers to the Arts and Contrivances of a crafty Enemy, and teach them what to purſue, and what to avoid. The ſooner therefore to inſtruct them in theſe Matters, he took care not to confine his Legions to one Place, but under Pretence of foraging, engaged them in frequent Marches, and Countermarches; knowing well that the Enemy would take care not to loſe ſight of him. Three Days after, he drew up his Forces with great Art, and marching paſt *Scipio*'s Camp, waited for him in an open Plain; but ſeeing that he ſtill declined a Battle, he retreated to his Camp in the Evening.

LXII. MEAN-TIME Ambaſſadors arrived from the Town of *Vacca*, bordering upon *Zeta*, of which we have obſerved *Cæſar* had poſſeſſed himſelf. They requeſted and intreated that he would ſend them a Garriſon, promiſing to furniſh many of the Neceſſaries of War. At the ſame Time, by an uncommon Piece of good Fortune for *Cæſar*, a Deſerter informed him, that *Juba* had by a quick

quick March reached the Town, maſſacred the Inhabitants, and abandoned the Place itſelf to the Plunder of his Soldiers. Thus was *Cæſar*'s Garriſon prevented from ſetting out, and by that Means ſaved from Deſtruction.

LXIII. CÆSAR having reviewed his Army the eighteenth of *February*, advanced next Day with all his Forces five Miles beyond his Camp, and remained a conſiderable Time in Order of Battle two Miles from *Scipio*'s. When he had waited ſufficiently long to invite the Enemy to an Engagement, finding them ſtill decline it, he led back his Troops. Next Day he decamped, and directed his March towards *Sarſura*, where *Scipio* had a Garriſon of *Numidians*, and a Magazine of Corn. *Labienus* being informed of this Motion, fell upon his Rear with the Cavalry and light-armed Troops: And having made himſelf Maſter of Part of the Baggage, was encouraged to attack the Legions themſelves, believing they would fall an eaſy Prey, under the Load and Incumbrance of a March. But *Cæſar*, from a Foreſight of what might happen, had ordered three hundred Men out of each Legion, to hold themſelves in Readineſs for Action. Theſe being ſent againſt *Labienus*, he was ſo terrified at their Approach, that he ſhamefully took to Flight, great Numbers of his Men being killed or wounded. The Legionaries returned to their Standards, and purſued their March. *Labienus* ſtill followed us at a Diſtance along the Summit of the Mountains, and kept hovering on our Right.

LXIV. CÆSAR arriving before *Sarſura*, took it in Preſence of the Enemy, who durſt not advance to its Relief; and put to the Sword the Garriſon which had been left there by *Scipio* under the Command of *P. Cornelius*, who after a vigorous Defence was ſurrounded and ſlain. Having given all the Corn in the Place to the Army, he marched next Day to *Tiſdra*, where *Conſidius* was with a ſtrong Garriſon, and his Cohort of Gladiators. *Cæſar* having taken a View of the Town, and being deterred from beſieging it for want of Corn, ſet out immediately, and after a March of four Miles, encamped near a River. Here he ſtayed about four Days, and then returned to his former Camp at *Agar*. *Scipio* did the ſame, and retreated to his old Quarters.

LXV. MEAN-TIME the *Thabenenſes*, a Nation ſituated in the extreme Confines of *Juba*'s Kingdom, along the Sea-coaſt, and who had been accuſtomed to live in Subjection to that Monarch; having maſſacred the Garriſon left there by the King, ſent Deputies to *Cæſar* to inform him of what they had done, and to beg he would take under his Protection a City which deſerved ſo well of the *Roman* People. *Cæſar* approving their Conduct, ſent *M. Criſpus* the Tribune, with a Cohort, a Party of Archers, and a great Number of warlike Engines, to charge himſelf with the Defence of *Thabena*.

LXVI. AT the ſame Time the legionary Soldiers, who either on account of Sickneſs, or for other Reaſons, had not been able to come over into *Africa* with the reſt, to the Number of four thouſand Foot, four hundred Horſe, and a thouſand Archers and Slingers, now arrived all together. With theſe, and his former Troops, he advanced into a Plain eight Miles diſtant from his own Camp, and four from that of *Scipio*, where he waited the Enemy in Order of Battle.

LXVII. THE Town of *Tegea* was below *Scipio*'s Camp, where he had a Garriſon of four hundred Horſe. Theſe he drew up on the right and left of the Town; and bringing forth his Legions, formed them in Order of Battle upon a Hill ſomewhat lower than his Camp, and which was about a thouſand Paces diſtant from it. After he had continued a conſiderable Time in this Poſture, without offering to make any Attempt; *Cæſar* ſent ſome Squadrons of Horſe, ſupported by his light-armed Infantry, Archers, and Slingers, to charge the Enemy's Cavalry, who were poſted before the Town. Our Men advancing upon the Spur, *Pacidius* began to extend his Front, that he might at once ſurround and give us a warm Reception. Upon this *Cæſar* detached three hundred Legionaries to our Aſſiſtance, while at the ſame Time *Labienus* was continually ſending freſh Reinforcements, to replace thoſe that were wounded or fatigued. Our Cavalry, who were only four hundred in Number, not being able to ſuſtain the Charge of four thouſand, and being beſides greatly incommoded by the light-armed *Numidians*, began at laſt to give ground: Which *Cæſar* obſerving, detached the other Wing to their Aſſiſtance; who

who joining thoſe that were like to be overpowered, they fell in a Body upon the Enemy, put them to Flight, ſlew or wounded great Numbers, purſued them three Miles quite to the Mountains, and then returned to their own Men. *Cæſar* continued in Order of Battle till four in the Afternoon, and then retreated to his Camp without the Loſs of a Man. In this Action *Pacidius* received a dangerous Wound in the Head, and had many of his beſt Officers either killed or wounded.

LXVIII. When he found that the Enemy were by no means to be prevailed with to fight him upon equal Terms, and that he could not encamp nearer them for want of Water, in conſideration of which alone, and not from any Confidence in their Numbers, the *Africans* had dared to deſpiſe him; he decamped the fourteenth of *April* at Midnight, marched ſixteen Miles beyond *Agar* to *Thapſus*, where *Vergilius* commanded with a ſtrong Garriſon, and there fixed his Camp. The very firſt Day he began the Circumvallation, and raiſed Redoubts in proper Places, as well for his own Security, as to prevent any Succours from entering the Town. This Step reduced *Scipio* to the Neceſſity of fighting, to avoid the Diſgrace of abandoning *Vergilius* and the *Thapſitani*, who had all along remained firm to his Party: and therefore following *Cæſar* without Delay, he poſted himſelf in two Camps, eight Miles from *Thapſus*.

LXIX. Between a Moraſs and the Sea was a narrow Paſs of about fifteen hundred Paces, by which *Scipio* hoped to throw Succours into the Place. But *Cæſar* from a Foreſight of what might happen, had the Day before raiſed a very ſtrong Fort at the Entrance of it, where he left a triple Garriſon; and encamping with the reſt of his Troops in Form of a Half-moon, carried his Works round the Town. *Scipio*, diſappointed of his Deſign, paſſed the Day and Night following a little above the Moraſs; but early next Morning advanced within a ſmall Diſtance of our Fort, where he began to intrench himſelf about fifteen hundred Paces from the Sea. *Cæſar* being informed of this, drew off his Men from the Works; and leaving *Aſprenas* the Proconſul with two Legions to guard the Camp and Baggage, marched all the Reſt of his Forces with the utmoſt Expedition to

the Place where the Enemy were poſted. He left Part of the Fleet before *Thapſus*, and ordered the Reſt to make as near the Shore as poſſible towards the Enemy's Rear, obſerving the Signal he ſhould give them, upon which they were to raiſe a ſudden Shout, that the Enemy, alarmed and diſturbed by the Noiſe behind them, might be forced to face about.

LXX. WHEN *Cæſar* came to the Place, he found *Scipio*'s Army in Order of Battle before the Intrenchments, the Elephants poſted in the two Wings, and Part of the Soldiers employed in fortifying the Camp. Upon Sight of this Diſpoſition, he drew up his Army in three Lines, placed the ſecond and tenth Legions in the right Wing, the eighth and ninth in the Left, five Legions in the Center, covered his Flanks with five Cohorts poſted over-againſt the Elephants, diſpoſed the Archers and Slingers in the two Wings, and intermingled the light-armed Troops with his Cavalry. He himſelf on foot went from Rank to Rank, to rouſe the Courage of the Veterans, putting them in mind of their former Bravery, and animating them by his ſoothing Addreſs. He exhorted the new Levies to emulate the Bravery of the Veterans, and endeavour by a Victory to attain the ſame Degree of Glory and Renown.

LXXI. As he ran from Rank to Rank, he obſerved the Enemy very uneaſy, hurrying from Place to Place, one while retiring behind the Rampart, another coming out again in great Tumult and Confuſion. As the ſame was obſerved by many others in the Army, his Lieutenants and Volunteers begged him to give the Sign of Battle, as the immortal Gods promiſed him a certain Victory. While he heſitated with himſelf, and ſtrove to repreſs their Eagerneſs and Deſires, as being unwilling to yield to the Importunity of Men, whoſe Duty it was to wait his Orders; on a Sudden a Trumpet in the right Wing, without his Leave, and compelled by the Soldiers, ſounded a Charge. Upon this all the Cohorts ran to Battle, in ſpite of the Endeavours of the Centurions, who ſtrove to reſtrain them by Force, but to no Purpoſe. *Cæſar* perceiving that the Ardor of his Soldiers would admit of no Reſtraint, giving Good-fortune for the Word, ſpurred on his Horſe, and charged the

the Enemy's Front. On the right Wing the Archers and Slingers poured their Javelins without Intermiſſion upon the Elephants, and by the Noiſe of their Slings and Stones, ſo terrified theſe unruly Animals, that turning upon their own Men, they trod them down in Heaps, and ruſhed through the Gates of the Camp, that were but half finiſhed. At the ſame Time the *Mauritanian* Horſe, who were in the ſame Wing with the Elephants, ſeeing themſelves deprived of their Aſſiſtance, betook themſelves to Flight. Whereupon the Legions wheeling round the Elephants, ſoon maſtered the Enemy's Intrenchments. Some few that made Reſiſtance were ſlain: the Reſt fled with all Expedition to the Camp they had quitted the Day before.

LXXII. AND here we muſt not omit taking notice of the Bravery of a veteran Soldier of the fifth Legion. For when an Elephant which had been wounded in the left Wing, and roufed to Fury by the Pain, run againſt an unarmed Sutler, threw him under his Feet, and leaning on him with his whole Weight, brandiſhing his Trunk, and raiſing hideous Cries, cruſhed him to death; the Soldier could not refrain from attacking the Animal. The Elephant ſeeing him advance with his Javelin in his Hand, quitted the dead Body of the Sutler, and ſeizing him with his Trunk, wheeled him round in the Air. But the Soldier amidſt all the Danger, loſing nothing of his Courage, ceaſed not with his Sword to ſtrike at the Elephant's Trunk, who at laſt overcome with the Pain, quitted his Prey. and fled to the Reſt with hideous Cries.

LXXIII. MEAN-WHILE the Garriſon of *Thapſus*, either deſigning to aſſiſt their Friends, or abandon the Town, ſallied by the Gate next the Sea, and wading navel-deep in the Water, endeavoured to reach the Land. But the Servants and Followers of the Camp, attacking them with Darts and Stones, obliged them to return again to the Town. *Scipio*'s Camp Mean-while being forced, and his Men flying on all Sides, the Legions inſtantly began the Purſuit, that they might have no Time to rally. When they arrived at their former Camp, by Means of which they hoped to defend themſelves, they began to think of chooſing a Commander,

to whoſe Authority and Orders they might ſubmit: but finding none on whom they could rely, they threw down their Arms, and fled to *Juba*'s Quarter. This being likewiſe poſſeſſed by our Men, they retired to a Hill; where deſpairing of Safety, they endeavoured to ſoften their Enemies, ſaluting them by the Name of Brethren. But this ſtood them in little ſtead: for the Veterans, tranſported with Rage and Anger, were not only deaf to the Cries of their Enemies, but even killed or wounded ſeveral Citizens of Diſtinction in their own Army, whom they upbraided as Authors of the War. Of this Number was *Tullius Rufus* the Quæſtor, whom a Soldier knowingly ran through with a Javelin; and *Pompeius Rufus*, who was wounded with a Sword in the Arm, and would doubtleſs have been ſlain, had he not ſpeedily fled to *Cæſar* for Protection. This made ſeveral *Roman* Knights and Senators retire from the Battle, leſt the Soldiers, who after ſo ſignal a Victory aſſumed an unbounded Licence, ſhould be induced by the Hopes of Impunity to wreck their Fury on them likewiſe. In ſhort, all *Scipio*'s Soldiers, though they implored the Protection of *Cæſar*, were yet in the very Sight of that General, and amidſt his Intreaties to his Men to ſpare them, univerſally, and without Exception, put to the Sword.

LXXIV. CÆSAR having made himſelf Maſter of the Enemy's three Camps, killed ten Thouſand of them, and put the Reſt to Flight, retreated to his own Quarters with the Loſs of no more than fifty Men, and a few wounded. In his Way he appeared before *Thapſus*, and ranged all the Elephants he had taken in the Battle, amounting to ſixty-four, with their Ornaments, Trappings, and Caſtles, in full View of the Place. He was in hopes by this Evidence of his Succeſs, to induce *Vergilius* to a Surrender. He even called and invited him to ſubmit, reminding him of his Clemency and Mildneſs; but no Anſwer being given, he retired from before the Town. Next Day, after returning Thanks to the Gods, he aſſembled his Army before *Thapſus*, praiſed his Soldiers in preſence of the Inhabitants, rewarded the Victorious, and from his Tribunal extended his Bounty to every one, according to their Merit and Services. Setting out thence immediately, he left the Proconſul

Proconſul *C. Rebellius* with three Legions to continue the Siege, and ſent *Cn. Domitius* with two to inveſt *Tiſdra*, where *Conſidius* commanded. Then ordering *M. Meſſala* to go before with the Cavalry, he began his March to *Utica*.

LXXV. SCIPIO's Cavalry, who had eſcaped out of the Battle, taking the Road of *Utica*, arrived at *Parada*: but being refuſed Admittance by the Inhabitants, who heard of *Cæſar*'s Victory, they forced the Gates, lighted a great Fire in the Middle of the Forum, and threw all the Inhabitants into it, without Diſtinction of Age or Sex, with their Effects: avenging in this Manner by an unheard-of Cruelty, the Affront they had received. Thence they marched directly to *Utica*. *M. Cato*, ſome Time before, diſtruſting the Inhabitants of that City, becauſe of the Privileges granted them by the *Julian* Law, had diſarmed and expelled the Populace, obliging them to dwell without the warlike Gate, in a ſmall Camp environed with a ſlight Intrenchment, round which he had planted Guards, while at the ſame Time he held the Senators under Confinement. The Cavalry attacked their Camp, as knowing them to be Well-wiſhers to *Cæſar*, and to avenge, by their Deſtruction, the Shame of their own Defeat. But the People animated by *Cæſar*'s Victory, repulſed them with Stones and Clubs. They therefore threw themſelves into the Town, killed many of the Inhabitants, and pillaged their Houſes. *Cato*, unable to prevail with them to abſtain from Rapine and Slaughter, and undertake the Defence of the Town, as he was not ignorant what they aimed at, gave each a hundred Seſterces to make them quiet. *Sylla Fauſtus* did the ſame out of his own Money; and marching with them from *Utica*, advanced into the Kingdom of *Juba*.

LXXVI. A GREAT many others that had eſcaped out of the Battle, fled to *Utica*. Theſe *Cato* aſſembled, with three Hundred more who had furniſhed *Scipio* with Money for carrying on the War, and exhorted them to ſet their Slaves free, and in conjunction with them defend the Town. But finding that though Part aſſembled, the Reſt were terrified and determined to fly, he gave over the Attempt, and furniſhed them with Ships to facilitate

ciliate their Eſcape. He himſelf having ſettled all his Affairs with the utmoſt Care, and commended his Children to *L. Cæſar* his Quæſtor; without the leaſt Indication which might give Cauſe of Suſpicion, or any Change in his Countenance and Behaviour, privately carried a Sword into his Chamber when he went to ſleep, and ſtabbed himſelf with it. But the Wound not proving mortal, and the Noiſe of his Fall creating a Suſpicion; a Phyſician with ſome Friends broke into his Chamber, and endeavoured to bind up the Wound: which he no ſooner was ſenſible of, than tearing it open again with his own Hands, he expired with undaunted Reſolution and Preſence of Mind. The *Uticans*, though they hated his Party, yet in conſideration of his ſingular Integrity, his Behaviour ſo different from that of the other Chiefs, and the wonderful Fortifications he had erected to defend their Town, interred him honourably. *L. Cæſar*, that he might procure ſome Advantages by his Death, aſſembled the People, and after haranguing them, exhorted them to open their Gates, and throw themſelves upon *Cæſar*'s Clemency, from which they had the greateſt Reaſon to hope the beſt. This Advice being followed, he came forth to meet *Cæſar*. *Meſſala* having reached *Utica* according to his Orders, placed Guards at all the Gates.

LXXVII. MEAN-WHILE *Cæſar* leaving *Thapſus*, came to *Uſceta*, where *Scipio* had laid up great Store of Corn, Arms, Darts, and other warlike Proviſions, under a ſmall Guard. He ſoon made himſelf Maſter of the Place, and marched directly to *Adrumetum*, which he entered without Oppoſition. He took an Account of the Arms, Proviſions, and Money in the Town; pardoned *Q. Ligarius* and *C. Conſidius*; and leaving *Livineius Regulus* there with one Legion, ſet out the ſame Day for *Utica*. *L. Cæſar* meeting him by the Way, threw himſelf at his Feet, and only begged for his Life. *Cæſar*, according to his wonted Clemency, eaſily pardoned him; as he did likewiſe *Cæcina*, *C. Ateius*, *P. Atrius*, *L. Colla* Father and Son, *M. Eppius*, *M. Aquinius*, *Cato*'s Son, and the Children of *Damaſippus*. He arrived at *Utica* in the Evening by torch-light, and continued all that Night without the Town.

LXXVIII. NEXT Morning early he entered the Place, ſummoned an Aſſembly of the People, and thanked them for the Affection they had ſhewn to his Cauſe. At the ſame Time he cenſured ſeverely, and enlarged upon the Crime of the *Roman* Citizens and Merchants, and the Reſt of the three Hundred, who had furniſhed *Scipio* and *Varus* with Money; but concluded with telling them that they might ſhow themſelves without Fear, as he was determined to grant them their Lives, and content himſelf with expoſing their Effects to ſale; yet ſo, that he would give them notice when their Goods were to be ſold, and the Liberty of redeeming them upon payment of a certain Fine. The Merchants, half dead with Fear, and conſcious that they merited Death, hearing upon what Terms Life was offered them, greedily accepted the Condition, and intreated *Cæſar* that he would impoſe a certain Sum in groſs upon all the three Hundred. Accordingly he amerced them in two hundred thouſand Seſterces, to be paid to the Republick at ſix equal Payments, within the Space of three Years. They all accepted the Condition, and conſidering that Day as a ſecond Nativity, joyfully returned Thanks to *Cæſar*.

LXXIX. MEAN-WHILE King *Juba*, who had eſcaped from the Battle with *Petreius*, hiding himſelf all Day in the Villages, and travelling only by Night, arrived at laſt in *Numidia*. When he came to *Zama*, his ordinary Place of Reſidence, where were his Wives and Children, with all his Treaſures, and whatever he held moſt valuable, and which he had ſtrongly fortified at the Beginning of the War; the Inhabitants having heard of *Cæſar*'s Victory, refuſed him Entrance, becauſe upon declaring War againſt the *Romans*, he had raiſed a mighty Pile of Wood in the Middle of the Forum, deſigning, if unſucceſsful, to maſſacre all the Citizens, fling their Bodies and Effects upon the Pile, then ſetting fire to the Maſs, and throwing himſelf upon it, deſtroy all without Exception, Wives, Children, Citizens, and Treaſures, in one general Conflagration. After continuing a conſiderable Time before the Gates, finding that neither Threats nor Intreaties would avail, he at laſt deſired them to deliver him his Wives and Children, that he might carry them along with him. But receiving

ceiving no Anſwer, and ſeeing them determined to grant him nothing, he quitted the Place, and retired to one of his Country-ſeats with *Petreius* and a few Horſe.

LXXX. MEAN-TIME the *Zamians* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* at *Utica*, to inform him what they had done, and to requeſt his Aſſiſtance againſt *Juba*, who was drawing his Forces together to attack them. They aſſured him of their Submiſſion, and Reſolution to defend the Town for him. *Cæſar* commended the Ambaſſadors, and ſent them back to acquaint their Fellow-citizens, that he was coming himſelf to their Relief. Accordingly ſetting out the next Day from *Utica* with his Cavalry, he directed his March towards *Numidia*. Many of the King's Generals met him on the Way, and ſued for Pardon: To all whom having given a favourable Hearing, they attended him to *Zama*. The Report of his Clemency and Mildneſs ſpreading into all Parts, the whole *Numidian* Cavalry flocked to him at *Zama*, and were there delivered of their Fears.

LXXXI. DURING theſe Tranſactions, *Conſidius* who commanded at *Tiſdra*, with his own Retinue, a Garriſon of *Getulians*, and a Company of Gladiators; hearing of the Defeat of his Party, and terrified at the Arrival of *Domitius* and the Legions, abandoned the Town; and privately withdrawing with a few of the Barbarians, and all his Money, took his way towards *Numidia*. The *Getulians*, to render themſelves Maſters of his Treaſure, murdered him by the way, and fled every Man where he could. Mean-time *C. Vergilius*, ſeeing himſelf ſhut up by Sea and Land, without Power of making a Defence; his Followers all ſlain or put to Flight; *M. Cato* dead by his own Hands at *Utica*; *Juba* deſpiſed and deſerted by his own Subjects; *Sabura* and his Forces defeated by *Sitius*; *Cæſar* received without Oppoſition at *Utica*; and that of ſo vaſt an Army, nothing remained capable of ſcreening him or his Children; thought it his moſt prudent Courſe to ſurrender himſelf and the City to the Proconſul *Caninius*, by whom he was beſieged.

LXXXII. AT the ſame Time King *Juba*, ſeeing himſelf excluded from all the Cities of his Kingdom, and that there remained no Hopes of Safety; having

ſupped with *Petreius*, propoſed an Engagement Sword-in-hand, that they might die honourably. *Juba*, as being the ſtronger, eaſily got the better of his Adverſary, and laid him dead at his Feet: But endeavouring afterwards to run himſelf through the Body, and wanting Strength to accompliſh it, he was obliged to have Recourſe to one of his Slaves, and by his Intreaties prevailed upon him to perform that mournful Office.

LXXXIII. In the Mean-time *P. Sitius*, having defeated the Army of *Sabura*, *Juba*'s Lieutenant, and ſlain the General, and marching with a few Troops through *Mauritania* to join *Cæſar*, chanced to fall in with *Fauſtus* and *Afranius*, who were at the Head of the Party that had plundered *Utica*, amounting in all to about fifteen hundred Men, and deſigning to make the beſt of their Way to *Spain*. Having expeditiouſly placed himſelf in Ambuſcade during the Night, and attacking them by Day-break, he either killed or made them all Priſoners, except a few that eſcaped from the Van. *Afranius* and *Fauſtus* were taken among the reſt, with their Wives and Children: But ſome few Days after, a Mutiny ariſing among the Soldiers, *Fauſtus* and *Afranius* were ſlain. *Cæſar* pardoned *Pompeia*, the Wife of *Fauſtus*, with her Children, and permitted her the free Enjoyment of all her Effects.

LXXXIV. Mean-while *Scipio*, with *Damaſippus* and *Torquatus*, and *Plætorius Ruſtianus*, having embarked on board ſome Gallies, with a Deſign to make for the Coaſt of *Spain*; and being long and ſeverely toſſed by contrary Winds, were at laſt obliged to put into the Port of *Hippo*, where the Fleet commanded by *P. Setius* chanced at that Time to be. *Scipio*'s Veſſels, which were but ſmall, and few in Number, were eaſily ſurrounded and ſunk by the larger and more numerous Ships of *Sitius*; on which Occaſion *Scipio*, and all thoſe whom we have mentioned above, as having embarked with him, periſhed.

LXXXV. Mean-while *Cæſar* having expoſed the King's Effects to publick Sale at *Zama*, and confiſcated the Eſtates of thoſe, who though *Roman* Citizens, had borne Arms againſt the Republick: After conferring Rewards

Rewards upon ſuch of the *Zamians* as had been concerned in the Deſign of excluding the King, he aboliſhed all the royal Tributes, converted the Kingdom into a Province; and appointed *Criſpus Salluſtius* to take charge of it with the Title of Proconſul, returned again to *Utica*. There he ſold the Eſtates of the Officers that had ſerved under *Juba* and *Petreius*, fined the People of *Thapſus* twenty thouſand Seſterces, and the Company of *Roman* Merchants there thirty thouſand; fined likewiſe the Inhabitants of *Adrumetum* in thirty thouſand, and their Company in fifty thouſand, but preſerved the Cities and their Territories from Inſult and Plunder. Thoſe of *Leptis*, whom *Juba* had pillaged ſome Time before, and who upon Complaint made to the Senate by their Deputies, had obtained Arbitrators and Reſtitution, were enjoined to pay yearly three hundred thouſand Pounds of Oil; becauſe from the Beginning of the War, in conſequence of a Diſſenſion among their Chiefs, they had made an Alliance with the King of *Numidia*, and ſupplied him with Arms, Soldiers and Money. The People of *Tiſdra*, becauſe of their extreme Poverty, were only condemned to pay annually a certain Quantity of Corn.

LXXXVI. THESE Things ſettled, he embarked at *Utica* on the thirteenth of *June*, and three Days after arrived at *Carales* in *Sardinia*. Here he condemned the *Sulcitani* in a Fine of one hundred thouſand Seſterces, for receiving and aiding *Naſidius*'s Fleet; and inſtead of a Tenth, which was their former Aſſeſſment, ordered them now to pay an Eighth to the publick Treaſury. He likewiſe confiſcated the Eſtates of ſome who had been more active than the reſt, and weighing from *Carales* on the twenty-ninth of *June*, coaſted along the Shore, and after a Voyage of twenty-eight Days, during which he was ſeveral Times obliged to put into Port by contrary Winds, arrived ſafe at *Rome*.

A. HIRTIUS

A. HIRTIUS PANSA's

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

SPANISH WAR.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. *The Commencement of the* Spaniſh *War.* II. Cæſar *marches to attack* Cordova. III. *At the ſame Time throws Succours into* Ulia, *beſieged by* Pompey. IV. *The Attempt upon* Cordova *obliges* Pompey *to raiſe the Siege of* Ulia. V. Pompey *advancing to the Relief of* Cordova, Cæſar *attacks* Ategua, *whither he is followed by* Pompey. VII. *Both intrench themſelves in mountainous Places, of difficult Acteſs.* IX. Pompey *attacking a Fort belonging to* Cæſar, *is repulſed.* X. Cæſar *continues the Siege of* Ategua. XI. *Repulſes a Sally from the Town.* XIII. *Various Skirmiſhes between the two Armies.* XV. *Cruelty of the Townſmen.* XVI. Cæſar *repulſes them in a ſecond Sally.* XVII. Tullius *treats with* Cæſar *about a Surrender.* XVIII. *Continuation of the Siege.* XIX. *The Town ſurrenders.* XX. Pompey *removes his Camp towards* Ucubis. XXII. *Behaviour of the* Burſavolenſes. XXIII. Cæſar *and* Pompey *both encamp near* Ucubis, *where ſome Skirmiſhes happen.* XXV. *Single Combat of* Turpio *and* Niger. XXVI. *Great Numbers of the Enemy deſert to* Cæſar. *Some of* Pompey's *Letters intercepted.* XXVII. *Both Parties encamp in the Plain of* Munda. XXVIII. *A great Battle enſues.* XXXI. *In which* Pompey *is totally defeated.* XXXII. Cæſar *beſieges the Runaways in* Munda. XXXIII. *Attacks and makes himſelf Maſter of* Cordova. XXXV. *Likewiſe of* Hiſpalis; *whence he is expelled, and again recovers it. The* Mundenſes, *under a Pretence of a Surrender, preparing to attack our Men, are themſelves put to the Sword.* XXXVII. Carteia *ſurrenders to* Cæſar. Pompey *makes his Eſcape.* XXXIX. Pompey *is ſlain.* XL. *Some of* Cæſar's *Ships burnt.* XLI. Cæſar's *Troops take poſſeſſion of* Munda, *and afterwards inveſt* Urſao. XLII. Cæſar's *Speech to the People of* Hiſpalis.

A. HIRTIUS PANSA's COMMENTARIES OF THE *SPANISH* WAR.

I. *PHARNACES* being vanquiſhed, and *Africa* reduced, thoſe who eſcaped fled into *Spain* to young *Cn. Pompey*; who having got poſſeſſion of the farther Province, whilſt *Cæſar* was employed in diſtributing Rewards in *Italy*, endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf by engaging the ſeveral States to join him: And partly by Intreaty, partly by Force, ſoon drew together a conſiderable Army, with which he began to lay waſte the Country. In this Situation of Things, ſome States voluntarily ſent him Supplies, others ſhut the Gates of their Towns againſt him: Of which, if any chanced to fall into his Hands by Aſſault; how well ſoever a Citizen might have deſerved of his Father, yet if he was known to be rich, ſome Ground of Complaint was never wanting, under pretence of which to deſtroy him, that his Eſtate might fall a Prey to the Soldiers. Thus the Enemy, encouraged by the Spoils of the Vanquiſhed, increaſed daily in Number and Strength: Inſomuch that the States in *Cæſar*'s Intereſt were continually ſending Meſſengers into *Italy*, to preſs his immediate March to their Relief.

II. CÆSAR now a third Time Dictator, and nominated alſo a fourth Time to the ſame Dignity, haſtening with all Diligence into *Spain*, to put an end to the War, was met upon the Way by the Ambaſſadors of *Cordova*,

who had deserted from the Camp of *Cn. Pompey*. They informed him that it would be an easy Matter to make himself Master of the Town by Night, because the Enemy as yet knew nothing of his Arrival in the Province, the Scouts sent out by *Cn. Pompey* to inform him of *Cæsar*'s Approach, having been all made Prisoners. They alleged besides many other very probable Reasons; all which so far wrought upon him, that he sent immediate Advice of his Arrival to *Q. Pedius*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus* his Lieutenants, to whom he had left the Command of the Troops in the Province; ordering them to send him all the Cavalry they had been able to raise. He came up with them much sooner than they expected, and was joined by the Cavalry according to his Desire.

III. SEXTUS POMPEY, the Brother of *Cneus*, commanded at this Time at *Cordova*, which was accounted the Capital of the Province. Young *Cneus Pompey* himself was employed in the Siege of *Ulia*, which had now lasted some Months. The Besieged having Notice of *Cæsar*'s Arrival, sent Deputies to him, who passed unobserved through *Pompey*'s Camp, and requested with great Earnestness, that he would come speedily to their Relief. *Cæsar*, who was no Stranger to the Merit of that People, and their constant Attachment to the *Romans*, detached about Nine at Night eleven Cohorts, with a like Number of Horse, under the Command of *L. Julius Pacicus*, a good Officer, well known in the Province, and who was besides perfectly acquainted with the Country. When he arrived at *Pompey*'s Quarters, a dreadful Tempest arising, attended with a violent Wind, so great a Darkness ensued, that it was difficult to distinguish even the Person next you. This Accident proved of great Advantage to *Pacicus*: For being arrived at *Pompey*'s Camp, he ordered the Cavalry to advance two by two, and march directly through the Enemy's Quarters to the Town. Some of their Guards calling to know who passed; one of our Troopers bid them be silent; for they were just then endeavouring by Stealth to approach the Wall, in order to get possession of the Town; and partly by this Answer, partly by Favour of the Tempest, which hindered the Centinels from examining Things diligently, they were suffered to pass without Disturbance.

Diſturbance. When they reached the Gates, upon a Signal given they were admitted; and both Horſe and Foot raiſing a mighty Shout, after leaving ſome Troops to guard the Town, ſallied in a Body upon the Enemy's Camp; who having no Apprehenſion of ſuch an Attack, were almoſt all like to have been made Priſoners.

IV. ULIA being relieved, *Cæſar*, to draw *Pompey* from the Siege, marched towards *Cordova*; ſending the Cavalry before, with a ſelect Body of heavy-armed Foot; who as ſoon as they came within Sight of the Place, got up behind the Troopers, without being perceived by thoſe of *Cordova*. Upon their Approach to the Walls, the Enemy ſallied in great Numbers, to attack our Cavalry; when the Infantry leaping down, fell upon them with ſuch Fury, that out of an almoſt infinite Multitude of Men, very few returned to the Town. This ſo alarmed *Sextus Pompey*, that he immediately ſent Letters to his Brother, requeſting him to come ſpeedily to his Relief, leſt *Cæſar* ſhould make himſelf Maſter of *Cordova* before his Arrival. Thus *Cn. Pompey*, moved by his Brother's Letters, quitted the Siege of *Ulia*, which was upon the Point of ſurrendering, and began his March towards *Cordova*.

V. CÆSAR arriving at the River *Bætis*, which he found too deep to be forded, ſunk ſeveral Baſkets of Stones in it; and raiſing a Bridge upon them, ſupported by double Beams, carried over his Forces in three Bodies. *Pompey* arriving ſoon after with his Troops, encamped directly over-againſt him. *Cæſar*, to cut off his Proviſions and Communication with the Town, ran a Line from his Camp to the Bridge. *Pompey* did the ſame; inſomuch that a Struggle aroſe between the two Generals, which ſhould firſt get poſſeſſion of the Bridge; and this daily brought on ſmall Skirmiſhes, in which ſometimes the one, ſometimes the other Party had the better. At laſt the Diſpute becoming more general, they came to a cloſe Fight, though upon very diſadvantageous Ground: For both Sides ſtriving earneſtly to obtain the Bridge, they found themſelves as they approached ſtraitened for want of Room, and extending themſelves towards the River-ſide, many fell headlong from the Banks. Thus the Loſs was pretty equal; for on either Side lay

Heaps of Slain: And *Cæſar*, for many Days, uſed all poſſible Endeavours to bring the Enemy to an Engagement on equal Terms, that he might bring the War to a Concluſion as ſoon as poſſible.

VI. But finding that they carefully avoided a Battle, with a View to which chiefly he had quitted the Route of *Ulia*; he cauſed great Fires to be lighted in the Night, repaſſed the River with all his Forces, and marched towards *Ategua*, one of their ſtrongeſt Garriſons. *Pompey* having Notice of this from the Deſerters, retreated the ſame Day to *Cordova*, by a very narrow and difficult Road, with a great Number of Carriages and Machines of War. *Cæſar* began his Attack upon *Ategua*, and carried Lines quite round the Town; of which *Pompey* having Intelligence, ſet out upon his March the ſame Day. But *Cæſar* had taken care before-hand to ſecure all the advantageous Poſts, and poſſeſs himſelf of the Forts; partly to ſhelter his Cavalry, partly to poſt Guards of Infantry for the Defence of his Camp. The Morning of *Pompey*'s Arrival was ſo foggy, that he found Means, with ſome Cohorts and Troops of Cavalry, to hem in a Party of *Cæſar*'s Horſe, and fell upon them in ſuch Manner that very few eſcaped Slaughter.

VII. The following Night *Pompey* ſet fire to his Camp, paſſed the River *Salſus*, and marching through the Valleys, encamped on a Riſing-ground, between the two Towns of *Ategua* and *Ucubis*. *Cæſar* mean-while continued his Approaches, caſt up a Mount, and brought forward his Machines. The Country all around is mountainous, and ſeems formed for War. The River *Salſus* runs through the Plains, and divides them from the Mountains, which all lie upon the Side of *Ategua*, at about two Miles Diſtance from the River. *Pompey*'s Camp was upon theſe Mountains, within View of both the Towns, but nearer to *Ategua*; to which he could however ſend no Relief, though his Army conſiſted of thirteen Legions. Of theſe he chiefly relied on four: two *Spaniſh* ones, which had deſerted from *Trebonius*; one formed out of the *Roman* Colonies in thoſe Parts; and a fourth, which he had brought with him from *Africa*. The reſt were for the moſt part made up of Fugitives and Deſerters. As to light-armed Foot and Cavalry, we

we far exceeded him both in the Number and Goodneſs of the Troops.

VIII. BUT what proved principally ſerviceable to *Pompey*'s Deſign of drawing out the War into Length, was the Nature of the Country, full of Mountains, and extremely well adapted to Encampments. For almoſt the whole Province of Farther *Spain*, though of an extremely fertile Soil, and abounding in Springs, is nevertheleſs very difficult of Acceſs. Here too, on account of the frequent Incurſions of the Natives, all the Places remote from great Towns are fortified with Towers and Caſtles, covered, as in *Africa*, not with Tiles, but with Earth. On theſe they place Centinels, whoſe high Situation commands an extenſive View of the Country on all Sides. Nay, the greateſt Part of the Towns of this Province are built on Mountains, and Places exceedingly ſtrong by Nature, the Approaches to which are extremely difficult. Thus Sieges are rare and hazardous in *Spain*, it not being eaſy to reduce their Towns by Force; as happened in the preſent War. For *Pompey* having eſtabliſhed his Camp between *Ategua* and *Ucubis*, as related above, and within View of both Towns, *Cæſar* found Means to poſſeſs himſelf of an Eminence very conveniently ſituated, and only about four Miles from his own Camp, on which he built a Fortreſs.

IX. POMPEY, who from the Nature of the Ground was covered by the ſame Eminence, and beſides at a ſufficient Diſtance from *Cæſar*'s Quarters, ſoon became ſenſible of the Importance of this Poſt: And as *Cæſar* was ſeparated from it by the River *Salſus*, he imagined that the Difficulty of ſending Relief would prevent his attempting any Thing of that Kind in its Defence. Relying on this Perſuaſion, he ſet out about Midnight, and attacked the Fort, which had been very troubleſome to the Beſieged. The Enemy, upon their Approach, ſetting up a Shout, diſcharged their Javelins in great Numbers, and wounded Multitudes of our Men: But thoſe in the Fort making a vigorous Reſiſtance, and diſpatching Meſſengers to the greater Camp, to inform *Cæſar* of what had happened, he haſtened to their Relief with three Legions. His Approach ſtruck the Enemy with Terror: Many were ſlain, and a greater Number

made Prisoners; nay, Multitudes in their Flight threw away their Arms; insomuch that above fourscore Shields were found, which they had left behind them.

X. THE Day after *Arguetius* arrived from *Italy* with the Cavalry, and five Standards taken from the *Saguntines*; but was forced to quit his Post by *Asprenas*, who likewise brought a Reinforcement from *Italy* to *Cæsar*. The same Night *Pompey* set fire to his Camp, and drew towards *Cordova*. A King named *Indus*, who was bringing some Troops to *Cæsar* with a Party of Cavalry, following the Pursuit of the Enemy too briskly, was made Prisoner and slain by the *Spanish* Legionaries. Next Day our Cavalry pursued those who were employed in carrying Provisions from the Town to *Pompey*'s Camp, almost to the very Walls of *Cordova*, and took fifty Prisoners, besides Horses. The same Day *Q. Marcius*, a military Tribune, in *Pompey*'s Army, deserted to us. At Midnight the Besieged fell furiously upon our Works, and by all the Methods they could devise, threw Fire and combustible Matter into the Trenches. When the Attack was ended, *C. Fundanius*, a *Roman* Knight, quitted the Enemy, and came over to us.

XI. NEXT Day two *Spanish* Legionaries, who pretended they were Slaves, were made Prisoners by a Party of our Horse: But being brought to the Camp, they were known by the Soldiers who had formerly served under *Fabius* and *Pedius*, and deserted from *Trebonius*, who would grant no Quarter, but massacred them immediately. At the same Time some Couriers sent from *Cordova* to *Pompey*, entering our Camp by Mistake, were seized, had their Hands cut off, and then were dismissed. About Nine at Night the Besieged, according to Custom, spent a considerable Time in casting Fire and Darts upon our Soldiers, and wounded a great Number of Men. At Day-break they sallied upon the sixth Legion, who were busy at the Works, and began a sharp Contest, in which however our Men got the better, though the Besieged had the Advantage of the higher Ground; and fifty of their Horse, who had begun the Attack, being vigorously opposed on our Side, notwithstanding all the Inconveniencies we fought under, were at length obliged to retire into the Town with many Wounds.

XII. NEXT

XII. NEXT Day *Pompey* began a Line from the Camp to the River *Salſus*; and a ſmall Party of our Horſe, being attacked by a much greater Body of the Enemy, were driven from their Poſt, with the Loſs of three of their Number. The ſame Day *A. Valgius*, the Son of a Senator, whoſe Brother was in *Pompey*'s Camp, mounted his Horſe and went over to the Enemy, leaving all his Baggage behind him. A Spy belonging to *Pompey*'s ſecond Legion was taken and ſlain. At the ſame Time a Bullet was ſhot into the Town with this Inſcription: That Notice ſhould be given by the Signal of a Buckler, when *Cæſar* advanced to ſtorm the Town. This encouraging ſome to hope that they might ſcale the Walls and poſſeſs themſelves of the Town without Danger, they fell the next Day to ſapping them, and threw down a conſiderable Part of the outward Wall. They then endeavoured to mount the Breach, but were made Priſoners, and afterwards employed by the Garriſon to make an Offer of ſurrendering the Town to *Cæſar*, upon condition he would ſuffer them to march out with their Baggage. The Anſwer was, That it had been always his Cuſtom to give, not accept of Conditions; which being reported to the Garriſon, they ſet up a Shout, and began to pour their Darts upon our Men from the whole Circuit of the Wall; which gave reaſon to believe that the Garriſon intended that Day to make a vigorous Sally. Wherefore ſurrounding the Town with our Troops, the Conflict was for ſome Time maintained with great Violence, and one of our Batteries threw down a Tower belonging to the Enemy, in which were five of their Men, and a Boy, whoſe Office it was to obſerve the Battery.

XIII. AFTER this *Pompey* erected a Fort on the other Side of the *Salſus*, in which he met with no Interruption from our Men, and gloried not a little in the Imagination of having poſſeſſed himſelf of a Poſt ſo near us. Alſo the following Day, extending himſelf in like Manner ſtill farther, he came up with our Out-guard of Cavalry; and charging them briſkly, obliged ſeveral Squadrons, and the light-armed Foot to give ground; many of whom, by reaſon of the Smallneſs of their Numbers, incapable of any vigorous Oppoſition, were trod down by the Enemy's Horſe. This paſſed within View of both

Camps, and not a little animated the *Pompeians*, to ſee our Men puſhed ſo far: but being afterwards reinforced by a Party from our Camp, they faced about with Deſign to renew the Fight.

XIV. In all Battles of the Horſe this is found to hold, that when the Troopers diſmount with Deſign to charge the Infantry, the Match evermore proves unequal, as happened on the preſent Occaſion. For a ſelect Body of the Enemy's light-armed Foot, coming unexpectedly upon our Horſe, they alighted to ſuſtain the Charge. Thus in a very little Time, from a Horſe it became a Foot-ſkirmiſh, and again from a Foot changed to a Horſe-encounter, in which our Men were driven back to their very Lines: but being there reinforced, about a hundred and twenty-three of the Enemy were ſlain, ſeveral forced to throw down their Arms, many wounded, and the Reſt purſued quite to their Camp. On our Side a hundred and eleven Men were ſlain, beſides twelve Foot-ſoldiers and five Troopers wounded.

XV. Towards the Evening of the ſame Day, the Fight as uſual, was renewed before the Walls; and the Enemy having thrown many Darts, and a great Quantity of Fire from the Battlements, proceeded afterwards to an Action of unexampled Cruelty and Barbarity: for in the very Sight of our Troops they fell to murdering the Citizens, and tumbling them headlong from the Walls: an Inſtance of Inhumanity, of which no Parallel is to be found in the Hiſtory of the moſt ſavage Nations.

XVI. When Night came on, *Pompey* ſent a Meſſenger unknown to us, to exhort the Garriſon to make a vigorous Sally about Midnight, and ſet fire to our Towers and Mount. Accordingly having poured upon us a great Quantity of Darts and Fire, and deſtroyed a conſiderable Part of the Rampart, they opened the Gate which lay over-againſt and within View of *Pompey*'s Camp, and ſallied out with all their Forces, carrying with them Faſcines to fill up the Ditch; Hooks and Fire to deſtroy and reduce to Aſhes the Barracks, which the Soldiers had built moſtly of Reeds to defend them from

from the Winter; and ſome Silver and rich Apparel to ſcatter among the Tents, that while our Men ſhould be employed in ſecuring the Plunder, they might fight their Way through and eſcape to *Pompey*; who in Expectation that they would be able to effect their Deſign, had croſſed the *Salſus* with his Army, where he continued all Night in Order of Battle, to favour their Retreat. But though our Men had no Apprehenſion of this Deſign, their Valour enabled them to fruſtrate the Attempt, and repulſe the Enemy with many Wounds. They even made themſelves Maſters of the Spoil, their Arms, and ſome Priſoners, who were put to death next Day. At the ſame Time a Deſerter from the Town informed us, that *Junius*, who was employed in the Mine when the Citizens were maſſacred, exclaimed againſt it as a cruel and barbarous Action, which ill ſuited the kind Treatment they had received, and was a direct Violation of the Laws of Hoſpitality. He added many Things beſides, which made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the Garriſon, that they deſiſted from the Maſſacre.

XVII. The next Day *Tullius*, a Lieutenant-General accompanied by *C. Antonius* of *Luſitania*, came to *Cæſar* and addreſſed him to this Effect. "Would to Heaven I "had rather been one of your Soldiers, than a Follower "of *C. Pompey*, and given thoſe Proofs of Valour and "Conſtancy in obtaining Victories for you, rather than "in ſuffering for him. The only Advantage we reap "from following his Banners are doleful Applauſes, "being reduced to the Condition of indigent Citizens, "and by the melancholy Fate of our Country ranked "among its Enemies; who having never ſhared with "*Pompey* in his good Fortune, find ourſelves yet involved in his Diſgrace; and after ſuſtaining the Attack "of ſo many armed Legions, employing ourſelves Day "and Night in Works of Defence, expoſed to the Darts "and Swords of our Fellow-citizens; vanquiſhed, "deſerted by *Pompey*, and compelled to give way to the "ſuperior Valour of your Troops, find ourſelves at laſt "obliged to have recourſe to your Clemency, and implore that you will not ſhow yourſelves leſs placable "to Fellow-citizens, than you have ſo often been "to foreign Nations." "I am ready, returned *Cæ-*

"*ſar*,

" *far*, to ſhow the ſame Favour to Citizens, which " vanquiſhed Nations have always received at my " Hands."

XVIII. THE Ambaſſadors being diſmiſſed, when they arrived at the Gate of the Town, *Tiberius Tullius* obſerving that *C. Antony* did not follow him, returned to the Gate and laid hold of him, upon which drawing a Poniard from his Breaſt, he wounded him in the Hand, and in this Condition they both fled to *Cæſar*. At the ſame Time the Standard-bearer of the firſt Legion came over to our Camp, and reported that the Day when the Skirmiſh happened between the Horſe, no leſs than thirty-five of his Company fell; but it was not allowed to mention it in *Pompey*'s Camp, or ſo much as own the Loſs of one Man. A Slave, whoſe Maſter was in *Cæſar*'s Camp, and who had left his Wife and Son in the City, cut his Maſter's Throat, and deceiving the Guards, eſcaped privately to *Pompey*'s Camp; whence by Means of a Bullet, on which he inſcribed his Intelligence, he gave us Notice of the Preparations made for the Defence of the Place. When we had read the Inſcription, thoſe who were employed to throw the Bullet returning to the City, two *Luſitanian* Brothers deſerted, and informed us, that *Pompey*, in a Speech made to his Soldiers, had ſaid; that as he found it impoſſible to relieve the Town, he was reſolved to withdraw privately in the Night, and retire towards the Sea: to which one made anſwer, that it was better to hazard a Battle, than take refuge in Flight; for which he was immediately killed. At the ſame Time ſome of his Couriers were intercepted, who were endeavouring to get into the Town. *Cæſar* ſent the Letters to the Inhabitants, and one of the Meſſengers begging his Life, he granted it with Promiſe of further Reward, if he would ſet fire to the Enemy's wooden Turret. The Enterpriſe was not without Difficulty; he undertook it however, but was ſlain in the Attempt. The ſame Night a Deſerter informed us that *Pompey* and *Labienus* were greatly offended at the Maſſacre of the Citizens.

XIX. ABOUT nine at Night, one of our wooden Towers, which had been ſeverely battered by the Enemy's

Enemy's Engines, gave way as far as the third Story. At the ſame Time a ſharp Action happened near the Walls; and the Beſieged, aſſiſted by a favourable Wind, burnt the remaining Part of that Tower and another. Next Morning a Matron threw herſelf from the Wall, and came over to our Camp, reporting, that the Reſt of her Family had intended the ſame, but were apprehended and put to death; likewiſe a Letter was thrown over, in which was written; "*L. Minutius* to *Cæſar*: "*Pompey* has abandoned me; if you will grant me my "Life, I promiſe to ſerve you with the ſame Fidelity "and Attachment I have hitherto manifeſted towards "him." At the ſame Time the Deputies who had been ſent before to *Cæſar* by the Garriſon, now waited on him a ſecond Time, offering to deliver up the Town next Day, upon a bare Grant of their Lives: to which he replied, That he was *Cæſar*, and would perform his Word. Thus having made himſelf Maſter of the Place the nineteenth of *February*, he was ſaluted Emperor by the Army.

XX. POMPEY being informed by ſome Deſerters that the Town had ſurrendered, removed his Camp towards *Ucubis*, where he began to build Redoubts, and ſecure himſelf with Lines. *Cæſar* alſo decamped and drew near him. At the ſame Time a *Spaniſh* legionary Soldier deſerting to our Camp, informed us; that *Pompey* had aſſembled the People of *Ucubis*, and given it them in charge to enquire diligently who favoured his Party, who that of the Enemy. Some Time after, the Slave, who, as we have related above, had murdered his Maſter, was taken in a Mine and burnt alive. About the ſame Time eight *Spaniſh* Centurions came over to *Cæſar*: and in a Skirmiſh between our Cavalry and that of the Enemy, we were repulſed, and ſome of our light-armed Foot wounded. The ſame Night we took four of the Enemy's Spies. One, as being a legionary Soldier, was beheaded, but the other three, who were Slaves, were crucified.

XXI. THE Day following ſome of the Enemy's Cavalry and light-armed Infantry deſerted to us; and about eleven of their Horſe, falling upon a Party of our Men that were ſent to fetch Water, killed ſome, and took

took others Priſoners; amongſt which laſt were eight Troopers. Next Day *Pompey* beheaded ſeventy-four Perſons as Favourers of *Cæſar*'s Cauſe, ordering the Reſt who lay under the ſame Suſpicion to be carried back to the Town, of whom an hundred and twenty eſcaped to *Cæſar*.

XXII. SOME Time after, the Deputies of *Burſavola*, whom *Cæſar* had taken Priſoners in *Ategua*, and ſent along with his own Ambaſſadors to their City, to inform them of the Maſſacre of the *Ateguans*, and what they had to apprehend from *Pompey*, who ſuffered his Soldiers to murder their Hoſts, and commit all Manner of Crimes with Impunity, arriving in the Town; none of our Deputies, except ſuch as were Natives of the Place, durſt enter the City, though they were all *Roman* Knights and Senators. But after many Meſſages backward and forward, when the Deputies were upon their Return, the Garriſon purſued and put them all to the Sword, except two who eſcaped to *Cæſar*, and informed him of what had happened. Some Time after, the *Burſavolenſes* ſending Spies to *Ategua*, to know the Truth of what had happened, and finding the Report of our Deputies confirmed, were for ſtoning to death him who had been the Cauſe of the Murder of the Deputies, and were with Difficulty reſtrained from laying violent Hands upon him, which in the End proved the Occaſion of their own Deſtruction. For having obtained Leave of the Inhabitants to go in perſon to *Cæſar*, and juſtify himſelf, he privately drew together ſome Troops, and when he thought himſelf ſtrong enough, returned in the Night, and was treacherouſly admitted into the Town; where he made a dreadful Maſſacre of the Inhabitants, ſlew all the Leaders of the oppoſite Party, and reduced the Place under his Obedience. Soon after, ſome Slaves who had deſerted informed us, that he had ſold all the Goods of the Citizens, and that *Pompey* ſuffered none of his Soldiers to quit the Camp but unarmed, becauſe ſince the Taking of *Ategua*, many deſpairing of Succeſs, fled into *Bethuria*, having given over all Expectation of Victory; and that if any deſerted from our Camp, they were put among the light-armed Infantry, whoſe Pay was only ſixteen Aſſes a Day.

XXIII. THE

XXIII. The Day following *Cæſar* removed his Camp nearer to *Pompey*'s, and began to draw a Line to the River *Salſus*. Here while our Men were employed in the Work, ſome of the Enemy fell upon us from the higher Ground, and as we were in no Condition to make Reſiſtance, wounded great Numbers, obliging us, contrary to Cuſtom, to retreat. This being perceived; two Centurions of the fifth Legion paſſed the River, and reſtored the Battle; when urging the Enemy with aſtoniſhing Bravery, one of them fell, overwhelmed by the Multitude of Darts diſcharged from above. The other continued the Combat for ſome Time; but ſeeing himſelf in danger of being ſurrounded, as he was endeavouring to make good his Retreat, he ſtumbled and fell. His Death being known, the Enemy flocked together in ſtill greater Numbers, upon which our Cavalry paſſed the River, and drove them quite back to their Intrenchments; but purſuing them with too much Heat, were ſurrounded by their Cavalry and light-armed Foot; where but for the moſt aſtoniſhing Efforts of Bravery, they muſt all unavoidably have been made Priſoners: for they were ſo hemmed in by the Enemy's Lines, that they wanted Room to defend themſelves. Many were wounded on our Side in theſe two Encounters, and among the reſt *Clodius Aquitius*; but as the Fight was carried on moſtly at a Diſtance, only the two Centurions, of whom Mention has been already made, and whom the Deſire of Glory rendered regardleſs of their own Safety, were killed.

XXIV. Next Day both Parties withdrawing from *Soricaria*, we continued our Works. But *Pompey* obſerving that our Fort had cut off his Communication with *Aſpavia*, which is about five Miles diſtant from *Ucubis*, judged it neceſſary to come to a Battle. Yet he did not offer it upon equal Terms, but choſe to draw up his Men upon a Hill, that he might have the Advantage of the higher Ground. Mean-while both Sides endeavouring to poſſeſs themſelves of an Eminence that lay extremely convenient, we at laſt got the better of the *Pompeians*, and drove them from the Plain. The Slaughter was very great, and would have been ſtill greater, had they not been protected by the Mountain rather than their Valour. Night came on very opportunely

tunely to favour their Escape; without which our Men, though few in Number, would have entirely cut off their Retreat. *Pompey* lost on this Occasion three hundred and twenty-four light-armed Foot, and about a hundred and thirty-eight legionary Soldiers, besides those whose Armour and Spoils we carried off. Thus the Death of the two Centurions, which happened the Day before, was fully revenged.

XXV. THE Day after, *Pompey*'s Horse advanced according to their usual Custom to our Lines; for only the Cavalry durst venture to draw up on equal Ground. They therefore began to skirmish with our Men who were at work, the Legionaries calling out to us at the same Time to choose our Field of Battle, with Design to make us believe that they desired nothing so much as to come to Blows. Upon this Invitation our Men quitted the Eminence where they were encamped, and advanced a great way into the Plain, desiring no Advantage of Ground. But none of the Enemy had the Boldness to present themselves, *Antistius Turpio* excepted; who presuming on his Strength, and fancying no one on our Side a Match for him, offered us Defiance. Upon this ensued a Combat not unlike that recorded of *Memnon* and *Achilles*. For *Q. Pompeius Niger*, a *Roman* Knight born in *Italy*, quitting his Rank, advanced to the Encounter. The fierce Air of *Antistius* having engaged the Attention of all, the two Armies drew up to be Spectators of the Issue of this Challenge, and expressed no less Impatience than if the whole Fortune of the War had depended upon it; and the Wishes on both Sides for Success, were equal to the Anxiety and Concern each felt for his own Combatant. They advanced into the Plain with great Courage, having each a resplendent Buckler of curious Workmanship. And doubtless the Combat would have been soon decided, had not some light-armed Foot, drawn up near the Lines, to serve as a Guard to the Camp, because of the Approach of the Enemy's Horse. * * * Our Horse in retreating to their Camp, being warmly pursued by the Enemy, suddenly faced about with great Cries; which so terrified the *Pompeians*, that they immediately betook themselves to Flight, and retreated to their Camp with the Loss of many of their Men.

XXVI. CÆSAR,

XXVI. CÆSAR, to reward the Valour of the *Cassian* Troop, presented them with thirteen thousand Sesterces, distributed ten thousand more among the light-armed Foot, and gave *Cassius* himself two golden Chains. The same Day, *A. Bebius*, *C. Flavius*, and *A. Trebellius*, *Roman* Knights of *Asti*, with their Horses richly caparisoned and adorned with Silver, came over to *Cæsar*, and informed him; that all the rest of the *Roman* Knights in *Pompey*'s Camp, had like them conspired to come and join him, but that a Discovery being made of their Design by a Slave, they had been all seized, themselves excepted, who during the Confusion found Means to escape. The same Day Letters were intercepted, sent by *Pompey* to *Ursao*, importing, "That hitherto he had all the "Success against the Enemy he could desire, and would "have ended the War much sooner than was expected, "could he have brought them to fight him upon equal "Terms: That he did not think it advisable to ven-"ture new-levied Troops on a Plain: That the Enemy "defending themselves with their Lines, seemed in-"clinable to draw out the War to Length, investing "City after City, and thence supplying themselves with "Provisions: That he would therefore endeavour to "protect the Towns of his Party, and bring the War "to as speedy an Issue as possible: That he would send "them a Reinforcement of some Cohorts, and made no "doubt of forcing *Cæsar* in a short Time to an Engage-"ment, by cutting off his Provisions."

XXVII. SOME Time after, as our Men were carelessly dispersed about the Works, a few Horse were killed, who had gone to a Forest of Olives to fetch Wood. Several Slaves deserted at this Time, and informed us, that ever since the Action at *Soritia* on the seventh of *March*, the Enemy had been under continual Alarms, and appointed *Attius Varus* to guard the Lines. The same Day *Pompey* decamped, and posted himself in an Olive-Wood over-against *Hispalis*. *Cæsar*, before he removed, waited till Midnight, when the Moon began to appear. At his Departure he ordered Fire to be set to the Fort of *Ucubis*, which the Enemy had abandoned, and that the whole Army should rendezvous in the greater Camp. He afterwards laid siege to *Ventisponte*, which surrendered; and marching thence to *Carruca*, encamped

encamped over-againſt *Pompey*, who had burnt the City, becauſe the Garriſon refuſed to open the Gates to him. A Soldier who had murdered his Brother in the Camp, being intercepted by our Men, was ſcourged and put to death. *Cæſar* ſtill purſuing his March, arrived in the Plains of *Munda*, and pitched his Camp oppoſite to that of *Pompey*.

XXVIII. NEXT Day, as *Cæſar* was preparing to ſet out with his Army, Notice was ſent him by his Spies, that *Pompey* had been in Order of Battle ever ſince Midnight. Upon this Intelligence he ordered the Standard to be erected. *Pompey* had taken this Reſolution in conſequence of his Letter to the Inhabitants of *Urſao*, who were his firm Adherents, in which he told them that *Cæſar* refuſed to come down into the Plain, becauſe his Army conſiſted moſtly of new-levied Troops. This had greatly confirmed the City in its Allegiance, which therefore ſerving as a ſure Reſource behind him, he thought he might hazard a Battle without Danger; and the rather, as he was very advantageouſly encamped: For as we obſerved before, this Country is full of Hills, which run in a continued Chain, without any conſiderable Breaks or Hollows.

XXIX. BUT we muſt by no Means omit an Accident which fell out about this Time. The two Camps were divided from one another by a Plain about five Miles in Extent, inſomuch that *Pompey* by his Situation enjoyed a double Defence. On one Side, the Town, ſeated on an Eminence. On the other, the Nature of the Ground where the Camp ſtood; for acroſs this Valley ran a Rivulet, which rendered the Approach of the Mountain extremely difficult, becauſe it formed a deep Moraſs on the Right. *Cæſar* made no doubt but the Enemy would deſcend into the Plain and come to a Battle, and his whole Army were of the ſame Mind; the rather becauſe the Plain would give their Cavalry full Room to act, and the Day was ſo ſerene and clear, that the Gods ſeemed to have ſent it on purpoſe to bring on an Engagement. Our Men rejoiced at the favourable Opportunity: Some however were not altogether exempt from Fear, when they conſidered that their All was at ſtake, and the Uncertainty of what might be their Fate an Hour after.

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He advanced however to the Field of Battle, fully perſuaded that the Enemy would do the ſame; but they durſt not venture above a Mile from the Town, being determined to ſhelter themſelves under its Walls. Our Men ſtill continued before them in Order of Battle; but although the Equality of the Ground ſometimes tempted them to come and diſpute the Victory, they nevertheleſs ſtill kept their Poſt on the Mountain, in the Neighbourhood of the Town. We doubled our Speed to reach the Rivulet, without their ſtirring from the Place where they ſtood.

XXX. THEIR Army conſiſted of thirteen Legions: The Cavalry was drawn up upon the Wings, with ſix thouſand light-armed Infantry, and about the ſame Number of Auxiliaries. We had only eighty heavy-armed Cohorts, and eight thouſand Horſe. When we came to the Extremity of the Plain, as the Ground was very diſadvantageous, it would have been dangerous for us to advance farther, becauſe the Enemy were ready to charge us from the Eminences; and therefore, that we might not raſhly entangle ourſelves, *Cæſar* had taken care to mark beforehand how far we might advance with Safety. The Army when commanded to halt, murmured greatly, as if they had been kept back from a certain Victory. The Delay however ſerved to enliven the Enemy, who fancied that our Troops were afraid of coming to Blows. They therefore had the Boldneſs to advance a little Way, yet without quitting the Advantage of their Poſt, the Approach to which was extremely dangerous. The tenth Legion, as uſual, was on the Right; the third and fifth on the Left, with the auxiliary Troops and Cavalry. At length the Battle began with a Shout.

XXXI. BUT though our Men were ſuperior to the Enemy in Courage, they nevertheleſs defended themſelves ſo well by the Advantage of the higher Ground, the Shouts were ſo loud, and the Diſcharge of Darts on both Sides ſo great, that we almoſt began to deſpair of Victory. For the firſt Onſet and Clamour, with which an Enemy is moſt apt to be diſmayed, were pretty equal in the preſent Encounter. All fought with equal Valour, the Place was covered with Arrows and Darts, and great

Numbers of the Enemy fell. We have already obſerved that the tenth Legion was on the Right, which though not conſiderable for the Number of Men, was nevertheleſs formidable on account of its Courage; and ſo preſſed the Enemy on that Side, that they were obliged to draw a Legion from the right Wing to reinforce the left, and prevent its being taken in Flank. Upon this Motion, our Cavalry on the left fell upon *Pompey*'s right Wing, weakened by the Departure of the Legion: But they defended themſelves with ſo much Bravery and Reſolution, as to ſtand in need of no new Troops to ſupport them. Mean-while the Claſhing of Armour, mingled with the Shouts of the Combatants and the Groans of the Dying and Wounded, terrified the new-raiſed Soldiers: For, as *Ennius* ſays, they fought Hand to Hand, Foot to Foot, and Shield to Shield. But though the Enemy fought with the utmoſt Vigour, they were obliged to give ground, and retire towards the Town. The Battle was fought on the Feaſt of *Bacchus*, and the *Pompeians* were entirely routed and put to Flight; inſomuch that not a Man could have eſcaped, had they not ſheltered themſelves in the Place whence they advanced to the Charge. The Enemy loſt on this Occaſion upwards of thirty thouſand Men, and among the reſt *Labienus* and *Attius Varus*, whoſe funeral Obſequies were performed upon the Field of Battle. They had likewiſe three thouſand *Roman* Knights killed, partly of *Italy*, partly of the Province. About a Thouſand were ſlain on our Side, partly Foot, partly Horſe; and five hundred wounded. We gained thirteen Eagles and Standards, and made ſeventeen Officers Priſoners. Such was the Iſſue of this Action.

XXII. THE Remains of *Pompey*'s Army retreating to *Munda*, with Deſign to defend themſelves in that Town, it became neceſſary to inveſt it. The dead Bodies of the Enemy, heaped together, ſerved inſtead of a Rampart, and their Javelins and Darts were fixed up by way of Paliſades. Upon theſe we hung their Bucklers to ſupply the Place of a Breaſt-work, and fixing the Heads of the Deceaſed upon Swords and Lances, planted them all around the Works, to ſtrike the greater Terror into the Beſieged, and keep awake in them a Senſe of our Bravery. Amidſt theſe mournful Objects did they

find

find themſelves ſhut in, when our Men began the Attack, which was managed chiefly by the *Gauls*. Young *Valerius*, who had eſcaped to *Cordova*, with ſome Horſe, informed *Sextus Pompey* of what had happened; who upon Receipt of the mournful News, diſtributing what Money he had about him to the Troopers, left the Town about Nine at Night, under Pretence of going to find out *Cæſar*, to treat of an Accommodation. On the other Side, *Cn. Pompey*, attended by a few Horſe and Foot, took the Road of *Carteia*, where his Fleet lay, and which was about an hundred and ſeventy Miles diſtant from *Cordova*. When he was arrived within eight Miles of the Place, he ſent *P. Calvitius* his Camp-marſhal before, to fetch a Litter to carry him to the Town, becauſe he found himſelf out of Order. The Litter came, and when he entered the Town, thoſe of his Party waited on him privately, to receive his Orders about the Management of the War. As they aſſembled round the Place in great Crowds, *Pompey* quitting his Litter, put himſelf under their Protection.

XXXIII. CÆSAR, after the Battle, ſeeing the Circumvallation of *Munda* completed, marched to *Cordova*. Thoſe of the Enemy who had eſcaped the Slaughter poſſeſſing themſelves of a Bridge, upon the Approach of our Men, called out to them with an Air of Deriſion, What? we are no more than a Handful of Men eſcaped from the Battle, and ſhall we be allowed no Place of Retreat? Immediately they prepared to defend the Bridge. *Cæſar* paſſed the River, and encamped on the other Side. *Scapula*, who had ſtirred up the Freedmen to a Revolt, eſcaping after the Battle to *Cordova*; when he found himſelf beſieged, aſſembled all his Followers, ordered a funeral Pile to be erected, and a magnificent Supper ſerved up; when putting on his richeſt Dreſs, he diſtributed his Plate and ready Money among his Domeſticks, ſupped cheerfully, anointed himſelf once and again, and laſt of all, ordered one of his Freedmen to diſpatch him, and another to ſet fire to the Pile.

XXXIV. CÆSAR had no ſooner encamped before the Place, than a Diviſion aroſe among the Inhabitants, between thoſe who favoured *Cæſar*, and thoſe who were in the Intereſt of *Pompey*, attended with ſo rude a Clamour,

mour, that it reached our Camp. During the Conteſt, ſome Legions, compoſed partly of Fugitives, partly of Slaves manumitted by *Pompey*, came and ſurrendered themſelves to *Cæſar*. But the thirteenth Legion prepared to defend the Place, and with that View poſſeſſed themſelves of the Walls and ſome Towers, in ſpite of all the Oppoſition they met with; which obliged the other Party to ſend Deputies to *Cæſar* for Aid. Upon this thoſe who had eſcaped out of the Battle ſet fire to the Place, and our Men entering at the ſame Time, ſlew about twenty-two thouſand of them, beſides thoſe who were ſlain without the Walls; and thus became Maſters of the Town. Whilſt *Cæſar* was employed in this Siege, thoſe who were blocked up at *Munda* made a Sally, but were driven back into the Town with conſiderable Loſs.

XXXV. THENCE *Cæſar* marched to *Hiſpalis*, which ſent Deputies to ſue for Pardon, and obtained it. Though the Citizens aſſured him that they were able to defend the Town with their own Forces, he nevertheleſs thought proper to ſend *Caninius* his Lieutenant thither with ſome Troops, and encamped himſelf before the Place. There was in the Town a ſtrong Party of *Pompeians*, who diſpleaſed to ſee *Cæſar*'s Troops received within the Walls, deputed ſecretly one *Philo*, a zealous Partizan of *Pompey*, and well known in *Luſitania*, to beg Aſſiſtance of *Cecilius Niger*, ſirnamed *the Barbarous*, who lay encamped near *Lenius*, with a ſtrong Army of *Luſitanians*. Theſe approaching the Town towards Night, got over the Walls, ſurpriſed the Centinels and Garriſon, ſhut the Gates, and began to defend the Place.

XXXVI. DURING theſe Tranſactions, Deputies arrived from *Carteia*, with Accounts of their having ſecured *Pompey*; hoping by this Service to atone for their former Fault of ſhutting the Gates againſt *Cæſar*. Meantime the *Luſitanians* in *Hiſpalis*, ſtill continued pillaging the Town, which though known to *Cæſar*, did not yet determine him to preſs it too hard, leſt they ſhould in Deſpair ſet fire to the Town, and deſtroy the Walls. It was reſolved in Council to ſuffer the *Luſitanians* to eſcape in the Night by a Sally, yet ſo that the Thing might not appear deſigned. In this Sally, they ſet fire to the Ships that were in the River *Bætis*, and while our Men were

were employed in extinguiſhing the Flames, endeavoured to get off; but being overtaken by the Cavalry, were moſtly cut to pieces. Thence he marched to *Aſta*, which ſubmitted. *Munda* having been now a long while beſieged, many of thoſe who had eſcaped out of the Battle deſpairing of Safety, ſurrendered to us; and being formed into a Legion, conſpired among themſelves, that upon a Signal given, the Garriſon ſhould ſally out in the Night, while they at the ſame Time ſhould begin a Maſſacre in the Camp. But the Plot being diſcovered, they were next Night, at the changing of the third Watch, all put to death without the Rampart.

XXXVII. THE *Carteians*, while *Cæſar* was employed in reducing the other Towns upon his Route, fell into a Diſſenſion about young *Pompey*. There were two Parties in the Town, one that had ſent the Deputies to *Cæſar*, and another in the *Pompeian* Intereſt. Theſe laſt prevailing, ſeized the Gates, and made a dreadful Slaughter of their Adverſaries. *Pompey* himſelf was wounded in the Fray, but eſcaping to his Ships, fled with about thirty Gallies. *Didius*, who was at *Cadiz* with *Cæſar*'s Fleet, hearing of what had happened, immediately ſailed in purſuit of them; ſtationing at the ſame Time ſome Cavalry and Infantry along the Coaſt, to prevent his getting off by Land. *Pompey* had departed with ſo much Precipitation from *Carteia*, that he took no Time to furniſh himſelf with Water, which obliging him to ſtop by the Way, *Didius* came up with him after four Days ſailing, took ſome of his Ships, and burnt the Reſt.

XXXVIII. POMPEY, with a few Followers, eſcaped to a Place ſtrongly fortified by Nature; of which the Troops ſent in purſuit of him having certain Intelligence by their Scouts, followed Day and Night. He was wounded in the Shoulder and left Leg, and had beſides ſtrained his Ancle, all which greatly retarded his Flight, and obliged him to make uſe of a Litter. A *Luſitanian* having diſcovered the Place of his Retreat, he was quickly ſurrounded by our Cavalry and Cohorts. Seeing himſelf betrayed, he took refuge in a Poſt naturally ſtrong, and which could eaſily be defended by a few Men, becauſe the Approach to it was extremely difficult.

We attempted to ſtorm it, but were repulſed, and vigorouſly purſued by the Enemy; and meeting with no better Succeſs after ſeveral Trials, we at length reſolved to lay ſiege to the Place, it ſeeming too hazardous to force it. Accordingly a Terraſs was raiſed, and Lines drawn round the Place; which the Enemy perceiving, thought proper to betake themſelves to flight.

XXXIX. POMPEY, as we have obſerved above, being lame and wounded, was in no Condition to make a ſpeedy Retreat; and the rather, becauſe the Place was ſuch that he could uſe neither Horſe nor Litter. He ſaw his People driven from the Fort, maſſacred on all Sides, and himſelf left without Reſource. In this Extremity he fled to a Cave, where he could not eaſily be diſcovered, unleſs he was betrayed by the Priſoners. Here he was ſlain, and his Head brought to *Cæſar* the twelfth of *April*, juſt as he was ſetting out for *Hiſpalis*, and afterwards expoſed to the View of the People.

XL. AFTER the Death of young *Pompey*, *Didius*, proud of his Succeſs, hauled ſome of his Veſſels aſhore to be refitted, and retired himſelf to a neighbouring Fort. The *Luſitanians* who had eſcaped from the Battle of *Munda*, rallying in great Bodies, found themſelves ſtrong enough to make head againſt him. Though the Preſervation of the Fleet was what principally engaged his Attention, he was yet neceſſitated to make frequent Sallies to check the Inſolence of the Enemy. Theſe daily Skirmiſhes gave them an Opportunity of projecting an Ambuſcade; for which Purpoſe they divided their Troops into three Bodies. *Didius* ſallied according to Cuſtom; when upon a Signal given, one of the Parties advanced to ſet fire to the Fleet; and another counterfeiting a Retreat, drew him inſenſibly into the Ambuſcade, where he was ſurrounded and ſlain with moſt of his Followers fighting valiantly. Some eſcaped in Boats which they found upon the Coaſt; others made for the Gallies by ſwimming; and weighing Anchor, ſtood out to Sea. A great many ſaved themſelves in this Manner, but the *Luſitanians* got all the Baggage. *Cæſar* mean-while returned from *Cales* to *Hiſpalis*.

XLI. FABIUS

XLI. FABIUS MAXIMUS, whom he had left to continue the Siege of *Munda*, carried on the Approaches with great Succeſs; inſomuch that the Enemy ſeeing themſelves ſhut up on all Sides, reſolved to attempt a Sally: but were repulſed with great Loſs. Our Men ſeized this Opportunity to get poſſeſſion of the Town, and made all the reſt Priſoners. Thence they drew towards *Urſao*, a Town exceedingly ſtrong both by Nature and Art, and capaple of reſiſting an Enemy. For there is not ſo much as a Rivulet within eight Miles of the Place, nor any Spring, but that which ſupplies the Town. Add to all this, that the Wood neceſſary for building Towers and other Machines, was to be fetched from a Diſtance of ſix Miles; becauſe young *Pompey*, to render the Siege more difficult, had cut down all the Wood round the Place; which obliged our Men to bring all the Materials for carrying on the Siege from *Munda*.

XLII. DURING theſe Tranſactions at *Munda* and *Urſao*, *Cæſar*, who was returned from *Cales* to *Hiſpalis*, aſſembled the Citzens, and made the following Speech: "That when he was advanced to the Quæſtorſhip, he "had choſen their Province preferably to all others, "and during his Continuance in that Office, done them "every Service in his Power: That during his Prætor-"ſhip, he had obtained for them of the Senate the "Abolition of the Taxes impoſed by *Metellus*, declared "himſelf their Patron, procured their Deputies a "Hearing at *Rome*, and made himſelf many Enemies by "undertaking the Defence both of their private and "publick Rights. In fine, that when he was Conſul, "he had, though abſent, rendered the Province all the "Services in his Power: That inſtead of making a "ſuitable Return for ſo many Favours, they had always "diſcovered the utmoſt Ingratitude, both towards him "and the People of *Rome*, as well in this laſt War as "the Preceding. You, ſays he, though no Strangers "to the Law of Nations, and the Rights of *Roman* "Citizens, have yet like Barbarians often violated the "ſacred Perſons of *Roman* Magiſtrates. You attempted in "open Day, in the publick Square to aſſaſſinate *Caſſius*. "You have been always ſuch Enemies to Peace, that the "Senate could never ſuffer the Province to be without Le-

" gions. You take Favours for Offences, and Inſults for " Benefits, are inſolent and reſtleſs in Peace, and cowardly " and effeminate in War. Young *Pompey*, though only " a private Citizen, nay, a Fugitive, was yet received " among you, and ſuffered to aſſume the Enſigns of " Magiſtracy. After putting many Citizens to death, " you ſtill furniſhed him with Forces, and even urged " him to lay waſte the Country and Province. Againſt " whom do you hope to be victorious? Can you be " ignorant that upon the Suppoſition of my Overthrow, " the People of *Rome* have ſtill ten Legions, capable " not only of making head againſt you, but of bringing " the whole Earth under Subjection." * * * * *

AN

INDEX

OF

Ancient and modern GEOGRAPHY to CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES.

N. B. The Words in Roman Letters denote the ancient Names, and thoſe in Italick the Modern.

A

ACarnania, a Region of Epirus, *Carnia.*

Achaia, ſometimes taken for all Greece; but moſt commonly for a Part of it only, in Peloponneſus, *Romania alta.*

Acilla, or Acholla, a City of Africa, unknown.

Actium, a Promontory of Epirus, now called the *Cape of Tigalo*, famous for a naval Victory gained near it, by Auguſtus, over M. Antony.

Addua, the *Adda*, a River that ariſes in the Alps, and parting the Dutchy of Milan, from the State of Venice, falls into the Po, above Cremona.

Aduatici, a River of Burgundy, the *Doux.*

Adriatick Sea, the *Gulph of Venice*, at the Bottom of which that City is ſituate.

Adrumetum, a Town in Africa, *Mahometta.*

Ædui, the *Autunois*, a People of Gaul, near *Autun*, in the Country now called Lower Burgundy.

Ægean Sea, the *Archipelago*, a Part of the Mediterranean, which lies between Greece, Aſia Minor, and the Iſle of Crete.

Ægimurus, an Iſland in the African Sea, *Galetta.*

Æginium, a Town of Theſſaly.

Ægyptus, *Egypt*, one of the moſt ancient, fertile, and celebrated Kingdoms in Africa.

Æmilia Via, a Roman Road in Italy, from Rimini to Aquileia, and from Piſa to Dertona.

Ætolia,

Ætolia, a Country of Greece, *Despotato.*

Africa, one of the four great Continents into which the Earth is divided.

Agar, a Town in Africa, unknown.

Agendicum, a City of the Senones, *Sens*,

Alba, a Town of Latium in Italy, *Albano.*

Albici, a People of Gaul unknown, some make them the same with the *Vivarois.*

Albis, the *Elbe*, a large and noble River in Germany, which has its Source in the Giants Mountains in Silesia, on the Confines of Bohemia, and passing through Bohemia, upper and lower Saxony, falls into the North Sea at Ritzbuttle, about sixty Miles below Hamburg.

Alemanni, a People of ancient Germany, who inhabited between the Maine, the Rhine, and the Danube, and from whom the French still give this Name to all the Germans.

Alemannia, the Country inhabited by the Alemanni.

Alesia, or Alexia, a Town of the Mandubians, *Alise.*

Alexandria, a City of Egypt, *Scanderia.* It was built by Alexander the Great, 330 Years before Christ.

Aliso, by some supposed to be the Town now called *Iselburg*; or, according to Junius, *Wesel*, in the Dutchy of Cleves; but more probably *Elsen.*

Allobroges, an ancient People of Gallia Transalpina, who inhabited that Country which is now called *Dauphiny*, *Savoy*, and *Piedmont.*

Alps, a Ridge of high Mountains, which separate France and Germany from Italy. That Part of them which separate Dauphiny from Piedmont, had the Name of the Cottian Alps.

Alsatia, a Province of Germany, in the upper Circle of the Rhine, *Alsace.*

Amagetobria, a City of Gaul, unknown.

Amantia, a Town in Macedonia, *Porto Ragusco.*

Amanus, a Mountain of Syria, *Scanderona.*

Amani Pylæ, or Amanicæ Portæ, *Straits of Scanderona.*

Ambarri, a People of Gaul, uncertain.

Ambialites, a People of Gaul, of *Lamballe in Bretagne.* Others take the Word to be only a different Name for the Ambiani.

Ambiani, or Ambianenses, the People of *Amiens.*

Ambianum, a City of Belgium, *Amiens.*

Ambibari, a People of Gaul, those of *Ambie* in Normandy.

Ambivareti, a People of Gaul, the *Vivarois.*

Ambivariti, an ancient People of *Brabant*, between the Rhine and the Maese.

Ambracia, a City of Epirus, *Arta.*

Ambrones, an ancient People, who lived in that Country, which is now called the *Canton of Bern*, in Switzerland.

Amphilochia, a Region of Epirus, *Anfilocha.*

Amphipolis, a City of Macedonia, *Christopoli*, or *Emboli.*

Anartes, a People of Germany, *Walachians*, *Servians*, or *Bulgarians.*

Anas, a River of Spain, the *Guadiana*, or *Rio Royera.*

Ancalites, a People of Britain, of the Hundred of *Ashley*, in Oxfordshire.

Anchialos,

Anchialos, a City of Thrace, near the Euxine Sea, now called *Kenkis.*

Ancona, a City of Italy, *Ancona.*

Andes, *Angers*, in France, the Capital of the Dutchy of Anjou.

Andes, a People of Gaul, the ancient inhabitants of the Dutchy of Anjou.

Andomadunum Lingonum, a large and ancient City of Champagne, at the Source of the River Marne, *Langres.*

Angrivarii, an ancient People of lower Germany, who dwelt between the Ems and the *Weser*, below the Lippe.

Anſibarii, or Anſivarii, an ancient People of lower Germany, of and about the Town of *Anſeſtaet*, or *Amſliu.*

Antioch, *Antachia*, an ancient and famous City, once the Capital of Syria, or rather of the Eaſt: It is ſituate on two Rivers, the Orontes and the Phaſpar, not far from the Mediterranean.

Apamea, *Apami*, a City of Bythinia, built by Nicomedes, the Son of Pruſias.

Apennine Alps, part of the Alps ſo called, which run from the other Alps through the Middle of Italy.

Apollonia, a City of Macedonia, *Pierco.*

Aponiana, an Iſland near the Promontory of Lilybæum in Sicily.

Appia Via, the Appian Highway, which led from Rome into Campania, and from the Sea to Brunduſium.

Apſus, a River of Macedonia, the *Aſpro.*

Apulia, a Region of Italy, *la Puglia.*

Aquilaria, a Town of Africa near Clupea.

Aquileia, formerly a famous and conſiderable City of Italy, not far from the Adriatick, now little more than a Heap of Ruins, *Aquilegia.*

Aquitain, the third Part of ancient Gaul, now containing *Guienne*, *Gaſcony*, &c.

Aquitani, the People inhabiting Aquitain.

Arar, or Araris, a River of Gaul, the *Saone.*

Arduenna ſilva, the Foreſt of *Ardenne* in France, reaching from the Rhine, to the City of Tournay, in the Low Countries.

Arelate, or Arelatum, a City of Gaul, *Arles.*

Argentuaria, the Caſtle of *Horburg*, near the City of Colmar, in upper Alſace.

Argentoratum, *Strasburg*, a City of Germany, anciently the Capital of the Tribocci, on the Rhine, now the chief City of Alſace, belonging to the French.

Argos, a noted City of Peloponneſus, of which Juno was tutelar Goddeſs, *Argo.*

Ariminum, a City of Italy, *Rimini.*

Armenia, a Country of Aſia, divided into the greater and leſſer, and now called *Turcomania.*

Armorici, the ancient People of Armorica, a Part of Gallia Celtica, now *Bretagne.*

Arretium, a City of Hetruria in Italy, *Arezo.*

Arteſia, a Province of the Spaniſh Netherlands, *Artois.*

Arverni, an ancient People of France, on the Loire, whoſe chief City was Arvernum, now *Clermont*, the Capital of *Auvergne.*

Aſciburgum, a City of ancient Germany,

Germany, between Vetera and Gelduba. The preſent City of Aſchafenburg, in Franconia, is ſo called; but, by the Situation, does not ſeem to be this.

Aſculum, a Town of Italy, *Aſcoli*.

Aſcurum, a maritime City of Mauritania, unknown.

Aſparagium, a Town in Macedonia, unknown.

Aſpavia, a Town in Hiſpania Bætica, *Eſpejo*.

Aſſona, a River of Champagne, in France, which runs into the Oiſe, near Compeigne, now called the *Aiſne*.

Aſta, a Town in Hiſpania Bætica, *Maſſa de Aſta*.

Aſta, *Aſti*, the Capital of the Country of the ſame Name, on the River Tanaro, in Piedmont.

Aſtigi, or Aſtingi, a People of Andaluſia, in Spain.

Athens, one of the moſt ancient and noble Cities of Greece, the Capital of Attica.

Athos, a Mountain in Macedonia, in the Province of Jamboli, which runs into the Ægean Sea, like a Peninſula, and is ninety Miles in compaſs.

Ategua, a Town in Hiſpania Bætica, *Tebala Veja*.

Atrebates, an ancient People of Gaul, who lived in that Part of the Netherlands, which is now called *Artois*.

Attica, a Country of Greece, between Achaia and Macedonia, famous on account of its Capital, Athens.

Attuarii, a People of ancient Germany, who inhabited between the Maeſe and the Rhine, whoſe Country is now a Part of the Dutchy of *Gueldres*.

Atuatica, the Capital of the Eburones, now *Tongres* in Brabant.

Atuatici, the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts, the Remains of the Cimbri.

Avaricum, a City of Aquitain, the Capital of the Biturigians, *Bourges*.

Auguſta Nemetum, *Spire*, an ancient City of Germany, in the now upper Circle of the Rhine, and on that River.

Auguſta Rauracorum, *Auguſt*, now a Village only; but a famous Paſs in Switzerland, on the Rhine, two German Miles from Baſil.

Auguſta Trevirorum, *Triers*, a very ancient City in lower Germany, on the Moſel, ſaid to have been built by Trebetas, the Brother of Ninus, 1496 Years before Chriſt; made a Roman Colony in the Time of Auguſtus, and afterwards the moſt famous City of Gallia Belgica. It was for ſome Time the Seat of the Weſtern Empire, now only the Seat of the Eccleſiaſtical Elector of that Name.

Auguſta Vangionum, *Worms*, a City of *Germany*, within the Bounds of the Palatinate, free and Imperial, on the Weſtern Bank of the Rhine.

Auguſta Vindelicorum, *Augſburg*, a famous City of Germany, and a Place of great Trade, a free Imperial City, the Capital of Suabia, on the Lech, not far from the Danube; famous for the Auguſtan Confeſſion.

Auguſtodunum, *Autun*, a very ancient City of Burgundy, on the River Arroux.

Aulerci Eburovices, a People of Gaul, the Country of *Evreux*, in Normandy.

Aulerci Brannovices, a People of Gaul, [illegible]

Aulerci Cenomani, a People of Gaul, the Country of *Maine*.

Aulerci

Aulerci Diablintes, a People of Gaul, *le Perche*.

Auſci, a People of Gaul, thoſe of *Auchs* or *Aux*, in Gaſcony.

Auſetani, a People of Spain, under the Pyrenæan Mountains.

Auximum, a Town in Italy, *Oſimo* or *Oſmo*.

Axona, a River of Belgic Gaul, the *Aiſne*.

B

Bacenis, a Foreſt of ancient Germany, which parted the Suevi from the Cheruſci, by ſome ſuppoſed to be the Foreſts of *Thuringia*, by others the *Black Foreſt*.

Bætica, in the ancient Geography, about a third Part of Spain, containing *Andaluſia*, and a Part of *Granada*.

Bætis, a River of Spain, now called the *Guadalquivir*.

Bagandæ, an ancient People of Gaul, who twice revolted from the Romans, and were both times defeated.

Bagrada, a River of Africa, near Utica, the *Megrada*.

Baleares Inſulæ, ſeveral Iſlands in the Mediterranean Sea, formerly ſo called, of which *Majorca* and *Minorca* are the chief.

Baſilea, *Baſil*, a City of ancient Germany, now the principal City of all Switzerland, on the Rhine.

Batavi, the ancient Inhabitants of the Iſland of Batavia.

Batavia, or Batavorum Inſula, *Holland*, a part of which ſtill retains the Name of *Betuwe*.

Belgæ, the Inhabitants of Gallia Belgica. The original Belgæ were ſuppoſed to be of German Extraction; but paſſing the Rhine, ſettled themſelves in Gaul.

Belgia, Belgium, or Gallia Belgica, the *Low Countries*, or *Netherlands*.

Bellocaſſi, or Velocaſſes, a People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of *Bayeux* in Normandy.

Bellovaci, an ancient renowned People among the Belgæ, inhabiting the Country now called *Beauvais* in France.

Bergea, a City of Macedonia, now called Veria.

Beſſi, a People of Thrace, *Beſſarabia*.

Bethuria, a Region of Hiſpania Luſitanica, *Eſtremadura*.

Betones, or Berones, a People of Hiſpania Tarraconenſis, *Birones*.

Bibracte, a Town of Burgundy, now called *Autun*, the Capital of the *Ædui*.

Bibrax, a Town of Rheims, *Braine*, or *Breſne*.

Bibroci, a People of Britain, according to Cambden, *the Hundred of Bray*, in Berkſhire.

Bigerriones, a People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country now called *Bigorre*, in Gaſcony.

Bithynia, a Country of Aſia Minor, adjoining to Troas, over-againſt Thrace, *Becſangial*.

Bituriges, a People of Guienne, in France, of the Country of *Berry*.

Bœotia, a Country in Greece; parted from Attica, by Mount Citheron. It had formerly ſeveral other Names, and was famous for its Capital, Thebes; but is now called *Stramulipa*.

Boii, an ancient People of Germany, who paſſing the Rhine, ſettled in Gaul, the *Bourbonnois*.

Borani, an ancient People of Germany, ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſame as the Burii.

Boſphorani, a People bordering upon the Euxine Sea, *the Tartars*.

Boſphorus, two Straits of the Sea, ſo called; one Boſphorus Thracius,

Thracius, now *the Straits of Conſtantinople*; the other Boſphorus Cimmerius, now *the Straits of Caffa.*

Brannovices, the People of *Morienne*, in France.

Bratuſpantium, a City of Gaul, belonging to the Bellovaci, *Beauvais.*

Britannia, *Britain*, an Iſland containing *England*, *Scotland*, and *Wales.*

Brueteri, an ancient People of the Netherlands, in Eaſt-Frieſland, afterwards called *Broeckmoreland.*

Brunduſium, a City of Italy, *Brindiſi.*

Brutii, a People of Italy, the *Calabrians.*

Bucinobantes, an ancient People of Germany, who lived oppoſite to *Mentz.*

Bulgaria, a Part of the Lower Mœſia, between Mount Hæmus and the Danube.

Bullis, a Town in Macedonia, unknown.

Burii, an ancient People of Germany, who inhabited the Iſland of *Bornholm.*

Burſavolenſes, a People of Hiſpania Bætica, thought to be the ſame with the Urſaonenſes.

Buthrotum, a City of Epirus, *Butrinto*, or *Botronto.*

Byzantium, an ancient City of Thrace, called at ſeveral times Ligos, Nova Roma, and now *Conſtantinople.*

Byzazyna, a City and Province of Africa, within the Kingdom of Tunis.

C

Cabillonum, a City of ancient Gaul, *Chalons ſur Saone.*

Cadetes, a People of Gaul, unknown.

Cadurci, a People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of *Quercy.*

Cæcinus, a River of Locris, in ancient Greece.

Cæreſi, a People of Belgic Gaul, inhabiting the Country round Namur.

Cæſarea, the chief City of Cappadocia.

Cæſia Silva, the *Cæſian* Foreſt, ſuppoſed to be a Part of the Hercynian Foreſt, about the Dutchy of Cleves and Weſtphalia.

Calagurritani, a People of Hiſpania Tarraconenſis, inhabiting the Province of *Calaborra.*

Caletes, an ancient People of Belgic Gaul, inhabiting the Country called *Le Pais de Caulx*, in Normandy, betwixt the Seine and the Sea.

Caletum, the Town of *Calais*, in Picardy, over-againſt Dover.

Calydon, a City of Ætolia, *Ayton.*

Camerinum, a City of Umbria, in Italy, *Camarino.*

Campania, the pleaſanteſt Part of Italy, in the Kingdom of Naples, now called *Terra di Lavoro.*

Campi Canini, a Place in the Milaneze, in Italy, not far from Belizona.

Campi Catalaunici, ſuppoſed to be the large Plain, which begins about two Miles from Chalons ſur Marne.

Candavia, a Country of Macedonia, *Canavia.*

Caninefates, an ancient People of the lower Part of Germany, near Batavia, about where Gorckum, on the Maeſe, in South Holland, now is.

Canna, a [illegible] Apulia,

lia, famous only for a great Overthrow of the Romans there by Hannibal.

Canopus, *Bochir*, a famous City of Egypt, whence the Canopic Branch of the Nile derived its Name.

Cantabri, an ancient warlike People of Spain, properly of the Provinces of *Guipuſcoa* and *Biſcay*.

Cantium, a Part of England, *the County of Kent*.

Canuſium, a City of Apulia in Italy, *Canoſa*.

Capitol, one of the ſeven Hills in ancient Rome, on which the Romans had a famous Fortreſs, founded by Tarquinius Priſcus, and perfected by Tarquinius Superbus.

Cappadocia, a large Country in Aſia Minor, upon the Euxine Sea.

Caprea, Capreæ, an Iſland on the Coaſt of Campania.

Capua, Capoa, a City in the Kingdom of Naples, in the Province di Lavoro.

Carales, a City of Sardinia, *Cagliari*.

Caralitani, the People of *Cagliari*, in Sardinia.

Carbillo, a City of Spain, near Corduba.

Carcaſo, a City of Gaul, *Carcaſſone*.

Carmona, a Town of Hiſpania Bætica, *Carmone*.

Carni, an ancient People, who inhabited a Part of Noricum, whoſe Country is yet called *Carniola*.

Carnutes, an ancient People of France, inhabiting the Territory yet called *Chartrain*.

Carpi, an ancient People near the Danube.

Carpeſa, a Town in Spain, uncertain.

Carteia, a Town in Spain, *Algeziza*, or *Tariffa*.

Carthago, once the moſt famous City of Africa, the Rival of Rome, built by Queen Dido, about ſeventy Years after Rome, according to ſome; but Juſtin will have it built before Rome; Appian before the Deſtruction of Troy; and Voſſius before Tyre itſelf.

Carthago nova; *Carthagena*, a City of Murcia, in Spain, built by Aſdrubal, General of the Carthaginians.

Caſtlinum, a Town in Italy, *Caſtelluzzo*.

Caſpian Sea, a vaſt Lake between Perſia, Great Tartary, Muſcovy and Georgia, ſaid to be ſix hundred Miles long and near as broad.

Caſſandrea, a City of Macedonia, *Caſſandria*.

Caſſi, a People of ancient Britain, *the Hundred of Caiſhow*, in *Hertfordſhire*.

Caſtellum Menapiorum, *Keſſel*, a Town in Brabant, on the River Neerſe, not far from the Maeſe.

Caſtra Poſthumiana, a Town in Hiſpania Bætica, *Caſtro el Rio*.

Caſtra Vetera, an ancient City in Lower Germany, in the Dutchy of Cleves; ſome ſay where *Santon*, others where *Byrthen* now is.

Caſtulonenſis Saltus, a City of Hiſpania Tarraconenſis, *Caſtona la Vieja*.

Catti, an ancient People of Germany, who inhabited Part of the Country now called *Heſſe*, and *Thuringia*; from the Mountains of Hartz, to the Weſer and the Rhine.

Catuaci, corrupted probably from Atuatici. Some make them the ſame with the People of *Douay*, in France.

Caturiges,

Caturiges, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of *Embrun* or *Ambrun*, alias *Charges*.

Cebenna Mons, the Mountains of the *Cevennes*, in Gaul, ſeparating the Helvians from Auverge.

Celeja, a City of Noricum Mediterraneum, now *Cilley*.

Celetæ, a People of Thrace, about the Mountains of Rhodope and Hæmus.

Celtæ, an ancient People of Gaul, in that Part called Gallia Comata, between the Garumna and Sequana, from whom that Country was likewiſe called Gallia Celtica.

Celtiberi, an ancient People of Spain, deſcended from the Celtæ, who ſettled about the River Iberus, or *Ebro*, from whom the Country was called Celtiberia, now *Arragon*.

Cenimagni, or Iceni, an ancient People of Britain, inhabiting the Countries of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and *Huntingdonſhire*.

Cenis Mons, that Part of the Alps which ſeparates Savoy from Piedmont.

Cenni, an ancient People of Celtic Extraction.

Cenomani, a People of Gallia Celtica, in the Country now called *Le Manſeau*, next adjoining to that of the Inſubres.

Centrones, an ancient People of Flanders, about the City of *Courtray*, dependent on the Nervians.

Centrones, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of Tarantaiſe.

Cerauni Montes, Mountains of Epirus, *Monti di Chimera*.

Cercina, an Iſland on the Coaſt of Africa, *Chercara*, *Cercare*.

Cherroneſus, a Peninſula of Africa, near Alexandria.

Cherſoneſus Cimbrica, a Peninſula on the Baltick, now *Jutland*, Part of *Holſtein*, *Ditmarſh*, and *Sleſwic*.

Cheruſci, a great and warlike People of ancient Germany, between the Elbe and the Weſer, about the Country now called *Mansfield*, Part of the Dutchy of *Brunſwick*, and the Dioceſes of *Hildeſheim*, and *Halberſtadt*.

Chiavenna, the Capital of a Country of that Name, on the River Meira, with a ſtrong Caſtle, in Switzerland.

Chryſopolis, a City of Bithynia, now called *Scutari*, oppoſite to Conſtantinople.

Cimbri, the *Jutlanders*, a very ancient northern People, who inhabited Cherſoneſus Cimbrica.

Cimmerii, an ancient People near the Euxine Sea, whence the Boſphorus Cimmerius, *Tartars*.

Cinga, a River of Spain, *Cinca*, or *Senga*.

Cingulum, a Town of Picenum in Italy, *Cingoli*.

Cirta, a Town in Africa, *Conſtantina*, or *Conſantina*, al. *Tadel*.

Clupea, a maritime City of Africa, *Quipia*.

Cocaſates, a People of Gaul, according to ſome the *Azzadois*.

Coimbra, an ancient City of Portugal, once deſtroyed, but now rebuilt, on the River *Mondego*.

Colchis, a Country in Aſia, near Pontus, including the preſent *Mingrelia*, and *Georgia*.

Comana Pontica, a City of Aſia Minor, *Com*, or *Tabachzan*.

Comana of Cappadocia, *Arminacha*.

Compſa, a City [illegible], or *Conſa*.

Concordia,

Concordia, an ancient City of the Province of *Triuli*, in Italy, now in Ruins.

Condrufi, or Condrufones, an ancient People of Belgium, dependent on the Treviri, whofe Country is yet called *Condrotz*, between Liege and Namur.

Confluens Mofi & Rheni, *Coblentz*.

Corcyra, an Iſland of Epirus, *Corfu*.

Corduba, a City of Hiſpania Bætica, *Cordova*.

Corfinium, a Town belonging to the Peligni in Italy, *St. Pelino*, al. *Pentna*.

Corinth, a famous and rich City of Achaia in Italy, in the Middle of the Iſthmus, going into Peloponneſus.

Corneliana Caſtra, a City of Africa, between Carthage and Utica.

Corſica, a conſiderable Iſland in the Mediterranean Sea, near Sardinia, which ſtill retains its Name, and at preſent belongs to the Genoeſe.

Coſanum, a City of Calabria in Italy, *Caſſano*.

Cremona, an ancient City of Gallia Ciſalpina, which retains its Name to this Day, and is the Metropolis of the *Cremoneſe* in Italy.

Crete, one of the nobleſt Iſlands in the Mediterranean Sea, now called *Candia*.

Ctefiphon, a Town of Aſſyria, over-againſt Seleucia.

Curioſolitæ, a People of Gaul, inhabiting *Cornouaille* in Bretagne.

Cyclades, Iſlands in the Ægean Sea, *L' Iſole dell' Archipelago*.

Cyprus, an Iſland in the Mediterranean Sea, between Syria and Cilicia, *Cipro*.

Cyrene, an ancient and once a fine City of Africa, ſituate over-againſt Matapan, the moſt ſouthern Cape of Morea, *Cairoan*.

Cyzicus, *Chizico*, formerly one of the largeſt Cities of Aſia Minor, in an Iſland of the ſame Name, on the White Sea.

D

Dacia, an ancient Country of Scythia, beyond the Danube, containing Part of *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, *Walachia* and *Moldavia*.

Dalmatia, a Part of Illyricum, now called *Sclavonia*, lying between Croatia, Boſnia, Servia, and the Adriatick Gulph.

Danube, the largeſt River in Europe, which has its riſe in Suabia, and after flowing thro' that Country, Bavaria, Auſtria, Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Moldavia, Beſſarabia, and part of Tartary, taking in its Courſe a great Number of noted Rivers, ſome ſay ſixty, falls into the Black or Euxine Sea, in two Arms.

Dardania, the ancient Name of a Country in upper Mœſia, which became afterwards a part of Dacia; *Raſcia*, and part of *Servia*.

Decetia, a Town in Gaul, *Deciſe* on the Loire.

Delphi, a City of Achaia, *Delpho*, al. *Salona*.

Delta, a very conſiderable Province of Egypt, at the Mouth of the Nile, *Errif*.

Diablintes, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country called *Le Perche*; al. *Diableres* in Bretagne; al. *Lintes* of Brabant; al. *Lendoul*, over-againſt Britain.

Dubis, a River of Burgundy, *Le Doux*.

Duratium, commonly ſuppoſed to be a City of Gaul, in the Province of Poitou; but in fact Cæſar uſes Duratius for the Name of a Nobleman of conſiderable Rank.

Durocortorum, a City of Gaul, *Rheims.*

Dyrrhachium, a City of Macedonia, *Durazzo, Drazzi.*

E

Eburones, an ancient People of Germany, inhabiting Part of the Country now the Biſhoprick of *Liege*, and the County of *Namur.*

Eburovices, a People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of *Evreux*, in Normandy.

Egypt, one of the moſt ancient, fertile, and celebrated Kingdoms in Africa.

Elaver, a River of Gaul, *the Allier.*

Eleutheri, a People of Celtic Gaul, *la Rouergue.*

Elis, a City of Peloponneſus, *Belvidere.*

Eluſates, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of *Euſe*, in Gaſcony.

Epheſus, an ancient and celebrated City of Aſia Minor, *Efeſo.*

Epidaurus, a maritime City of Dalmatia, *Raguſa.*

Epirus, a Country in Greece, between Macedonia, Achaia, and the Ionian Sea, by ſome now called *Albania inferior.*

Eſſui, a People of Gaul, thoſe of *Sezz*, but the Word ſeems rather a corruption from *Ædui.*

Euſubii, corrupted from *Unelli* or *Lexovii*, properly the People of *Liſieux*, in Normandy.

F

Fanum, a City of Umbria in Italy, *Fano.*

Feſole, an ancient City of Italy, in the Dutchy of Florence, anciently one of the twelve conſiderable Cities of Hetruria.

Finni, an ancient People of Pruſſia.

Flavum, anciently reckoned the eaſtern Mouth of the Rhine, now called the *Ulie*, and is a Paſſage out of the Zuyder Sea into the North Sea.

Forum Flaminii, a City of Umbria, three Miles from Fulginium, yet called *Forflamine.*

Forum Julium, *Frejus*, an ancient Town on the Coaſt of Provence, in France.

Foſſa Mariana, a Canal made by C. Marius, near Marſeilles, for the Conveyance of Ships from the Sea into the Rhone.

Foſſæ Marianæ, a City of Gallia Narbonenſis, now called *Aigues Mortes.*

Frentani, an ancient People of Italy, *Abruzzo, Capitanata.*

Friſii, the ancient Inhabitants of *Frieſland.*

G

Gabali, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of *Givaudan.*

Gades, *Cadiz*, an ancient and conſiderable City of Spain.

Gaditani, the People of Gades, or *Cadiz*, in Spain.

Galatia, a Country of Aſia Minor, lying between Cappadocia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia; now called *Chiangare.*

Galli, the People of ancient Gaul, now the *French.*

Gallia, the ancient and renowned Country of Gaul, [illegible] *France*, it was divided by the Romans into,

Gallia Ciſalpina, Tonſa, or Togata, now *Lombardy*, between the Alps and the River Rubicon: And

Gallia Tranſalpina, or Comata, comprehending *France, Holland, the Netherlands*; and [illegible] divided into,

Gallia

Gallia Belgica, now a Part of *Lower Germany*, and the *Netherlands*, with *Picardy*; divided by Auguſtus, into Belgica and Germania; and the latter into prima and ſecunda.

Gallia Celtica, now *France* properly ſo called; divided by Auguſtus, into Lugdunenſis, and Rothomagenſis.

Gallia Aquitanica, now *Gaſcony*; divided, by Auguſtus, into prima, ſecunda and tertia: And

Gallia Narbonenſis, or Braccata, now *Languedoc*, *Dauphiny*, and *Provence*.

Gallicia, a Province of Spain, of a large Extent, once a Kingdom, and comprehending *old Caſtile*, but now a Part of the Kingdom of *Leon*.

Gallogræcia, a Country of Aſia Minor, the ſame as *Galatia*.

Garites, a People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country now called *Gavre*, or *Gavardan*.

Garoceli, or Graioceli, an ancient People of Gaul, about Mount *Cenis*, or *Mount Genevre*; others place them in the *Val de Morienne*.

Garumna, the *Garonne*, one of the largeſt Rivers of France, which ariſing in the Pyrenees, flows thro' Guienne, forms the vaſt Bay of Garonne, and falls, by two Mouths, into the Britiſh Seas.

Garumni, an ancient People of Gaul, in the Neighbourhood of the *Garonne*.

Gebenna Mons, the Mountains of the *Cevennes*, which ſeparated the Helvians from the Arverni.

Geldura, a Fortreſs of the Ubii, on the Rhine, not improbably the preſent Village of *Gelb*, on that River, eleven German Miles [illegible] leus.

Genabum, *Orleans*, an ancient Town in Gaul, famous for the Maſſacre of the Roman Citizens committed there by the Carnutes.

Geneva, a City of Savoy, now a free Republick, upon the Borders of Helvetia, at the going out of the Rhone from the Lake Lemanus, anciently a City of the Allobroges.

Genuſus, a River of Macedonia, uncertain.

Gepidæ, or Gepidi, an ancient northern People, ſuppoſed to have dwelt about the Mouth of the Viſtula.

Gergovia, the Name of two Cities in ancient Gaul, the one belonging to the Boii, the other to the Arverni. Their ſituation is not certainly known.

Germania, *Germany*, one of the largeſt Countries of Europe, and the Mother of thoſe Nations which, in the Fall of the Roman Empire, conquered all the reſt.

Geſatæ, a kind of Militia among the ancient Germans.

Getæ, an ancient People of Scythia, who inhabited betwixt Mœſia and Dacia, on each Side of the Danube. Some think their Country the ſame with the preſent *Wallachia*, or *Moldavia*.

Getulia, a Province of the Kingdom of Morocco, in Barbary.

Gomphi, a Town in Theſſaly, *Gonfi*.

Gorduni, a People of Belgium, the ancient Inhabitants of *Ghent* according to others, of *Courtray*.

Gotini, an ancient People of Germany, who were driven out of their Country by Maroboduus.

Græcia, *Greece*, a large Part of Europe, called by the Turks *Romelia*, containing many Countries, Provinces, and Iſlands, once the Nurſery of Arts, Learning, and Sciences.

Graioceli, the ancient Inhabi-

tants of *Mount Cenis*, ſee Garoceii.

Grudii, the ancient Inhabitants about *Louvain*, or, according to ſome, about *Bruges*.

Gugern, a People of ancient Germany who dwelt on the right Banks of the Rhine, between the Ubii and the Batavi.

Guttones, or Gythones, an ancient People of Germany inhabiting about the Viſtula.

H

Hæmus, a Mountain dividing Mœſia and Thrace, *Argentaro*.

Haliacmon, a River of Macedonia, uncertain.

Harudes, or Harudi, a People of Gallia Celtica, ſuppoſed to have been originally Germans; and by ſome to have inhabited about *Conſtance*.

Helleſpont, *Straits of Gallipoli*, the famous ſtraits by Conſtantinople, dividing Europe from Aſia, between Propontis, and the Ægean Sea.

Helvetia, *Switzerland*, now divided into thirteen Cantons.

Helvetii, *the Switzers*, ancient Inhabitants of the Country of *Switzerland*.

Helvii, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country now poſſeſſed by the *Vivarois*.

Heraclea, a City of Thrace, on the Euxine Sea, *Pantiro*.

Heraclea Sentica, a Town in Macedonia, *Cheſia*.

Hercynia Silva, *the Hercynian Foreſt*, the largeſt Foreſt of ancient Germany, being reckoned by Cæſar to have been ſixty Days Journey in length, and nine in breadth. Many Parts of it have been ſince cut down, and many are yet remaining; of which, among others, is that called the *Black Foreſt*.

Hermanduri, an ancient People of Germany, particularly in the Country now called *Miſnia*, in upper Saxony; tho' they poſſeſſed a much larger Tract of Land, according to ſome all *Bohemia*.

Herminius Mons, a Mountain of *Luſitania*, *Monte Armino*, according to others, *Monte della Strella*.

Heruli, an ancient northern People, who came firſt out of Scandavia, but afterwards inhabited the Country now called *Mecklenburg* in lower Saxony, towards the Baltick.

Hibernia, *Ireland*, a conſiderable Iſland to the Weſt of Great Britain.

Hippo, *Bona*, a City of the Province of Conſtantine, in the Kingdom of Tunis, in Africa, upon the Mediterranean.

Hiſpalis, a City of Hiſpania Bætica, Seville.

Hiſpania, *Spain*, one of the moſt conſiderable Kingdoms in Europe, divided by the Ancients into Tarraconenſis, Bætica, and Luſitania.

Hyrcania, a Country of Aſia, bordering on the Caſpian Sea, *Tabariſtan*, *Gorgian*.

I

Jacetani, or Lacetani, a People of Spain, near the Pyrenæan Mountains.

Jadertini, a People ſo called from their capital Jadera, a City of Illyricum, *Zara*.

Jazygæ, or Jazyges, a People of Sarmatia Europæa, inhabiting about the Countries now called *Lavonia* and *Pruſſia*.

Iberus, a River [illegible] Tarraconenſis, *the* [illegible]

Iccius, or Itius [illegible] Sea-port-

port-Town of ancient Gaul; *Boulogne*, or, according to others, *Calais*.

Igilium, an Iſland in the Tuſcan Sea, *il Giglio*, *L' Iſle du Lys*.

Iguvium, a City of Umbria in Italy, *Gubio*.

Ilerda, a City of Catalonia, in Spain, now called *Lerida*, on the *Segre*.

Illurgavonenſes, a People of Hiſpania Tarraconenſis, near the Iberus.

Illyricum, formerly the Country between Pannonia to the North, and the Adriatic Sea to the South, divided into Liburnia and Dalmatia. It is now chiefly comprehended under *Dalmatia* and *Sclavonia*, and bordered by Pannonia, Iſtria, Macedonia, and the Adriatic Gulph; almoſt wholly under the reſpective Dominions of the Venetians and the Turks.

Illurgis, a Town of Hiſpania Bætica, *Illera*.

Inſubria, a Country of Gallia Ciſalpina, now the Dutchies of *Milan*, *Mantua*, *Breſcia*.

Ionia, a Country of Aſia Minor, anciently inhabited by a Colony from Greece, *Sarchan*.

Iſſa, an Iſland of the Adriatic Sea, *Liſſa*.

Iſter, that Part of the Danube which paſſed by Illyricum.

Iſtria, a Country now in Italy, under the Venetians, bordering on Illyricum, ſo called from the River Iſter.

Iſtropolis, a City of lower Mœſia, near the South Entrance of the Danube, *Proſtraviza*.

Iſara, the *Iſere*, a River of France, which ariſes in Savoy, and falls into the Rhone above Valence.

Iſauria, a Province anciently of Aſia Minor, now a Part of *Caramania*, and ſubject to the Turks.

Italia, *Italy*, one of the moſt famous Countries in Europe, once the Seat of the Roman Empire, now under ſeveral Princes, and free Commonwealths.

Italica, a City of Hiſpania Bætica, *Sevila la Veja*; according to others, *Acala del Rio*.

Ituræa, a Country of Paleſtine, *Bacar*.

Jura, a Mountain in Gallia Belgica, which ſeparated the Sequani from the Helvetians, moſt of which is now called *Mount St. Claude*.

Juvavia, formerly the Capital of Noricum Mediterraneum, now *Saltzburg*.

L

Lacetani, a People of Spain, near the Pyrenæan Hills.

Lacus Benacus, *Lago di Guarda*, a Lake now belonging to the Venetians, between Verona, Breſcia, and Trent.

Larinates, the People of Larinum, a City of Italy, *Larino*.

Lariſſa, the principal City of Theſſaly, a Province of Macedonia, on the River Peneo.

Latini, the Inhabitants of Latium, an ancient Part of Italy, whence the Latin Tongue is ſo called.

Latobriges, a People of Gallia Belgica, between the Allobroges and Helvetii, in the Country now called *Laujane*.

Lazi, an ancient People of Sarmatia Europea, according to ſome, on the Banks of the Palus Mæotis; but, according to others, towards the Caſpiæ Portæ, near the Iberi.

Lemanus Lacus, the Lake upon which Geneva ſtands, made by the River Rhone, between

Switzerland to the North, and Savoy to the South, commonly called the *Lake of Geneva*.

Lemnos, an Iſland in the Ægean Sea, now called *Stalimane*.

Lemovices, an ancient People of Gaul, *le Limoſin*.

Lemovices Amorici, the People of *St. Paul de Leon*.

Lenium, a Town in Luſitania, unknown.

Lepontii, a People of the Alps, near the Valley of *Leventina*.

Leptis, a Town in Africa, *Lebeda*, or *Lapeda*.

Levaci, a People of Brabant, not far from Louvain, whoſe chief Town is now called *Leew*.

Leuci, a People of Gallia Belgica, where now Lorrain is, well ſkilled in darting. Their chief City is now called *Toul*.

Lexovii, an ancient People of Gaul, *Liſieux* in Normandy.

Liburni, an ancient People of Illyricum, inhabiting Part of the preſent *Croatia*.

Ligeris, the *Loire*, one of the greateſt and moſt celebrated Rivers of France, ſaid to take one hundred and twelve Rivers in its Courſe; it riſes in Velay, and falls into the Bay of Aquitain, below Nantz.

Liguria, a Part of ancient Italy, extending from the Appennines to the Tuſcan Sea, containing *Ferrara*, and the Territories of *Genoa*.

Lilybeum, the moſt weſtern Promontory of the Iſland of Sicily, where ſtood a City of the ſame Name, now *Capo boco*.

Limo, or Limomum, a City of ancient Gaul, *Poitiers*.

Lingones, a People of Gallia Belgica, inhabiting in and about *Langres*, in Champagne.

Liſſus, an ancient City of Macedonia, *Aleſſio*.

Lucani, an ancient People of Italy, inhabiting the Country now called *Baſilicate*.

Luceria, an ancient City of Italy, *Lucera*.

Luſitania, *Portugal*, a Kingdom on the Weſt of Spain, formerly a Part of it.

Lutetia, *Paris*, an ancient and famous City, the Capital of all France, on the River *Seine*.

Lydia, an inland Country of Aſia Minor, formerly governed by the famous Crœſus, who was the laſt King of it, *Caraſia*.

Lygii, an ancient People of upper Germany, who inhabited the Country now called *Sileſia*, and on the Borders of *Poland*.

M

Macedonia, a large Country, of great Antiquity and Fame, in Greece, containing ſeveral Provinces, now under the Turks.

Mæotis Palus, a vaſt Lake in the North Part of Scythia, now called *Marbianco*, or *Mare della Tana*. It is about ſix hundred Miles in Compaſs, and the River Tanais diſembogues itſelf into it.

Magetobria, or Amagetobria, a City of Gaul, uncertain,

Malaca, a City of Hiſpania Bætica, *Malaga*.

Mandubii, an ancient People of Gaul, *l' Auxois*, in Burgundy.

Marcomanni, a Nation of the Suevi, whom Cluverius places between the Rhine, the Danube, and the Neckar; who ſettled, however, under Moroboduus, in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*.

Marrucini, an ancient People of Italy, inhabiting the Country now called *Abruzzo*.

Marſi, an ancient People of Italy, inhabiting the Country now called *Ducato de Marſi*.

Maſſilia, *Marſeilles*, a large and flouriſhing City of Provence, in France, on the Mediterranean; ſaid to be very ancient, and, according to ſome, built by the Phœnicians; but, as Juſtin will have it, by the Phocians, in the time of Tarquinius, King of Rome.

Matiſco, an ancient City of Gaul, *Maſcon*.

Matrona, a River in Gaul, the *Marne*.

Mauritania, *Barbary*, an ancient large Region of Africa, divided into Cæſarienſis, Tingitatana, and Sitofenſis.

Mazaca, a City of Cappadocia, *Tiſaria*.

Mediomatrices, a People of Lorrain, on the Moſel, about the City of *Metz*.

Mediterranean Sea, the firſt diſcovered Sea in the World, ſtill very famous, and much frequented, which breaks in from the Atlantic Ocean, between Spain and Africa, by the Straits of Gibraltar, or Hercules' Pillars, the ne plus ultra of the Ancients.

Medobrega, a City of Luſitania, *Armenna*.

Meldæ, according to ſome the People of *Meaux*; but more probably corrupted from *Belgæ*.

Melodunum, an ancient City of Gaul, upon the Seine, above Paris, *Melun*.

Menapii, an ancient People of Gallia Belgica, who inhabited on both Sides of the Rhine. Some take them for the Inhabitants of *Cleves*; and others of *Antwerp*, *Ghent*, &c.

Meſopotamia, a large Country in the Middle of Aſia, between the Tigris and the Euphrates, *Diarbeck*.

Meſſana, an ancient and celebrated City of Sicily, ſtill known by the Name of *Meſſina*.

Metaurus, a River of Umbria, now called *Metoro*, in the Dutchy of Urbino.

Metioſedum, an ancient City of Gaul on the Seine, below Paris, *Corbeil*.

Metropolis, a City of Theſſaly, between Pharſalus and Gomphi.

Mitylene, a City of Leſbos, *Metelin*.

Mœſia, a Country of Europe, and a Province of the ancient Illyricum, bordering on Pannonia, divided into the Upper, containing *Boſnia* and *Servia*, and the Lower, called *Bulgaria*.

Mona, in Cæſar, the Iſle of *Man*; in Ptolemy, *Angleſey*.

Morini, an ancient People of the Low Countries, who probably inhabited on the preſent Coaſt of *Bologne*, on the Confines of *Picardy* and *Artois*, becauſe Cæſar obſerves, that from their Country was the neareſt Paſſage to Britain.

Moſa, the *Maeſe*, or *Meuſe*, a large River of Gallia Belgica, which falls into the German Ocean below the Briel.

Moſella, the *Moſelle*, a River which running through Lorrain, paſſes by Triers, and falls into the Rhine at Coblentz, famous for the Vines growing in the Neighbourhood of it.

Munda, an ancient City of Spain, *Munda*; al. *Ronda la Veja*.

Murſa, a Town and Caſtle, in Sclavonia, at the Conflux of the Draw and Danube, now called *Eſſeek*, famous for a Bridge three Miles over.

Myſia, a Country of Aſia Minor, not far from the Helleſpont, divided into Major and Minor.

N

Nabathæi, an ancient People of Arabia, uncertain.

Nannetes, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about *Nantes*.

Nantuates, an ancient People of the North Part of Savoy, whoſe Country is now called *Le Chablais*.

Narbo, *Narbonne*, an ancient Roman City, in Languedoc, in France, ſaid to be built an hundred and thirty-eight Years before the Birth of Chriſt.

Nariſci, the ancient People of the Country now called *Nortgow*, in Germany, the Capital of which is the famous City of Nuremburg.

Naupactus, an ancient and conſiderable City of Ætolia, now called *Lepanto*.

Neapolis, a City of Italy, which ſtill retains the Name of *Naples*.

Neapolis, a City of Africa, between Clupea and Adrumetum, now called *Napoli*.

Nemetes, a People of ancient Germany, about the City of Spire, on the Rhine.

Nemetocenna, a Town of Belgium, not certainly known; according to ſome, *Arras*.

Neocæſarea, the Capital of Pontus, on the River Lycus, now called *Tocat*.

Nervii, an ancient People of *Gallia Belgica*, thought to have dwelt in the now Dioceſe of *Cambray*.

Neſſus, or Neſtus, a River in Thrace, *Neſto*.

Nicæa, a City of Bithynia, now called *Iſnick*, famous for the firſt general Council, Anno 324, againſt Arianiſm.

Nicomedia, a City of Bithynia, where Conſtantine the Great died, *Comidia*.

Nicopolis, a City of Armenia the leſs, *Gianich*; likewiſe of Bulgaria, at the Confluence of the Iſacar and the Danube, commonly called *Nigeboli*.

Nilus, the *Nile*, a River of Egypt, famous for its annual Overflow.

Nitiobriges, an ancient People of Gaul, *l'Agenois*.

Noreia, a City on the Borders of Illyricum, about nine German Miles from Aquileia.

Noricæ Alpes, that Part of the Alps, which were in or bordering upon Noricum.

Noricum, anciently a large Country, now containing ſeveral, as a great Part of *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, Part of *Tyrol*, *Bavaria*, *&c.* and divided into Noricum Mediterraneum, and Ripenſe.

Noviodunum Belgarum, an ancient City of Belgic Gaul, now called *Noyon*.

Noviodunum Biturigum, *Neuvy* or *Neufvy*.

Noviodunum Æduorum, *Nevers*.

Noviodunum Sueſſionum, *Soiſſons*, al. *Noion*.

Noviomagum, *Spire*, an ancient City of Germany, in the now upper Circle of the Rhine, and on that River.

Numantia, a celebrated City of ancient Spain, famous for a gallant Reſiſtance againſt the Romans, in a Siege of fourteen Years; *Almaſan*.

Numidia, an ancient and celebrated Kingdom of Africa, bordering on Mauritania; *Algiers*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, *&c.*

Numicus, the *Numico*, a River of ancient Latium in Italy.

Nymphæum, a Promontory of Macedonia, in the Confines of Sclavonia.

O

Obucula, a Town in Hiſpania Bætica, uncertain.

Ocelum, a Town ſituated among the Alps in Gaul, *Exilles.*

Octodurus, a Town belonging to the Veragrians, *Martinac.*

Octogeſa, a City of Hiſpania Tarraconenſis, *Mequinenza.*

Orchomenus, a Town in Bœotia, *Orcomeno.*

Oricum, a Town in Epirus, *Orco*, or *Orcha.*

Oſcenſes, the People of Oſca, a Town in Hiſpania Tarraconenſis, now *Hueſcar.*

Oſiſmii, an ancient People of Gaul, uncertain.

P

Padus, the *Po*, the largeſt River in Italy, which ariſes in Piedmont, and dividing Lombardy into two Parts, falls into the Adriatick Sea, by many Mouths.

Pæmani, an ancient People of Gallia Belgica; according to ſome, thoſe of *Luxemburg*; according to others, the People of *Pemont*, near the Black Foreſt.

Palæſte, a Town in Epirus. near Oricum

Pannonia, a very large Country, in the ancient Diviſion of Europe, divided into the Upper and Lower, and comprehended betwixt Illyricum, the Danube, and the Mountains Cethi.

Parada, a Town in Africa, not far from Utica.

Paratonium, a maritime City of Africa, *Alberton.*

Pariſii, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country now called the *Iſle of France.*

Parthia, a Country in Aſia, lying between Media, Caramania, and the Hircanian Sea.

Pæonini, a People of Macedonia.

Peligni, a People of Italy in Apruzzo.

Peloponneſus, the *Morea*, a famous, large and fruitful Peninſula of Greece, now belonging to the Venetians.

Peluſium, an ancient and celebrated City of Egypt, *Belbais.*

Pergamus, an ancient and famous City of Myſia, *Pergamo.*

Perinthus, a City of Thrace, about a Day's Journey Weſt of Conſtantinople, now in a decaying Condition, and called *Heraclea.*

Perſia, one of the largeſt, moſt ancient, and celebrated Kingdoms of Aſia. It anciently contained many Countries, and now many Provinces.

Petra, an ancient City of Macedonia, uncertain.

Petrogorii, a Country in Gaul, *Perigord.*

Peucini, the Inhabitants of the Iſland of Peuce, in one of the Mouths of the Danube.

Pharſalia, a Part of Theſſaly, famous for the Battle between Cæſar and Pompey, which decided the Fate of the Roman Commonwealth.

Pharus, an Iſle facing the Port of Alexandria in ancient Egypt; *Farion.*

Phaſis, a large River in Colchis, now called *Faſſo*, which flows into the Euxine Sea.

Philippi, a City of Macedonia, on the Confines of Thrace, *Filippo.*

Philippopolis, a City of Thrace, near the River Hebrus, *Filippopoli.*

Phrygia, two Countries in Aſia Minor, one called Major, the other Minor.

Picenum, an ancient Diſtrict of Italy, lying Eaſtward of Umbria; *the March of Ancona*, according to others *Piſcara.*

Picti, *Picts*, an ancient barbarous northern People, who by Intermarriages became, in courſe of Time, one Nation with the Scots; but are originally ſuppoſed to have come out of Denmark or Scythia, to the Iſles of Orkney, and from thence into Scotland.

Pictones, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of *Poitou*.

Piruſtæ, an ancient People of Illyricum, *Albaneſi*.

Piſaurum, a City of Umbria in Italy, *Piſaro*.

Placentia, an ancient City of Gallia Ciſalpina, near the Po, now the Metropolis of the Dutchy of *Piacenza*, which Name it alſo bears.

Pleumoſii, an ancient People of Gallia Belgica, ſubject to the Nervians, and inhabiting near *Tournay*.

Polentia, an ancient City near the Alps, though the learned diſagree as to the particular Situation of it.

Pontus, an ancient Kingdom of Aſia Minor, between Bithynia and Paphlagonia upon the Euxine Sea.

Pontus Euxinus, the *Euxine*, or *Black Sea*, from the Ægean along the Helleſpont, to the Mæotic Lake, between Europe and Aſia.

Poſthumiana Caſtra, an ancient Town in Hiſpania Bætica, now called *Caſtro el Rio*.

Præciani, an ancient People of Gaul, *Precins*.

Provincia Romana, or Romanorum, one of the ſouthern Provinces of France, the firſt the Romans conquered and brought into the Form of a Province, whence it obtained its Name; which it ſtill in ſome Degree retains, being called at this Day *Provence*.

Pruſa or Pruſas, *Burſa*, a City of Bithynia, at the Foot of Olympus, built by Hannibal.

Ptolemais, an ancient City of Africa, *St. Jean d' Acre*.

Pyrenæi Montes, the *Pyrenees*, or *Pyrenæan Mountains*, one of the largeſt Chains of Mountains in Europe, which divide Spain from France, running from Eaſt to Weſt eighty-five Leagues in length.

R

Ravenna, a very ancient City of Italy, near the Coaſt of the Adriatick Gulph, which ſtill retains its ancient Name. In the Decline of the Roman Empire, it was ſometime the Seat of the Emperors of the Weſt; as it was likewiſe of the Wiſi-Gothick Kingdom.

Rauraci, a People of ancient Germany, near the Helvetii, who inhabited near where *Baſil* in Switzerland now is.

Rhedones, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about *Rennes* in Bretagne.

Rhætia, the Country of the *Griſons*, on the Alps, near the Hercynian Foreſt.

Rhemi, the People of *Rheims*, a very ancient, fine, and populous City of France, in the Province of Champagne, on the River Veſle.

Rhenus, the *Rhine*, a great and famous River in Germany, which formerly divided it from Gaul. Itſprings out of the Rhætian Alps, in the weſtern Borders of Switzerland, and the northern of the Griſons, from two Springs which unite near Coire, and falls into

into the Maeſe and the German Ocean, by two Mouths, whence Virgil calls it Rhenus bicornis.

Rhodanus, the *Rhone*, one of the moſt celebrated Rivers of France, which ariſes from a double Spring in Mont de la Fourchee, a Part of the Alps, on the Borders of Switzerland, near the Springs of the Rhine, and after a vaſt Circuit through France, falls into the Mediterranean, by five Mouths.

Rhodope, a famous Mountain of Thrace, now called *Valiza*.

Rhodus, *Rhodes*, a celebrated Iſland in the Mediterranean, upon the Coaſt of Aſia Minor, over-againſt Caria.

Rhyndagus, a River of Myſia in Aſia, which falls into the Propontis.

Roma, *Rome*, once the Seat of the Roman Empire, and the Capital of the then known World, now the immediate Capital of Camagna di Roma only, on the River Tiber, and the Papal Seat; generally ſuppoſed to have been built by Romulus, in the firſt Year of the ſeventh Olympiad.

Roxolani, a People of Scythia Europæa, bordering upon the Alani: Their Country, anciently called Roxolania, is now *Red Ruſſia*, belonging to the Crown of Poland.

Ruſpina, an ancient maritime City of Africa, *Souſe*.

Rutheni, an ancient People of Gaul, *la Rouergue*.

S

Sabis, the *Sambre*, a River of the Low Countries, which ariſes in Picardy, and falls into the Maeſe at Namur.

Saguntini, the People of Saguntum, a noble City of ancient Spain, the Memory of which is recorded with Honour, for the Fidelity ſhewn to its Allies the Romans, *Morvedre*.

Salaſſii, an ancient People of Piedmont, whoſe chief Town was where now Aoſta is ſituate.

Salluvii, *Sallyes*, a People of Gallia Narbonenſis, about where *Aix* now is.

Salona, an ancient City of Dalmatia, and a Roman Colony; the Place where Diocleſian was born, and whither he retreated, after he had reſigned the Imperial Dignity.

Salſum, a River of Hiſpania Bætica, *Rio Salado*, or *Guadajos*.

Samarobriva, *Amiens*, an ancient City of Gallia Belgica, enlarged and beautified by the Emperor Antoninus Pius, now the chief City of Picardy, on the River Somme.

Santones, the ancient Inhabitants of *Guienne* or *Xantoigne*.

Sardinia, a great Iſland in the Mediterranean, which in the Time of the Romans had forty two Cities, now belonging to the Duke of Savoy, with the Title of King.

Sarmatia, a very large northern Country, divided into Sarmatia Aſiatica, containing *Tartary*, *Petigora*, *Circaſſia*, and the Country of the *Morduitæ*: And Sarmatia Europæa, containing *Ruſſia*, Part of *Poland*, *Pruſſia*, and *Lithuania*.

Sarſura, a Town in Africa, unknown.

Savus, the *Save*, a large River, which ariſes in upper Carniola, and falls into the Danube at Belgrade.

Scaldis, the *Scheld*, a noted River in the Low Countries, which ariſes in Picardy, and waſhing ſeveral

al of the principal Cities of anders and Brabant, in its Courſe, falls into the German Ocean by two Mouths, one retaining its own Name, and the other called the *Honte*.

Scandavia, anciently a vaſt northern Peninſula, containing what is yet called *Schonen*, anciently Scania, belonging to *Denmark*; and Part of *Sweden*, *Norway* and *Lapland*.

Scythia, a large Country, properly Crim-Tartary; but in Hiſtory and Geography, greatly extended, and particularly divided into Scythia Aſiatica, on either ſide of Mount Imaus: And Scythia Europæa, about the Euxine Sea, and the Mæotic Lake.

Seduni, an ancient People of Switzerland, *Sion*.

Sedoſii, an ancient People of Germany, on the Borders of Suabia.

Segni, an ancient German Nation, Neighbours of the Condruſi, *Zulpich*.

Segontiaci, a People of ancient Britain, inhabiting about *Holſhot*, in Hampſhire.

Segovia, a City of Hiſpania Bætica, *Sagovia la menos*.

Seguſiani, a People of Gallia Celtica, about where now *Lionois Foreſt* is ſituate.

Senones, an ancient Nation of the Celtæ, inhabiting about the *Senonois*, in Gaul.

Sequana, the *Seine*, one of the principal Rivers of France, ariſing in the Dutchy of Burgundy, not far from a Town of the ſame Name, and running through Paris, and by Roan, forms at Candebec a great Arm of the Sea.

Sequani, an ancient People of Gallia Belgica, inhabiting the Country now called the *Franche Comté* or the *Upper Burgundy*.

Seſuvii, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about *Seez*.

Sibutzates, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of *Buck*.

Sicilia, *Sicily*, a large Iſland in the Tyrrhene Sea, at the ſouth-weſt Point of Italy, formerly called the Store-houſe of the Roman Empire, and the firſt Province the Romans poſſeſſed out of Italy.

Sicoris, a River in Catalonia, the *Segre*.

Sigambri, or Sicambri, an ancient People of Lower Germany, between the Maeſe and the Rhine, where *Guelderland* is; though by ſome placed on the Banks of the Maine.

Silicenſis, a River of Hiſpania Bætica, *Rio de las Algamidas*. Others think it a Corruption from *Singuli*.

Sinueſſa, a City of Campania, not far from the Save, an ancient Roman Colony, now in a ruinous Condition; *Rocca di Mondragone*.

Soricaria, a City of ancient Spain, unknown.

Soritia, an ancient Town in Spain, unknown.

Sotiates, or Sontiates, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country about *Aire*.

Sparta, a City of Peloponneſus, now called *Muſithra*, ſaid to be ſo ancient as the Days of the Patriarch Jacob.

Spoletum, *Spoleto*, a City of great Antiquity, of Umbria, in Italy, the Capital of a Dutchy of the ſame Name, on the River Teſino, where are yet ſome ſtately Ruins of ancient Roman and Gothick Edifices.

Sueſſiones, an ancient People of Gaul, *le Soiſſonnois*.

Suevi, an ancient, great, and warlike People of Germany, who poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed the greateſt Part of it, from the Rhine to the Elbe, but afterwards removed from the northern Parts, and ſettled about the Danube, and ſome marched into Spain, where they eſtabliſhed a Kingdom.

Sulcitani, an ancient People of Sardinia, unknown.

Sulmo, an ancient City of Italy, *Sulmona.*

Sunici, an ancient People of the Dutchy of *Limburg*, where there is yet a Place called *Sunich*, a Name probably borrowed from them.

Syracuſæ, *Saraguſa*, once one of the nobleſt Cities of Sicily, ſaid to be built by Archias, a Corinthian, above ſeven hundred Years before Chriſt. The Romans beſieged and took it during the ſecond Punic War, on which Occaſion the great Archimedes was killed. It has been ſo entirely deſtroyed, that it has no Remains to ſhew of its Antiquity.

Syria, a large Country of Aſia, containing ſeveral Provinces, now called *Souriſtan.*

Syrtes, *the Deſarts of Barbary*; alſo two dangerous ſandy Gulphs, in the Mediterranean, upon the Coaſt of Barbary, in Africa, called the one Syrtis magna, now the *Gulph of Sidra*, the other Syrtis parva, now the *Gulph of Capes.*

T

Tameſis, the *Thames*, a celebrated and well known River of Great Britain.

Tanais, the *Don*, a very large River in Scythia, dividing Aſia from Europe. It riſes in the Province of Reſan, in Muſcovy, and flowing through the Crim-Tartary, runs into the Mæotick Lake,

near a City of the ſame Name, now in Ruins, and in the Hands of the Turks.

Tarbelli, a People of ancient Gaul, near the Pyrenees, inhabiting about *Ays* and *Bayonne*, in the Country of *Labourd.*

Tarracina, an ancient City of Italy, which ſtill retains the ſame Name.

Tarraco, *Tarragona*, a City of Spain, which in ancient time, gave Name to that Part of it called Hiſpania Tarraconenſis; by ſome ſaid to be built by the Scipios, though others ſay before the Roman Conqueſt, and that they only enlarged it. It ſtands on the Mouth of the River Tulcis, now *el Fracoli*, with a ſmall Haven on the Mediterranean.

Tarſus, *Tarſo*, the Metropolis of Cilicia, famous for being the Birth-Place of St. Paul.

Taruſates, an ancient People of Gaul, uncertain; according to ſome, *le Teurſan.*

Tauris, an Iſland in the Adriatick Sea, unknown.

Taurois, the Name of a Caſtle near Marſeilles.

Taurus Mons, the greateſt Mountain in all Aſia, extending from the Indian to the Ægean Sea, called by different Names in different Countries, viz. Imaus, Caucaſus, Caſpius, Ceraunius, and in Scripture, Ararat. Herbert ſays it is fifty Engliſh Miles over, and fifteen hundred long.

Tectoſages, ſee Volcæ.

Tegea, a City of Africa, unknown.

Tenchtheri, a People of ancient Germany, bordering on the Rhine, near *Overyſſel.*

Tergeſtini, an ancient People inhabiting about *Trieſte*, in the Confines of Iſtria and the Carni.

Terni,

Terni, an ancient Roman Colony, on the River Nare, twelve Miles from Spoletum.

Teutones, or *Teutoni*, an ancient People bordering on the Cimbri, the common ancient Name for all the Germans, whence they yet call themſelves *Teutſche*, and their Country *Teutſchland*.

Thabena, a City of Africa, unknown.

Thapſus, a maritime City of Africa, uncertain.

Thebæ, a City of Bœotia, in Greece, ſaid to have been built by Cadmus, deſtroyed by Alexander the Great, but rebuilt, and now known by the Name of *Stives*.

Thermopylæ, a famous Paſs on the great Mountain Oeta, leading into Phocis, in Achaia, now called *Bocca di Lupo*.

Theſſaly, a Country of Greece, formerly a great Part of Macedonia, now called *Janna*.

Theſſalonica, the chief City of Macedonia, now called *Salonichi*.

Thracia, a large Country of Europe, eaſtward from Macedonia, commonly called *Romania*, bounded by the Euxine and Ægean Seas.

Thurii, or Turii, an ancient People of Italy, *Torre Brodogneto*.

Tigurinus Pagus, a Nation of the Helvetians, the ancient Inhabitants of the Canton of *Zurich*, in Switzerland.

Tiſdra, or Tiſdrus, an ancient City of Africa, *Cairoan*.

Toloſa, *Thouloufe*, a City of Aquitain, of great Antiquity, the Capital of Languedoc, on the Garonne.

Toxandri, an ancient People of the Low Countries, about *Breda*, and *Gertruydenburg*; but according to ſome of the Dioceſe of *Liege*.

Tralles, an ancient People of Lydia in Aſia Minor, *Chora*.

Treviri, the People of *Treves*, or *Triers*, a very ancient City of Lower Germany, on the Moſelle, ſaid to have been built by Trebetas, the Brother of Ninus. It was made a Roman Colony in the time of Auguſtus, and became afterwards the moſt famous City of Gallia Belgica. It was for ſome time the Seat of the weſtern Empire, but it is now only the Seat of the Eccleſiaſtical Elector named from it.

Tribocci, or Triboces, a People of ancient Germany, inhabiting the Country of *Alſace*.

Trinobantes, a People of ancient Britain, Inhabitants of the Counties of *Middleſex*, and *Hertfordſhire*.

Troja, *Troy*, a City of Phrygia, in Aſia Minor, near Mount *Ida*, deſtroyed by the Greeks after a ten Years Siege.

Tubantes, an ancient People of Germany, about *Weſtphalia*.

Tugium, a City and Canton of Helvetia, or Switzerland, now called *Zug*.

Tulingi, an ancient People of Germany, who inhabited about where now *Stulingen* in Switzerland is.

Tungri, an ancient People inhabiting about where Tongres, in Liege, now is.

Turones, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about *Tours*.

Tuſcia, *Tuſcany*, a very large and conſiderable Region of Italy, anciently called Tyrrhenia, and Etruria.

Tyber, one of the moſt noted, tho' not largeſt Rivers of Italy, which ariſes in one of the Appennines, and, among other Places,

paſſing

paſſing thro' Rome, falls into the Tyrrhenian Sea at *Oſtia*.

Tygris, a rapid River of Aſia, which, in its Courſe, unites with the Euphrates.

Tyrus, *Tyre*, an ancient City of Phœnicia, upon the Mediterranean, famous for its Traffick and Riches.

V

Vacca, a Town in Africa, unknown.

Vahalis, *the Waal*, the middle Branch of the Rhine, which, paſſing by Nimeguen, falls into the Maeſe, above Gorcum.

Valencia, a City of Spain, which gives Name to a whole Kingdom, about a Mile from the Mediterranean, ſuppoſed to be built by Junius Brutus.

Valentia, *Valence*, a City of Gallia Narbonenſis, now in Dauphiny, on the Rivers Rhone and Iſere.

Vangiones, an ancient People of Germany, about the City of *Worms*.

Varus, the *Var*, a River in Gaul, that flows into the Ligurian Sea.

Ubii, an ancient People of Lower Germany, who inhabited about where *Cologn*, and the Dutchy of *Juliers* now are.

Ucubis, a Town in Hiſpania Bætica, *Lucubi*.

Velauni, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about *Velai*.

Vellaunodunum, a Town in Gaul, about which Geographers are much divided; ſome making it *Auxerre*, others *Chaſteau Landon*, others *Villeneuve* in Lorrain, others, *Veron*.

Velocaſſes, an ancient People of Normandy, about *Rouan*.

Veneti, this Name was anciently given as well to the *Venetians*, as to the People of *Vannes*, in Bretagne, in Gaul, for which laſt it ſtands in Cæſar.

Venetiæ, *Venice*, a noble City of Italy, built upon ſixty Iſlands, joined together by five hundred Bridges, at the Top of the Adriatic Gulph, the Capital of a powerful Commonwealth.

Ventiſponte, a Town in Spain, unknown.

Veragri, a People of Gallia Lugdunenſis, whoſe chief Town was Aguanum, now *St. Maurice*.

Verbigenus, or Urbigenus Pagus, a Nation or Canton of the Helvetians, inhabiting the Country in the Neighbourhood of *Orbe*.

Vercelli Campi, the *Plains of Vercellæ*, famous for a Victory the Romans obtained there over the Cimbri. The City of that Name is in Piedmont, on the River Seſia, on the Borders of the Dutchy of Milan.

Veromandui, a People of Gallia Belgica, whoſe Country, now a Part of Picardy, is ſtill called *Vermandois*.

Verona, a City of Lombardy, the Capital of a Province of the ſame Name, on the River Adige, ſaid to be built by the Gauls two hundred and eighty-two Years before Chriſt. It has yet ſeveral Remains of Antiquity.

Veſontio, *Beſançon*, the Capital of the Sequani, now the chief City of Burgundy.

Vettones, a People of Spain, inhabiting the Province of *Eſtramadura*.

Vibo, a Town in Italy, not far from the Sicilian Straits, *Bibona*.

Vienna, a City of Narboneſe Gaul, *Vienne in Dauphiny*.

Vindelici, an ancient People of Germany,

Germany, Inhabitants of the Country of Vindelicia, otherwiſe called Rætia ſecunda.

Viſtula, *the Weichſel*, a famous River of Poland, which ariſes in the Carpathian Mountains, in Upper Sileſia, and falls into the Baltick, not far from Dantzic, by three Mouths.

Viſurgis, *the Weſer*, a River of Lower Germany, which ariſes in Franconia, and, among other Places of Note, paſſing by Bremen, falls into the German Ocean, not far from the Mouth of the Elbe, between that and the Ems.

Ulla, or Ulia, a Town in Hiſpania Bætica, in regard to whoſe Situation Geographers are not agreed; ſome making it *Monte major*, others, *Vaena*, others, *Vilia*.

Umbria, a large Country of Italy, on both Sides of the Appennines.

Unelli, an ancient People of Gaul, uncertain.

Vocates, a People of Gaul, on the Confines of the Lapurdenſes.

Vocontii, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about *Die*, in Dauphiny, and *Vaiſon* in the County of Veniſſe.

Vogeſus Mons, the Mountain of *Vauge* in Lorrain, or, according to others, *de Faucilles*.

Volcæ Arecomici, and Tectoſages, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the *Upper* and *Lower Languedoc*.

Urſao, a Town of Hiſpania Bætica, *Oſſuna*.

Uſæta, a Town of Africa, whoſe Situation is not certainly known.

Uſipetes, an ancient People of Germany, who frequently changed their Habitation.

Utica, a City of Africa, famous for the Death of Cato; *Biſerte*.

Uxellodunum, a Town in Gaul, whoſe Situation is not known; according to ſome *Uſſeldun*.

Uzita, a Town unknown.

X

Xantones, the ſame with the Santones, or People of *Xantonge*.

Z

Zama, a Town in Africa, famous for the Defeat of Hannibal there by Scipio, now called *Zamora*.

Zetta, a maritime City of Africa, now *Zerbi*.

Ziela, or Zela, a City of Pontus, *Arzila*.

Zingitana, a Part of ancient Africa, now included in the Kingdom of *Algiers*.

AN INDEX OF PERSONS and THINGS.

N. B. The Numerals refer to the Book, the Figures to the Section. *G.* ſtands for the Wars in Gaul; *C.* for the Civil Wars; *Al.* for the Alexandrian; *Af.* for the African; *Sp.* for the Spaniſh War.

A

ACCO, Prince of the Senones, his Conduct on Cæſar's Approach, *G.* vi. 3. Condemned in a Council of the Gauls, ibid. 41.

Achillas, Captain of Ptolemy's Guards, ſent to kill Pompey, *C.* iii. 85. Appointed by Pothinus Commander of all the Egyptian Forces, ibid. 89. Heads an Army of twenty thouſand veteran Troops, ibid. 91. Variance between him and Arſinoe, Ptolemy's Siſter, *Al.* 3.

Acilla, demands a Garriſon from Cæſar, *Af.* 30. Beſieged in vain by Conſidius, 30, 40.

Adiatomus, ſallies upon Craſſus at the Head of a choſen Body of Troops, *G.* iii. 23.

Adrumetum, held by Conſidius Longus, with a Garriſon of one Legion, *C.* ii. 21. Cæſar makes himſelf Maſter of it, *Af.* 77.

Æduans, complain to Cæſar of the Ravages committed in their Territories by the Helvetians, *G.* i. 9. Join in a Petition againſt Arioviſtus, ibid. 23. At the Head of one of the two leading Factions of Gaul, *G.* vi. 12. Cæſar quiets an inteſtine Commotion among them, *G.* vii. 30. And prevents their revolting from the Romans, ibid. 35. Which nevertheleſs comes to paſs ſoon after, ibid. 52.

Ægimurus, a Trireme belonging to Cæſar taken there by Varus and Octavius, *Af.* 41.

Æginium, Domitius joins Cæſar near that Place, *C.* iii. 56.

Ægus and *Roſcillus*, their perfidious Behaviour towards Cæſar, *C.* iii. 51.

Ætolia, recovered from Pompey by the Partizans of Cæſar, *C.* iii. 30.

Afranius, Pompey's Lieutenant, his Exploits in Conjunction with Petreius, *C.* i. 36. Carries the War into Celtiberia, ibid. 55. Surrenders to Cæſar, ibid. 76. prevails with one of his Slaves to diſpatch him, *Af.* 82.

Africans, a crafty warlike People, *Af.* 9. Their Manner of concealing their Corn, ibid. 57.

Agar, defended with great Bravery againſt the Getulians, *Af.* 58.

Agendicum, Cæſar quarters four Legions there, *G.* vi. 40. Labienus leaves his Baggage in it under a Guard of new Levies, and ſets out for Lutetia, *G.* vii. 54.

Alba, Domitius levies Troops in that Neighbourhood, *C.* i. 13.

Albici, a Kind of Mountaineers taken into the Service of the Marſeillians, *C.* i. 32.

Alces, a Species of Animals reſembling in ſome Reſpects a Goat, to be found in the Hercynian Foreſt, *G.* vi. 25.

Aleſia, Cæſar ſhuts up Vercingetorix there, *G.* vii. 62. Surrounds it with Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation, ibid. 66. Obliges it to ſurrender, ibid. 82.

Alexandria, Cæſar purſues Pompey thither, *C.* iii. 87. Is unexpectedly intangled in a War at that Place, ibid. 88. Difficulties Cæſar had to encounter there for want of Water, *Al.* 4. Cæſar enters the Town with his victorious Army, and receives it into his Protection, ibid. 23.

Alexandrians, an acute and ingenious People, *Al.* 2. But treacherous and without Faith, ibid. 4. They petition Cæſar to ſend them their King, ibid. 16.

Allier, Cæſar eludes the Vigilance of Vercingetorix, and by an Artifice paſſes that River, *G.* vii. 33.

Allobrogians, ſuppoſed to be not well affected to the Romans, *G.* i. 5. Complain to Cæſar of the Ravages of the Helvetians, ibid. 9.

Alps, Cæſar croſſes them with five Legions, *G.* i. 8. Sends Galba to open a free Paſſage over them to the Roman Merchants, *G.* iii. 1.

Amagetobria, famous for a Defeat of the Gauls there by Arioviſtus, *G.* i. 23.

Amantia, ſubmits to Cæſar, and ſends Ambaſſadors to know his Pleaſure, *C.* iii. 10.

Amanus, a Mountain in Aſia, near which Scipio ſuſtains ſome Loſſes, *C.* iii. 28.

Ambarri, complain to Cæſar of the Ravages committed in their Territories by the Helvetians, *G.* i. 9.

Ambialites, join in a Confederacy with the Veneti againſt Cæſar, *G.* iii. 9.

Ambiani, furniſh ten thouſand Men to the general Confederacy of the Belgians againſt Cæſar, *G.* ii. 4. Join with the Veneti in their Revolt from the Romans, *G.* iii. 9. Sue for Peace, and ſubmit themſelves to Cæſar's Pleaſure, *G.* ii. 16.

Ambiorix, his artful Speech to Sabinus and Cotta, *G.* v. 23. Cæſar marches againſt him, *G.* vi. 27. Ravages and lays waſte his Territories, ibid. 31. Endeavours in vain to get him into his Hands, ibid. 40.

Ambivareti, ordered to furniſh their Contingent for raiſing the Siege of Aleſia, *G.* vii. 69.

Ambivariti, the German Cavalry ſent to forage among them, *G.* iv. 6.

Ambracia, Caſſius directs his March towards that Place, *C.* iii. 31.

Amphilochi, reduced by Caſſius Longinus, *C.* iii. 47.

Amphipolis, an Edict in Pompey's Name publiſhed at that Place, *C.* iii. 84.

Anartes, a People bordering upon the Hercynian Foreſt, *G.* vi. 23.

Anas, a River bounding that Part of Spain under the Government of Petreius, *C.* i. 36.

Ancalites, ſend Ambaſſadors to Cæſar with an Offer of Submiſſion, *G.* v. 17.

Ancona, Cæſar takes poſſeſſion of it with a Garriſon of one Cohort, *C.* i. 10.

Andes, Cæſar puts his Troops into Winter-quarters among them, *G.* ii. 36.

Angleſey, an Iſland ſituated between Britain and Ireland, where the Night, during the Winter, is ſaid to be a Month long, *G.* v. 10.

Antiochia refuſes to admit the Fugitives after the Battle of Pharſalia, *C.* iii. 84.

Antony, obliges Libo to raiſe the Siege of Brunduſium, *C.* iii. 22. And in conjunction with Kalenus tranſports Cæſar's Troops to Greece, ibid. 24.

Apollonia, Pompey reſolves to winter there, *C.* iii. 3. Cæſar makes himſelf Maſter of it, ibid. 10.

Aponiana, Cæſar orders his Fleet to rendezvous near that Iſland, *Af.* 2.

Apſus, Cæſar and Pompey encamp over-againſt each other on the Banks of that River, *C.* iii. 11.

Apulia, Pompey quarters the Legions Cæſar had ſent him there, *C.* i. 12.

Aquilaria, Curio arrives there with the Troops deſigned againſt Africa, *C.* ii. 21.

Aquileia, Cæſar draws together the Troops quartered there, *G.* i. 8.

Aquitains, reduced under the Power of the Romans by Craſſus, *G.* iii. 21. Very expert in the Art of mining, ibid. 22.

Arar, the Helvetians receive a conſiderable Check in paſſing that River, *G.* i. 10.

Arden, Indutiomarus conceals the infirm and aged in that Foreſt, *G.* v. 3. Cæſar croſſes it in queſt of Ambiorix, *G.* vi. 27.

Arecomici Volcæ, Cæſar plants Garriſons among them, *G.* vii. 7.

Ariminum, Cæſar having founded the Diſpoſition of his Troops, marches thither, *C.* i. 7.

Arioviſtus, King of the Germans, his oppreſſive Behaviour towards the Gauls, *G.* i. 23. Cæſar ſends Ambaſſadors to him demanding an Interview, ibid. 26. He is defeated and driven entirely out of Gaul, ibid. 41.

Arles, Cæſar orders twelve Gallies to be built there, *C.* i. 34.

Armorici aſſemble in great Numbers to attack L. Rocius in his Winter-quarters, *G.* v. 44.

Arretium, Antony ſent thither with five Cohorts, *C.* i. 10.

Arſinoe, the Daughter of Ptolemy, at Variance with Achillas, *Al.* 3. Cæſar removes her out of Egypt, ibid. 24.

Arverni, ſuddenly invaded, and their Territories ravaged by Cæſar, *G.* vii. 8.

Aſculum, Cæſar takes poſſeſſion of it, *C.* i. 13.

Aſcurum attacked without Succeſs by young Pompey, *Af.* 21.

Aſparagium, Pompey encamps near it with all his Forces, *C.* iii. 27.

Aſpavia, Pompey's Communication with that Place cut off by Cæſar's Works, *Sp.* 24.

Aſta ſends Ambaſſadors to Cæſar with an Offer of Submiſſion, *Sp.* 36.

Ategua, Cæſar lays Siege to that Place, *Sp.* 6. Compels it to ſurrender, ibid. 19.

Athens contributes to fit out a Fleet for Pompey, *C.* iii. 3.

Atrebatians furniſh fifteen thouſand Men to the general Confederacy of Gaul, *G.* ii. 4.

Atuatica, a ſtrong Caſtle, where Cæſar depoſits all his Baggage, when he ſet out in purſuit of Ambiorix, *G.* vi. 30. The Germans unexpectedly attack it, ibid. 32.

Atuatici furniſh twenty-nine thouſand Men to the general Confederacy of Gaul, *G.* ii. 4. Cæſar obliges them to ſubmit, ibid. 29. Deſcendants of the Teutones and Cimbri, ibid.

Avaricum beſieged by Cæſar, *G.* vii. 12. And at laſt taken by Storm, ibid. 27.

Aulerci reduced by P. Craſſus, *G.* ii. 35. Maſſacre their Senate and join Viridovix, *G.* iii. 17. Aulerci Brannovices ordered to furniſh their Contingent to the Relief of Aleſia, *G.* vii. 69. Aulerci Cenomani furniſh five thouſand, ibid. Aulerci Eburovices three thouſand, ibid. Aulerci Diablintes aſſociate with the Venetians in their Revolt, *G.* iii. 9.

Auſci ſubmit to Craſſus and ſend Hoſtages, *G.* iii. 28.

Auſetani ſend Ambaſſadors to Cæſar with an Offer of Submiſſion, *C.* i. 54.

Auximum, Cæſar makes himſelf Maſter of it, *C.* i. 11.

Axona, Cæſar croſſes it in his March againſt the Belgians, *G.* ii. 6.

B

Bacenis, the Suevians encamp at the Entrance of that Wood, reſolving there to wait the Approach of the Romans, *G.* vi. 10.

Baculus, P. Sextius, his remarkable Bravery, *G.* vi. 35.

Bætis, Caſſius encamps on the Banks of that River, *Al.* 46.

Bagradas, Curio arrives with his Army at that River, *C.* ii. 22.

Balearean Iſles, young Pompey ſails thither with his Fleet, *Af.* 21. The Inhabitants famous for their Dexterity in the Uſe of the Sling, *G.* ii. 8.

Batavorum Inſula, formed by the *Meuſe* and the *Waal*, *G.* iv. 7.

Belgians, the moſt warlike People of Gaul, *G.* i. 1. Withſtand the Invaſion of the Teutones and Cimbri, *G.* ii. 4. Originally of German Extraction, ibid. Cæſar obliges them to decamp, and return to their ſeveral Habitations, ibid. 11.

Bellocaſſians furniſh three thouſand Men to the Relief of Aleſia, *G.* vii. 69.

Bellona, a famous and ancient Temple of hers in Cappadocia, whoſe Prieſt was next in Authority to the King, *Al.* 53.

Bellovaci furniſh a hundred thouſand Men to the general Confederacy of Belgium, *G.* ii. 4. Join in the general Defection under Vercingetorix, *G.* vii. 55. Again take up Arms againſt Cæſar, viii. 5. But are compelled to ſubmit and ſue for pardon.

Berones fly to the Reſcue of Caſſius.

Caſſius threatened with an Aſſaſſination, *Al.* 42.

Beſſi make Part of Pompey's Army, *C.* iii. 3.

Bibracte, Cæſar diſtreſſed for want of Corn, marches thither to obtain a Supply, *G.* i. 19.

Bibrax attacked with great Fury by the confederate Belgians, *G.* ii. 7.

Bibroci ſend Ambaſſadors to Cæſar to ſue for Peace, *G.* v. 17.

Bibulus, Admiral of Pompey's Fleet, takes ſome of Cæſar's Tranſports, *C.* iii. 6. His Cruelty towards the Priſoners that fell into his Hands, ibid. 12.

Bigerriones ſurrender and give Hoſtages to Craſſus, *G.* iii. 28.

Biturigians join with the Arverni in the general Defection under Vercingetorix, *G.* vii. 5.

Bogud, King of Mauritania, his Exploits in behalf of Cæſar, *Al.* 46. Invades Juba's Kingdom, in order to create a Diverſion, *Af.* 23.

Boii join with the Helvetians in their Expedition againſt Gaul, *G.* i. 4. Attack the Romans in Flank, ibid. 20. Cæſar allows them to ſettle among the Æduans, ibid. 21.

Bojphorus, Cæſar inveſts Mithridates with the Sovereignty of that Country, *Al.* 63.

Brannovii furniſh their Contingent to the Relief of Aleſia, *G.* vii. 69.

Bratuſpantium ſubmits and obtains pardon from Cæſar, *G.* ii. 14.

Bridge built by Cæſar over the Rhine deſcribed, *G.* iv. 15.

Britain, Cæſar's Expedition thither, *G.* iv. 18. Deſcription of the Britiſh Coaſt, 21. The Romans land, in ſpite of the vigorous Oppoſition of the Iſlanders, 22. The Britons ſend Ambaſſadors to Cæſar to deſire a Peace, which they obtain on delivery of Hoſtages, 24. They break the Peace on hearing that Cæſar's Fleet was deſtroyed by a Storm, and ſet upon the Roman Foragers, 26. The Manner of their fighting in Chariots; they fall upon the Roman Camp, but are repulſed, and petition again for Peace; which Cæſar grants them, 29. Cæſar paſſes over into their Iſland a ſecond Time, v. 7. Drives them from the Woods where they had taken Refuge, 8. Deſcribes their Manners and Way of living, 10. Defeats them in ſeveral Encounters, 11—18. Grants them a Peace, on the Delivery of Hoſtages, and agreeing to pay a yearly Tribute, 19.

Brunduſium, Pompey retires thither with his Forces, *C.* i. 23. Cæſar lays Siege to it, 24. Pompey eſcapes from it by Sea, upon which the Place immediately ſurrenders to Cæſar, 26. Libo blocks up the Port with a Fleet, *C.* iii. 21. But by the Valour and Conduct of Antony is obliged to retire, 22.

Brotherly Love, a remarkable Example of it, *G.* iv. 9. Another in the Conduct of the two *Titi*, *Af.* 26.

Brutus, appointed to command the Fleet in the War againſt the People of Vannes, *G.* iii. 11. Engages and defeats the Venetians at Sea, 14. Defeats the People of Marſeilles in a Sea-Fight, *C.* i. 52. Engages them a ſecond Time with the ſame good Fortune, ii. 3.

Bullis ſends Ambaſſadors to Cæſar with an Offer of Submiſſion, *C.* iii. 10.

Burſavolenſes, their Conduct to-

wards Cæſar and his Followers, *Sp.* 22.

C

Cæræſi join in the general Confederacy of Belgium againſt Cæſar, *G.* ii. 4.

Cæſar takes poſt for Gaul, *G.* i. 6. Refuſes the Helvetians a Paſſage through the Roman Province, ibid. His Anſwer to their Ambaſſadors, 12. Defeats and ſends them back into their own Country, 20. Sends Ambaſſadors to Arioviſtus, 26. Calls a Council of War: His Speech, 31. Begins his March, 32. His Speech to Arioviſtus, 34. Totally routs the Germans, and obliges him to repaſs the Rhine, 41. His War with the Belgians, ii. 2. Reduces the Sueſſiones and Bellovaci, 13. His prodigious Slaughter of the Nervians, 16–23. Obliges the Atuatici to ſubmit, 29. Prepares for the War againſt the Venetians, iii. 9. Defeats them in an Engagement at Sea, and totally ſubdues them, 14. Is obliged to put his Army into Winter-quarters, before he can complete the Reduction of the Menapians and Morini, 29. Marches to find out the Germans; his Anſwer to their Ambaſſadors, iv. 5. Attacks them in their Camp and routs them, 10. Croſſes the Rhine and returns to Gaul, 13—17. His Expedition into Britain deſcribed, 18. Refits his Navy, 27. Comes to the Aſſiſtance of his Foragers whom the Britons had attacked, 28. Returns to Gaul, 32. Gives order for building a Navy, v. 1. His Preparations for a ſecond Expedition into Britain, 2. Marches into the Country of Treves to prevent a Rebellion, 3. Marches to Portitius, and invites all the Princes of Gaul to meet him there, 4. Sets ſail for Britain, 7. Deſcribes the Country and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants, 10. Fords the River Thames, and puts Caſſibelanus, Captain-General of the Britons, to flight, 14. Impoſes a Tribute upon the Britons and returns into Gaul, 19. Routs the Nervians, and relieves Cicero, 30. Reſolves to winter in Gaul, 44. His ſecond Expedition into Germany, vi. 9. His Deſcription of the Manners of the Gauls and Germans, 12. His Return into Gaul, and vigorous Proſecution of the War againſt Ambiorix, 27. Croſſes the Mountains of the Cevennes in the midſt of Winter, and arrives at Auvergne, which ſubmits, vii. 8. Takes and ſacks Genabum, 11. Takes Noviodunum, and marches from thence to Avaricum, 12. His Works before Alexia, 66. Withſtands all the Attacks of the Gauls, and obliges the Place to ſurrender, 81. Marches into the Country of the Biturigians, and compels them to ſubmit, viii. 2. Demands Guturvatus, who is delivered up and put to Death, 31. Marches to beſiege Uxellodunum, 32. Cuts off the Hands of the Beſieged at Uxellodunum, 36. Marches to Corfinium, and beſieges it, *C.* i. 14. Which in a ſhort Time ſurrenders, 22. He afterwards marches through Abruzzo, and great Part of the Kingdom of Naples, 23. His Arrival at Brunduſium, and Blockade of the Haven, 24. Commits the Siege of Marſeilles to the Care of Brutus and Trebonius, 34. His Expedition to Spain, 35. His Speech to Afranius, 77. Comes to Marſeilles, which ſurrenders, *C.* ii. 20. Takes Oricum, iii. 9.

Marches

Marches to Dyrrhachium to cut off Pompey's Communication with that Place, 35. Sends Canuleius into Epirus for Corn, 36. Beſieges Pompey in his Camp; his Reaſons for it, 36. Incloſes Pompey's Works within his Fortifications; a Skirmiſh between them, 39. His Army reduced to great Straits for want of Proviſions, 40. Offers Pompey Battle, which he declines, 48. Sends Clodius to Scipio, to treat about a Peace, whoſe Endeavours prove ineffectual, 49. Joins Domitius, ſtorms an takes the Town of Gomphus in Theſſaly, in four Hours time, 67. Gains an entire Victory over Pompey in the Battle of Pharſalia, 76. Summons Ptolemy and Cleopatra to attend him, 88. Burns the Alexandrian Fleet, 92. Conducts his Tranſports ſafe to Alexandria, *Al.* 6. Obtains a Victory, takes two Ships and ſinks three, 12. Routs the Pharians, gains the Iſland and the Town, ſeveral taken and killed, then fortifies the Caſtle, gains the Shore, ſtops up an Arch under the Bridge, and begins to throw up a Rampart, 13. Marches to Ptolemy's Camp and defeats him, 22. Returns to Alexandria, and performs Ptolemy the Father's Will, 23. Defeats Pharnaces in a great Battle, 59. Paſſes over into Africa, *Af.* 1. Has ſeveral Skirmiſhes with Labienus near Ruſpina, 12. Irrecoverably defeats Scipio in the Battle of Thapſus, and cuts his whole Army to pieces, 73. Converts Juba's Kingdom into a Province, and returns to Rome, 85. Arrives in Spain, and lays ſiege to Cordova, *Sp.* 2. Defeats young Pompey with great Slaughter in the Plains of Munda, 31.

Calagurritani ſend Ambaſſador to Cæſar with an Offer of Submiſſion, *C.* i. 54.

Caletes furniſh ten thouſand Men in the general Revolt of Belgium, *G.* ii. 4.

Camulogenus appointed Commander in chief by the Pariſians, *G.* vii. 54. Obliges Labienus to decamp from before Paris, ibid. Is ſlain in diſputing valiantly the Victory with his Enemy, 56.

Caninius ſets Duracius at liberty, who had been ſhut up in Limo by Dumnacus, *G.* viii. 21. Purſues Drapes, 24. Lays ſiege to Uxellodunum, 27.

Canopus, Euphranor periſhes in a Sea-fight there, *Al.* 17.

Cantabrians, obliged by Afranius to furniſh a Supply of Troops, *C.* i. 36.

Caralitani declare againſt Pompey, and expel Cotta with his Garriſon, *C.* i. 29.

Carmona declares for Cæſar, and expels the Enemy's Garriſon, *C.* ii. 17.

Carnutes, Cæſar quarters ſome Troops among them, *G.* ii. 36. They openly aſſaſſinate Tafgetius, *G.* v. 21. They ſend Ambaſſadors to Cæſar and ſubmit, vi. 3. Offer to be the firſt in taking up Arms againſt the Romans, vii. 2. Attack the Biturigians, but are diſperſed and forced to fly by Cæſar, viii. 4.

Carſulenus detached to ſtorm the higheſt Part of the Enemy's Camp, which he forces, *Al.* 22.

Caſſi ſend Ambaſſadors and ſubmit to Cæſar, *G.* v. 17.

Caſſivellaunus choſen Commander in Chief of the confederate Britons, v. 9. Endeavours in vain to ſtop the Courſe of Cæſar's Conqueſts, 14. Is obliged to ſubmit, and accept of Cæſar's Terms, 19.

Caſſius, Pompey's Lieutenant, burns Cæſar's Fleet in Sicily, *C.* iii. 83.

Caſſius Longinus, his ill Conduct in Spain, *Al.* 38. A Plot formed to aſſaſſinate him, 40. The Conſpirators endeavour to put it in execution at Cordova, 42. He is wounded as he lay on the Ground by Squillus, ibid. Upon his Recovery he orders all the Aſſaſſins to be ſeized, puts ſeveral to death, and compounds with the reſt for Money, ibid. Behaves more tyrannically than ever, which occaſions new Diſturbances, 43. Is caſt away in the Mouth of the Iberus, 51.

Caſticus, the ſon of Catamantales, ſolicited by Orgetorix to invade the Liberty of his Country, *G.* i. 3.

Cativulcus takes up Arms againſt the Romans at the Inſtigation of Indutiomarus, *G.* v. 22. Poiſons himſelf, vi. 29.

Cato of Utica, the Source of his Hatred to Cæſar, *C.* i. 3. Made Prætor of Sicily, prepares for War, and abdicates his Province, 29. Excites young Pompey to War, *Af.* 21. Sends a Reinforcement to Scipio, 33. Kills himſelf, and is honourably buried by the Uticans, 76.

Cavalry, their Inſtitution and Manner of fighting among the Germans, *G.* i. 39. iv. 2. And among the Spaniards, *Sp.* 14.

Caturiges, oppoſe Cæſar's Paſſage over the Alps, *G.* i. 8.

Cavarillus taken and brought before Cæſar, *G.* vii. 61.

Cavarinus, the Senones attempt to aſſaſſinate him, *G.* v. 45. Cæſar orders him to attend him with the Cavalry of the Senones, vi. 4.

Cevennes, Mountains of, Cæſar paſſes them in the Midſt of Winter tho' covered with Snow ſix Foot deep, *G.* vii. 8.

Celtiberians, Afranius obliges them to furniſh a Supply of Troops, *C.* i. 36.

Celtillus, the Father of Vercingetorix, aſſaſſinated by the Arverni, *G.* vii. 4.

Chara, a Root which ſerved to ſubſiſt Cæſar's Army in extreme Neceſſity, *C.* iii. 40. Manner of preparing it, ibid.

Chariots, Manner of fighting with them among the Britons, *G.* iv. 29. Dexterity of the Britiſh Charioteers, ibid. Chariots armed with Scythes in Pharnaces' Army, *Al.* 60.

Cicero, Quintus, attacked in his Winter-quarters by Ambiorix, *G.* v. 30. Informs Cæſar of his Diſtreſs, who marches to relieve him, 37. Attacked unexpectedly by the Sigambri, who are nevertheleſs obliged to retire, vi. 32.

Cingetorix, at the Head of one of the Factions among the Treviri, and firmly attached to Cæſar, *G.* v. 3. Declared a publick Enemy, and his Goods confiſcated by Indutiomarus, 47.

Cleopatra, engaged in a War with her Brother Ptolemy, *C.* iii. 85. She and her younger Brother conſtituted King and Queen of Egypt, *Al.* 24.

Clodius ſent by Cæſar to Scipio, to treat about a Peace, but without Effect, *C.* iii. 49.

Cluſinas, a Centurion, diſmiſſed from Cæſar's Army with Ignominy, *Af.* 48.

Cælius Rufus raiſes a Sedition in Rome, *C.* iii. 18. Is expelled the City, then joins with Milo, 19. He is killed, 20.

Combat between Turpio and Niger, *Sp.* 25.

Comius ſent by Cæſar into Britain,

tain, to diſpoſe the Britiſh States to ſubmit, *G.* iv. 19. Perſuades the Bellovaci to furniſh their Contingent to the Relief of Aleſia, vii. 69. His Diſtruſt of the Romans occaſioned by an Attempt to aſſaſſinate him, viii. 19. Infeſts the Romans greatly, and intercepts their Convoys, 38. Attacks Voluſenus Quadratus, and runs him through the Thigh, 39. Submits to Antony, on Condition of not appearing in the Preſence of any Roman, ibid.

Conetodunus heads the Carnutes in their Revolt from the Romans, and the Maſſacre at Genabum, *G.* vii. 3.

Conſidius, his cruel Treatment of a Meſſenger ſent to him with a Letter by Plancus, *Af.* 4. Slain by the Getulians for the ſake of his Treaſure, 81.

Conſtancy and Firmneſs of Vercingetorix preſerves him in the chief Command, and increaſes his Authority even amidſt Loſſes ſuſtained, *G.* vii. 28.

Convictolitanis, a Diviſion on his account among the Æduans, *G.* vii. 30. Cæſar confirms his Election to the ſupreme Magiſtracy, 31. He perſuades Litavicus and his Brothers to rebel, 35.

Cordova, Cæſar ſummons the leading Men of the ſeveral States of Spain to attend him there, *C.* ii. 17. Tranſactions of that Aſſembly, 19. Cæſar lays Siege to it, and obliges it to ſurrender, *Sp.* 33.

Corfinium, Cæſar lays Siege to it, *C.* i. 14. And obliges it to ſurrender, 22.

Corn the Manner of concealing and ſecuring it among the Africans, *Af.* 57.

Cornificius, Q. maintains Cæſar's Cauſe in Illyricum with great Reputation, *Al.* 32.

Correus, General of the Bellovaci, with ſix thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, lies in Ambuſh for the Roman Foragers; he attacks the Roman Cavalry with a ſmall Party, is routed and killed, *G.* viii. 16.

Cotta, L. Arunculeius, diſſents from Sabinus in relation to the Advice given them by Ambiorix, *G.* v. 24. His Behaviour when attacked by the Gauls, 27. Is ſlain, with the greateſt Part of his Men, after a brave Reſiſtance, 29.

Cotuatus, and Conetodunus, maſſacre all the Roman Merchants at Genabum, *G.* vii. 3.

Cotus, a Diviſion on his account among the Æduans, *G.* vii. 30. Obliged to deſiſt from his Pretenſions to the ſupreme Magiſtracy, 31.

Counſel, the Danger of defering it to the very laſt, *G.* v. 27.

Craſſus, P. his Expedition into Aquitain, *G.* iii. 21. He reduces the Sotiates, 22. Alſo other States, obliging them to give Hoſtages, 28.

Craſtinus's Character and Courage at the Battle of Pharſalia, *C.* iii. 75. He is killed there, 76.

Criſpus, C. Salluſtius, makes himſelf Maſter of Cercina, and ſends a great Quantity of Corn thence to Cæſar's Camp, *Af.* 31.

Critognatus, his extraordinary Speech and Propoſal to the Garriſon of Aleſia, *G.* vii. 71.

Curio obliges Cato to abandon the Defence of Sicily, *C.* i. 39. Sails for Africa, and ſucceſsfully attacks Varus, ii. 21. His fine Speech to revive the Courage of his Men, 28. Defeats Varus, 30. Giving too eaſy Credit to a Piece of falſe Intelligence, is cut off with his whole Army, 34.

Dejotarus,

D

Dejotarus, complains to Domitius Calvinus of the Hostilities committed by Pharnaces, *Al.* 25. Addresses Cæsar in suppliant Terms and obtains Pardon, 54.

Didius pursues young Pompey, who is slain, and his Head brought to Cæsar, *Sp.* 37. He falls into an Ambuscade, and is killed, 40.

Divitiacus the Æduan, his Attachment to the Romans and Cæsar, *G.* i. 16. Cæsar, for his sake, pardons his Brother Dumnorix, ibid. He complains to Cæsar, in behalf of the rest of the Gauls, of the Cruelties exercised by Ariovistus, 23. Advises Cæsar to avoid the Defiles, by taking a Circuit of forty Miles, 32. Marches against the Bellovaci to create a Diversion in favour of Cæsar, ii. 11. Intercedes for the Bellovaci, and obtains their Pardon from Cæsar, 15. Goes to Rome to implore Aid of the Senate, but without Effect, vi. 12.

Domitius Ahenobarbus, besieged by Cæsar in Corfinium, writes to Pompey for Assistance, *C.* i. 15. Seized by his own Troops, who offer to deliver him up to Cæsar, 19 Cæsar's generous Behaviour towards him, 22. He enters Marseilles, and is intrusted with the supreme Command, 34. Is defeated in a Sea-fight by Decimus Brutus, 52. Escapes with great Difficulty a little before the Surrender of Marseilles, ii. 20.

Domitius Calvinus, sent by Cæsar into Macedonia, comes very opportunely to the Relief of Calfius Longinus. *C.* iii. 31. Gains several Advantages over Scipio, 32. Is unsuccessful against Pharnaces in Armenia, *Al.* 25.

Drapes, in conjunction with Luterius, seizes Uxellodunum, *G.* viii. 26. His Camp stormed, and himself made Prisoner, 29. He starves himself, 36.

Druids, Priests so called, greatly esteemed in Gaul, and possessed of many valuable Privileges, *G.* vi. 13.

Dumnacus besieges Duracius in Limo, *G.* viii. 21. Is defeated by Fabius, 22.

Dumnorix, the Brother of Divitiacus, his Character, *G.* i. 15. He persuades the Noblemen of Gaul not to go with Cæsar into Britain, v. 5. He deserts, and is killed for his Obstinacy, 6.

Duracius besieged in Limo, by Dumnacus, General of the Andes, *G.* viii. 21.

Dyrrhachium, Cæsar endeavours to inclose Pompey within his Lines near that Place, *C.* iii. 36.

E

Eburones, Cæsar takes severe Vengeance on them for their Perfidy, *G.* vi. 29.

Eburovices massacre their Senate, and join with Viridovix, *G.* iii. 17.

Elephants, the Way of exercising and training them, *Af.* 25. Surprising Courage of a Soldier attacked by an Elephant, *Af.* 72.

Eleutheri furnish Troops to the Relief of Alesia, *G.* vii. 69.

Ephesus, the Temple of Diana there in danger of being stripped, *C.* iii. 28.

Eporedorix treacherously revolts from Cæsar, *G.* vii. 51.

Etesian Winds detain Cæsar at Alexandria, which involves him in a new War, *C.* iii. 88.

Euphranor, Admiral of the Rhodian Fleet, his Valour and Magnanimity, *Al.* 11.

Excommunication, the dreadful Consequences of it among the Gauls, *G.* vi. 13.

F

Fabius C. one of Cæsar's Lieutenants, sent into Spain, with three Legions, *C.* i. 35. Builds two Bridges over the Sicoris for the Convenience of Forage, 38.

Faustus Sylla, his Death, *Af.* 83.

Fortune, her wonderful Power and Influence in Matters of War, *G.* vi. 28, 32.

G

Gabali join the general Confederacy of Vercingetorix, and give Hostages to Luterius of Quercy, *G.* vii. 7.

Gabinius, one of Cæsar's Lieutenants, receives a considerable Loss in Illyricum, *Al.* 33.

Galba Surgius, sent against the Nantuates, Veragrians, and Seduni, *G.* iii. 1. The Barbarians attack his Camp unexpectedly, but are repulsed with great Loss, ibid. 5.

Gauls, their Country preferable to that of the Germans, *G.* i. 23. Their Manner of attacking Towns, ii. 7. Of greater Stature than the Romans, 30. Quick and hasty in their Resolves, iii. 8. Forward in undertaking Wars, but soon fainting under Misfortunes, 20. Their Manner of entering upon a War, v. 47. Their Manners, Chiefs, Druids, Discipline, Cavalry, Religion, Origin, Marriages, and Funerals, vi. 13. Their Country geographically described, i. 1.

Ganymed, made Commander of the Egyptian Army, *Al.* 3. Irritates the People by his tyrannical Behaviour, 26.

Gergovia of the Arverni, Vercingetorix expelled thence by Gobanitio, *G.* vii. 4. The Romans attacking it eagerly, are repulsed with great Slaughter, 44. of the Boii, besieged in vain by Vercingetorix, 10.

Germans, habituated from their Infancy to Arms, *G.* i. 27. Their Manner of training their Cavalry, 39. Their Superstition, 40. Defeated by Cæsar, 41. Their Manners, Religion, and Strength in Wars, vi. 19. Men of huge Stature and Strength, *G.* i. 30. *Af.* 37.

Getulians desert in great Numbers from Scipio to Cæsar, *Af.* 32.

Gomphi refusing to open its Gates to Cæsar, is taken by Assault, *C.* iii. 67.

Gorduni join with Ambiorix in his Attack of Cicero's Camp, *G.* v. 31.

Graioceli oppose Cæsar's Passage over the Alps, *G.* i. 8.

Grudii join with Ambiorix in his Attack of Cicero's Camp, *G.* v. 31.

H

Haliacmon, Scipio leaves Favonius with Orders to build a Fort on that River, *C.* iii. 31.

Helvetians, the most warlike People of Gaul, *G.* i. 1. Their Design of abandoning their own Country, 2. Attacked with considerable Loss near the River Arar, 10. Vanquished and obliged to return home by Cæsar, 21.

Helvians, Cæsar marches into their Territories, *G.* vii. 8.

Hercynian Forest, its prodigious Extent, *G.* vi. 23.

Hippo, Scipio attacked by P. Sitius, perishes there, *Af.* 84.

Hispalis,

Hiſpalis, Cæſar makes himſelf maſter of it, *Sp.* 35.

Human Fleſh, Critognatus adviſes the Garriſon of Aleſia to ſubmit to eat it, rather than ſurrender, *G.* vii. 71.

I

Jacetani revolt from Afranius and ſubmit to Cæſar, *C.* i. 54.

Iguvium forſakes Pompey, and ſubmits to Cæſar, *C.* i. 11.

Illurgavonenſes ſubmit to Cæſar, and ſupply him with Corn, *C.* i. 54.

Illyricum, Gabinius receives a conſiderable Check there, *Al.* 32.

Indutiomarus at the head of a conſiderable Faction among the Treviri, *G.* v. 3. Endeavouring to make himſelf maſter of Labienus's Camp, is repulſed and ſlain, 47.

Iſſa revolts from Cæſar at the Inſtigation of Octavius, *C.* iii. 7.

Italica ſhuts its Gates againſt Varro, *C.* ii. 18.

Itius Portus, Cæſar embarks there for Britain, *G.* v. 4.

Juba, King of Numidia, ſtrongly attached to Pompey, *C.* ii. 22. Advances with a great Army to the Relief of Utica, 32. Detaches a Part of his Troops to ſuſtain Sabura, 36. Is obliged to return and defend his own Kingdom againſt King Bogud, *Af.* 23. Joins Scipio with a great Body of Troops, 43. Attacking a Party of Cæſar's Men, is repulſed with great Loſs, 46. His haughty Behaviour towards Scipio, 51. Failing in an Attempt upon his own Life, prevails with a Slave to diſpatch him, 82.

Jura, the Boundary of the Helvetians towards the Sequani, *G.* i. 2.

K

Kalenus Fufius, intercepted by Bibulus in returning with the Tranſports to Brunduſium, *C.* iii. 6. Imbarks with the Troops for Greece, but underſtanding that the Enemy's Fleet was on the Coaſt, returns inſtantly to Brunduſium, 12. Re-imbarks ſome time after, and brings all the Troops ſafe to Cæſar, 24. Makes himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Towns in Achaia, and endeavours by his Ambaſſadors to bring over the reſt, 47.

L

Labienus, *Titus*, diſpatched by Cæſar to take Poſſeſſion of the Top of the Mountain under which the Helvetians were encamped, *G.* i. 17. Detaches the tenth Legion to Cæſar's Aſſiſtance, ii. 26. Marches at the head of the Cavalry into the Country of the Treviri, iii. 11. Sallies upon Indutiomarus, who is repulſed and ſlain with the greateſt Part of his Troops, v. 49. Counterfeiting Fear, falls ſuddenly upon the Treviri, and puts them to Flight, vi. 6. Joins Cæſar after a ſucceſsful Expedition againſt the Pariſians, vii. 54. Attempts to take off Comius whom he found plotting againſt Cæſar, viii. 19. Joining Pompey's Party, obliges the Army to take an Oath of Fidelity to that General, *C.* iii. 11. Confers with Vatinius in relation to a Peace, 17. Inſults the Priſoners, and puts them to death, 69. Vilifies Cæſar's Troops, and extols the Conduct of Pompey, 72. Has ſeveral Conflicts with Cæſar near Ruſpina, *Af.*

12.

12. Attacks Leptis, but without Succeſs, 27. Takes poſſeſſion of a Hill, but is diſlodged by Cæſar, 44. Attacks Cæſar's Men returning from their Work, but is repulſed with great Slaughter, 46. Lying in Ambuſh for Cæſar, is attacked and put to flight, 57. Is ſlain in the Battle of Munda, *Sp.* 31.

Lælius, one of Pompey's Admirals, blocks up the Port of Brunduſium, *C.* iii. 82.

Lentulus, the Conſul, Ground of his Oppoſition to Cæſar, *C.* i. 3.

Lepidus, one of Cæſar's Lieutenants, quiets the Commotions in Spain, occaſioned by the Diſſenſion between Marcellus and Caſſius, *Al.* 50.

Leptis ſends Ambaſſadors to Cæſar with an Offer of Submiſſion, *Af.* 6.

Liberty, all Men naturally aſpire after it, and abhor Servitude, *G.* iii. 10.

Libo, one of Pompey's Admirals, blocks up the Port of Brunduſium, *C.* iii. 21.

Liſſus abandons the Party of Pompey, and opens its Gates to Antony, *C.* iii. 26. Beſieged in vain by young Cneus Pompey, ibid. 34.

Litavicus, his artful Stratagem to draw off the Æduans from Cæſar's Alliance, *G.* vii. 36.

Luſitania, held by Varro for Pompey with two Legions, *C.* i. 36.

Luterius, in Conjunction with Drapes, takes poſſeſſion of Uxellodunum, *G.* viii. 26. Is attacked at the head of a large Convoy, and put to flight, 28. Falling into the Hands of Epaſnactus, is by him delivered bound to Cæſar, 36.

Lutetia, Labienus marches thither with four Legions, *G.* vii. 54.

M

Macedonia, Domitius and Scipio arrive much about the ſame Time in that Country, *C.* iii. 31.

Mandubii, expelled Aleſia, periſh miſerably between the Town and Cæſar's Lines, *G.* vii. 71.

Marcellus, the Conſul, endeavours to deprive Cæſar of his Province before the time, *G.* viii. 44.

Marcellus, M. a Partizan of Cæſar, his Diſſenſion with Caſſius Longinus, *Al.* 44.

Marſeilles, ſhuts its Gates againſt Cæſar, *C.* i. 32. Cæſar inveſts it, and commits the Conduct of the Siege to Brutus and Trebonius, 34. The Marſeillians are defeated in a naval Engagement by Brutus, 52. Trebonius puſhes the Siege with great Vigour, ii. 1. The Marſeillians ſue for a Truce, which they afterwards break, 11. Again ſue for Peace, 15. The Place ſurrenders to Cæſar, 20.

Mediomatrici, furniſh their Contingent to the Relief of Aleſia, *G.* vii. 69.

Menapians furniſh nine thouſand Men to the general Confederacy of Belgium, *G.* ii. 4. Join with the People of Vannes in their Revolt from Cæſar, iii. 9. Cæſar attacks them and makes ſome Progreſs, but the Seaſon being far advanced is obliged to deſiſt, 29. Titurius and Cotta deſtroy their Territories with Fire and Sword, iv. 34. Cæſar at length obliges them to ſubmit,

ſubmit, vi. 5. Originally ſettled on the Banks of the Rhine, till driven thence by the Uſipetes and Tenchtheri, iv. 4.

Metropolis, hearing of the Fate of Gomphi, ſurrenders to Cæſar, *C.* iii. 68.

Milo, endeavouring to raiſe Diſturbances in Italy, is killed, *C.* iii. 20.

Minerva, Prodigies in her Temple at Elis, on the Day of the Battle of Pharſalia, *C.* iii. 86.

Mithridates raiſes an Army in Syria and Cilicia, and marches into Egypt to Cæſar's Aſſiſtance, *Al.* 18. Ptolemy endeavours in vain to prevent his Junction with Cæſar, 20.

Morini furniſh five and twenty thouſand Men to the general Confederacy of Belgium, *G.* ii. 4. Join with the People of Vannes in their Revolt from Cæſar, iii. 9. Cæſar attacks them and makes ſome Progreſs, but the Seaſon being far advanced, is obliged to deſiſt, 29. Attacking the Romans diſperſed for the ſake of Plunder, are repulſed with great Slaughter, iv. 34.

Munda, Cæſar encamps in the Neighbourhood of that City, *Sp.* 27. Battle of Munda, in which young Pompey is totally defeated, 29. Cæſar beſieges the Runaways in that Place, 32. Which at length is compelled to ſurrender at Diſcretion, 41.

Muſculus of prodigious length made uſe of in the Siege of Marſeilles, *C.* ii. 9.

N

Nantuates, Galba's Expedition againſt them, *G.* iii. 1.

Narbonne, Luterius of Quercy makes an Attempt upon it, *G.* vii. 7.

Naſidius, L. a Partizan of Pompey, comes to the Relief of Marſeilles with a Fleet, *C.* ii. 3. But is defeated in a naval Engagement by Brutus, 5.

Nervians furniſh fifty thouſand Men to the general Confederacy of Belgium, *G.* ii. 4. Their Manners and warlike Spirit, 16. Their Method of defending their Country from ſudden Incurſions, 17. Defeated by Cæſar in a great Battle, and almoſt totally cut off, 23. Attack Cicero's Camp, but are repulſed, v. 30. Again defeated and put to flight by Cæſar, 42. Still continuing their Endeavours to ſhake off the Yoke, Cæſar quells them by a ſudden Invaſion, vi. 2.

Niger, Q. Pompeius, accepts the Challenge of Anſtius Turpio, and advances into the Field againſt him, *Sp.* 25.

Nitobrigians, Luterius of Quercy compels them to join in the general Confederacy of Gaul under Vercingetorix, *G.* vii. 7.

Noviodunum of the Sueſſiones ſurrenders to Cæſar, *G.* ii. 13. Of the Biturigians treacherouſly breaks the Capitulation made with Cæſar, vii. 12. Of the Æduans revolts from Cæſar, and maſſacres all the Romans in the Place, 52.

Numidians, their Manner of fighting deſcribed, *Af.* 13. The Difficulty of making head againſt them, 61.

Nymphæum, a Promontory and Harbour where Cæſar's Tranſports find ſhelter when purſued by C. Caponius, *C* iii. 24.

O

Octavius, M. a Commander under Pompey, lays Siege to Salonæ, but is repulſed by a ſudden Sally from the Town, *C.* iii. 7. Is defeated in a naval Engagement by Vatinius, near the Iſle of Tauris, *Al.* 35.

Octodurus, Galba reſolves to take up his Winter-quarters there, *G.* ii. 1.

Orchomenus ſubmits to Kalenus, one of Cæſar's Lieutenants, *C.* iii. 47.

Orgetorix perſuades the Helvetians to go in queſt of new Habitations, *G.* i. 2. Is ſuſpected of having made away with himſelf, to avoid the Ignominy of a publick Trial, 3.

Oricum, Cæſar makes himſelf Maſter of it, *C.* iii. 9. Some of Cæſar's Gallies burnt there by young Pompey, 34.

Oſcenſes quit the Party of Afranius, and ſubmit to Cæſar, *C.* i. 54.

Oſiſmians reduced under the Power of the Romans by young P. Craſſus, *G.* ii. 35. Join with the People of Vannes, iii. 9.

P

Pacidius extends his Front of Cavalry, with deſign to incloſe Cæſar's Troops, *Af.* 67.

Pæmani, join in the general Confederacy of the Belgians, *G.* ii. 4.

Parada, Scipio's Cavalry in their Retreat ſeize and reduce it to Aſhes, *Af.* 75.

Pariſians join in the general Confederacy of Gaul under Vercingetorix, *G.* vii. 4.

Peluſium, Pompey flying thither for Refuge, is murdered by Ptolemy's Order, *C.* iii. 85. Mithridates marching to the Aſſiſtance of Cæſar, attacks and makes himſelf maſter of it, *Al.* 18.

Petra, Pompey encamps near that Place, *C.* iii. 36.

Petreius, in conjunction with Varro and Afranius, prepares to defend Spain for Pompey, *C.* i. 36. Transfers the War into Celtiberia, 55. Breaks off the Conferences between his and Cæſar's Troops, 67. Surrenders to Cæſar, 76. Dies voluntarily by the Hand of Juba, *Af.* 82.

Pharnaces ſlights the Orders of Domitius Calvinus, *Al.* 25. Defeats the Romans in a great Battle 30. Is defeated in his turn by Cæſar with great Slaughter, 69.

Pharſalia, a deciſive Battle fought there between Cæſar and Pompey, *C.* iii. 76.

Pharus, Cæſar takes poſſeſſion of it on account of its commanding the Port of Alexandria, *C.* iii. 93.

Picenum, Cæſar over-runs that whole Region, and obliges it to ſubmit, *C.* i. 12.

Piruſtæ ſend Ambaſſadors to Cæſar with Offers of Submiſſion, *G.* v. 1.

Piſaurum, Cæſar takes poſſeſſion of it with one Cohort, *C.* i. 10.

Pleumoſii, jointly with the Nervians fall upon Cicero's Camp, *G.* v. 31.

Pompey, his Confidence and Preſumption before the Battle of Pharſalia, *C.* iii. 69. Is totally defeated by Cæſar with the Loſs of his Camp, 76. Flies into Egypt, where he is murdered by Order of King Ptolemy, 85.

Pompey, Cn. the Son, burns Part of Cæſar's Fleet at Oricum, *C.* iii. 34. Attacks Aſcurum, but without Succeſs, *Af.* 21. Is totally defeated by Cæſar in the Plains of Munda, *Sp.* 28. Being retarded in his Flight by a Wound he had received, is overtaken and ſlain, 39.

Pothinus, Adminiſtrator of Egypt for young Ptolemy, involves him in a War with Cæſar, *C.* iii. 89.

Prætorius, C. Virgilius, an Admiral under Pompey, makes a Capture of a Veſſel belonging to Cæſar, *Af.* 26.

Preciani ſubmit to Craſſus, and give Hoſtages, *G.* iii. 28.

Procillus, C. Valerius, ſent upon an Embaſſy to Arioviſtus, *G.* i. 38. Recovered from the treacherous Germans, to the great Joy of Cæſar, 41.

Ptolemy, King of Egypt, defeated by Cæſar in a great Battle, *Al.* 22.

Pulfio, T. his Conteſt with Varenus for the Prize of Valour, *G.* v. 36.

Pyrenean Mountains divide Aquitain from Spain, *G.* i. 1.

R

Ravenna, the Tribunes fly thither to Cæſar from Rome, *G.* 4.

Rauraci join with the Helvetians in their Expedition in queſt of new Settlements, *G.* i. 4.

Rebilus, Lieutenant General, his Advice to Curio in the Battle againſt Varus, *C.* ii. 30.

Rhedones, reduced under Obedience to Cæſar by young Craſſus, *G.* ii. 35.

Rhemi, refuſe to join the Belgian Confederacy, *G.* ii. 3. Succeed the Sequani in their Authority over the reſt of Gaul, vi. 12.

Roſcillus and Ægus, their perfidious Behaviour towards Cæſar, *C.* iii. 51.

Ruteni reduced under the Dominion of the Romans by Q. Fabius Maximus, *G.* i. 36.

S

Sabinus, Q. Titurius, by an artful Stratagem engages and defeats the Unellians and their Confederates, *G.* iii. 17. Is circumvented and cut off with his whole Army by Ambiorix, v. 23.

Sabura, Commander of the Numidian Troops under King Juba, cuts off Curio with his whole Army, *C.* ii. 34.

Salonæ inveſted by M. Octavius, who by a ſudden Sally of the Garriſon is obliged to raiſe the Siege, *C.* iii. 7.

Samarobriva, Cæſar holds a general Aſſembly of the States of Gaul there, *G.* v. 20.

Santones furniſh their Contingent to the Relief of Aleſia, *G.* vii. 69.

Sardinia, Valerius takes poſſeſſion of it for Cæſar, *C.* i. 29.

Scipio, Pompey's Lieutenant, behaves in a very tyrannical Manner in Aſia, *C.* iii. 28. Is very near ſurpriſing Domitius in Macedonia, 31. Joins Petreius and Labienus, and encamps within three Miles of Cæſar, *Af.* 22. His Manner of training his Elephants, 25. Draws up his Troops in Order of Battle, with a View to bring on an Engagement with Cæſar, 28. His Cruelty towards ſome of Cæſar's Soldiers who had been

been made Prisoners, 41. Vigorously attacks Cæsar's Horse, but is repulsed with great Slaughter, 46. Is totally defeated by Cæsar in the Battle of Thapsus, 70. Perishes in a Sea-fight with P. Sitius, 84.

Seduni, Galba's Expedition against them, *G.* iii. 1.

Senones, submit with Impatience to the Roman Yoke, *G.* v. 45. But are obliged at length to submit and give Hostages, vi. 3.

Sicily, abandoned by Cato, receives Curio, and submits to Cæsar, *C.* i. 29.

Sicoris, Fabius makes two Bridges over it, *C.* i. 38.

Sigambri refuse to deliver up the Usipetes and Tenchtheri who had taken refuge among them, *G.* iv. 13. Cæsar lays waste their Territories, 16. They fall unexpectedly upon Cicero's Camp, but are repulsed, vi. 32.

Silo Minutius, stabs Cassius Longinus twice with a Dagger, *Al.* 42.

Sitius, P. enters Numidia, and storms a Fort belonging to King Juba, stored with Ammunition and Provision, *Af.* 33. Defeats Sabura, Juba's Lieutenant, and makes Faustus and Afranius Prisoners, 83.

Suevians, under the Conduct of Nasua and Cimberius, endeavour to cross the Rhine. *G.* i. 28. Their Manners, Way of living, and Regulations with respect to War, iv. 2. Their high Reputation for Bravery, 6. Their Preparations to secure themselves, and withstand Cæsar, vi. 8.

Sulla, P. advances with two Legions to the Assistance of a Cohort that had been attacked by the Pompeians, who are repulsed, *C.* iii. 43.

T

Tarbelli, submit and send Hostages to Crassus, *G.* iii. 28.

Tarusates, Crassus marches into their Territories, *G.* iii. 24. They submit and send Hostages, 28.

Tauris, Vatinius attacks and defeats Octavius's Fleet, near that Island, *Al.* 35.

Tenchtheri, in conjunction with the Usipetes pass the Rhine, *G.* iv. 1. Expel the Menapians their own Territories, 4. Are defeated and almost totally cut off by Cæsar, 10.

Teutones, the Belgians alone refuse them Entrance into their Territories, *G.* ii. 4.

Thapsus, a great Battle there between Cæsar and Scipio, in which the latter was totally defeated, *Af.* 70.

Thebes voluntarily submits to Kalenus, *C.* iii. 47.

Tigurinus, a Canton of the Helvetians so called, almost totally cut off by Cæsar, *G.* i. 10.

Tisdra demands a Garrison from Cæsar, *Af.* 33.

Torquatus, L. a Commander under Pompey, obliged to abandon the Defence of Oricum, *C.* iii. 9.

Trebonius, C. his prodigious Works before Marseilles, *G.* ii. 1.

Treviri complain to Cæsar of the Hardships they suffered from the Germans, *G.* i. 28. Their Cavalry accounted the bravest and best disciplined in Gaul, ii. 24. Cæsar quiets the domestick Dissensions arisen among them, and espouses the Party of Cingetorix, v. 3. They rebel against the

Romans, but are defeated and brought back to their Duty by Labienus, vi. 6.

Trinobantes send Ambassadors to Cæsar with Offers of Submission, and to request his Protection for their King Mandubratius, *G.* v. 16.

Tulingi join with the Helvetians in their Expedition in quest of new Settlements, *G.* i. 4.

V

Vacca petitions Cæsar for a Garrison, but is seized and sacked by Juba before the Troops arrive, *Af.* 62.

Valerius Flaccus takes possession of Sardinia for Cæsar, *C.* i. 29.

Varenus, his Contest with Pulfio for the Prize of Valour, *G.* v. 36.

Varro, M. Pompey's Lieutenant in Spain, prepares to oppose Cæsar, *C.* ii. 16. But being forsaken by the whole Province, desists from his Purpose, and submits, 18.

Varus Attius, one of Pompey's Officers, withdraws with his Garrison from Auximum, *C.* i. 2. Passes over into Africa, and seizes it for Pompey, 29. Curio at first wars against him with Success, ii. 22. But receiving afterwards Succours from Juba, Curio is totally defeated and slain, 34. Burns Cæsar's Transports near Leptis, and takes two Quinqueremes, *Af.* 55.

Vatinius defends the Port of Brundusium against D. Lælius, *C.* iii. 82. Defeats Octavius in a Sea-fight near Tauris, *Al.* 35.

Ubians, their Country, Manners, and Way of Life described, *G.* iv. 3.

Venetians, reduced by young Crassus under the Dominion of the Romans, *G.* ii. 35. But soon after rebel, and draw other States into the Revolt, iii. 7. Powerful in their Fleets and Shipping, 8. Form and Structure of their Vessels, 13. They are totally defeated in an Engagement at Sea, 14.

Veragrians, Galba's Expedition against them, *G.* iii. 1.

Vercingetorix rouses the several States of Gaul against the Romans, and with universal Consent is declared Generalissimo of the League, *G.* vii. 4. Lays siege to Gergovia, a Town belonging to the Boii, 10. Clears himself from the Charge of Treason, 19. Consoles his Followers upon the Loss of Avaricum, 28. Not being able to hinder Cæsar's passing the Allier, he encamps under Gergovia of the Arverni, 34. Attacks Cæsar with his Cavalry, and is repulsed with great Loss, 59. He takes Refuge in Alesia, 62. Dismisses all his Cavalry, with Instructions to rouse their several States to his Relief, 65. Prepares to assist his Countrymen by a vigorous Sally, 72. Is obliged at last to surrender himself with the Town to Cæsar, 82.

Vergasillaunus, appointed one of the Commanders of the Confederate Forces for the Relief of Alesia, *G.* vii. 70. Charged with the Detachment destined to attack the upper Camp, 76.

Vergobret, the Name given to the chief Magistrate annually chosen by the Æduans, *G.* i. 14.

Vibullius

Vibullius Rufus ſent by Pompey into the Diſtrict of Picenum, *C.* i. 13. Made Priſoner by Cæſar at Corfinium, 22. Set at liberty, and afterwards ſent into Spain by Pompey, 32.

Virdumarus revolts from Cæſar, and ſets fire to Noviodunum, *G.* vii. 52. Appointed one of the Commanders of the confederate Forces for the Relief of Aleſia, 70.

Viridovix heads the Unellians againſt Sabinus, but is defeated by an artful Stratagem, *G.* iii. 17.

Voluſenus ſent by Cæſar to take a View of the Britiſh Coaſt, *G.* iv. 18. Antony ſends him in purſuit of Comius, viii. 39.

Uxellodunum, Caninius lays ſiege to it, *G.* viii. 27. Cæſar by depriving the Beſieged of Water, forces the Town to ſurrender, 33.

Z

Zama ſhuts its Gates againſt Juba, *Af.* 79. Surrenders to Cæſar, 80.

Zeta, Cæſar ſeizes and puts a Garriſon in it, *Af.* 59.

Ziela, Pharnaces totally defeated by Cæſar near that Place, *Al.* 57.

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